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MEASUREMENT IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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ABSTRACT

American sociologists appear to agree that social science should be as quantitative as possible, that subjective phenomena can be measured only through objective indexes, that statistics can be used to verify or disqualify hypotheses, and that statistics may have great practical value; probably also that statistics may suggest some explanation. They agree also that non-quantitative methods should be used where quantitative methods have not yet been devised, but only there. The issues of the controversy are: (1) Can knowledge of social phenomena be completely reduced to quantitative expression? (2) Can we know other people except from behavioristic data? (3) Is there no ground of choice among research projects except the competence of their sponsors? The value of research depends partly on the need for knowledge for practical use; needed knowledge may be such as can be had only by non-quantitative methods. The term "science" may not be granted, in the long run, to non-quantitative knowledge, but in that case the aims of sociology should be stated to include other elements besides the results of scientific research. Scientific knowledge is built up from acquaintance knowledge, much more of which is needed before statistical inquiry is effective in some sociological problems. The data of physical science are taken from raw experience in such form that they can be measured, but to do this in social research practically destroys the character of the phenomena studied. Sociological knowledge is based, in part, on "insight," which is inference concerning what is not directly known to sense experience. Of four recent attempts at the measurement of social phenomena, one proves upon analysis not to be concerned with social phenomena in the strictest sense; the others are all attempts to measure attitudes. Attitudes are subjective, and it seems doubtful whether reliable knowledge of them can be had directly from objective indexes, or in highly quantitative form. Rice's method of studying attitudes through the analysis of votes in actual elections is immune to certain criticisms, but is limited by the availability of data. It does not seem that quantitative techniques for studying attitudes have been such as to show how the knowledge of attitudes that is needed can be had except under certain favorable conditions.

¹ This paper is an adaptation and abridgment of one read in a section meeting of the American Sociological Society at Cincinnati in December, 1932.

The problems of measurement in sociology can be divided roughly into technical problems and logical or epistemological problems. The former are involved in the execution of operations of measurement and the calculation of correlations or other recondite mathematical inferences from the gross results. The latter are concerned with the nature of the phenomena to be measured, the determination of indexes of social phenomena which do not appear to be subject to direct measurement, and the capacity of measurements to provide adequate knowledge of the things studied. It is with problems of the latter sort that this paper is concerned.

There is, ostensibly, a fairly wide and even general agreement among American sociologists concerning the use of quantitative methods. Let us start, then, by enumerating some of the points of agreement. First, it seems to be agreed that it is inherent in the nature of all science, including social science, to seek to reduce its findings or conclusions, so far as may be, to quantitative formulation. Second, it is agreed that subjective phenomena can be measured, if at all, only indirectly, through objective indexes. Third, it is agreed that statistics afford verification or disqualification of sociological hypotheses. Fourth, no one denies that measures of the frequency of social phenomena are of great practical value; they tell us on what scale we have to be prepared to deal with those phenomena, and whether they are decreasing or increasing. Probably a majority of our fraternity agree also, fifth, that a body of statistical data, properly tabulated and correlated, frequently suggests some explanation of the facts in question.

As to the limitations of quantitative measurement, its most enthusiastic advocates seem to agree that, where an adequate method of quantification has not yet been devised for the study of some kind of phenomena of sociological interest, we may be permitted or even encouraged to do what we can to illuminate the matter by non-quantitative studies. In short, no one wishes to rule our non-quantitative methods from sociology altogether, although it seems that there are those who wish to see what they term "qualitative research" restricted to the smallest possible dimensions, quantification being taken as a mark of respectability and maturity of sociological wisdom.

If, now, there are some rather sharp differences of opinion among us concerning the use and limitations of quantitative measurement in sociology, what are the issues of this controversy? At least three can be defined: First, can knowledge of social phenomena be *completely* reduced to quantitative formulation? The issue, as I see it, concerns the possibility of resolving the things in which we are interested as sociologists into more ultimate factors in such a way that the final result of the analysis can be stated in *purely* quantitative terms. Must not the quantities always be quantities *of something*? It may be, of course, that our qualitative terms should ultimately give way to purely denotative symbols. But this is not the same thing as the resolution of qualitative into quantitative differences.

A second issue may be briefly expressed as follows: Is the source of our knowledge of other people's behavior to be found in that behavior and nowhere else? In other words, can we have reliable knowledge of other people except from "behavioristic" data? Lundberg, Bain, and most of the proponents of quantitative measurement of attitude would apparently answer these questions in the negative.

Finally, a third issue is one of research policy. Is it a matter of indifference which research projects we push first and most strongly? This is a real issue. If it be true that the choice of projects to be indorsed, supported with funds, and otherwise encouraged by our fraternity is of little importance, provided only that they are undertaken by men who are competent in their line, then other controversy concerning research methods is pointless. The obvious solution of all difficulties is to say, simply, "All methods are good; let each use the methods that appeal to him and choose projects to be indorsed solely on the basis of our judgment of the competence of their sponsors." If, on the other hand, it can be shown to be true that the varying competence of the men who execute researches is not the only difference of value between their projects, then evidently the problem of the use and limitations of quantitative methods in sociological research has more than academic significance. It is an assumption of this paper that the quest for scientific sociological knowledge derives its sanction in the last analysis from the need for guidance in practical human affairs, and that, accordingly, choices of research projects to be supported should be based upon the existing needs for

different kinds of sociological knowledge. This involves the possibility that some of the kinds of knowledge needed may be such as can be developed only by non-quantitative methods.

The questions with which we are here concerned turn, in part, upon the concept of scientific knowledge, and the process by which it is created or established. According to one view, scientific knowledge is, first, derived solely from sense data and, second, essentially quantitative. A plausible case can be made out in support of this view; it is set forth clearly in a number of standard treatises on scientific method and is more or less familiar. It is possible, however, to entertain a somewhat different conception of scientific knowledge, or at any rate of the knowledge that is available and somewhat reliable for guidance in human affairs. The discussion of the matter is complicated by the common practice of using the terms "science" and "scientific" as epithets—evaluative terms referring to the only worth-while form of human knowledge. It is, of course, in the end a matter of indifference whether the term "science" is used broadly or narrowly, provided an evaluative judgment is not linked to the descriptive meaning of the term. If the majority is unwilling to call non-quantitative types of knowledge "scientific," then such forms of knowledge will in the long run receive other designations; but in that case it is a thesis of this paper that the aims of sociology should not be stated solely in terms of scientific research.

In the following paragraphs I shall seek to clarify the points at issue by a necessarily brief discussion of certain fundamental aspects of human knowledge, particularly knowledge of human society, and the process of its development.

If we examine the common-sense knowledge by which men so largely guide themselves in everyday life, and from which, as a point of departure, they develop more recondite forms of knowledge, we find that it all starts with, and rests upon, what has been termed "acquaintance knowledge."² We may not properly be said to "know" anything in any useful sense unless we are acquainted with it, and acquaintance involves some insight into causation or process, as well as mere external apprehension based simply on sense experi-

² John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Chicago: Open Court, 1926), p. 329. See also Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic* (London, 1932; first edition of this title, 1917), pp. 230-31.

ence. When we are acquainted with anything, or any person, we have some idea what behavior to expect from that person or thing. Scientific propositions must contain only terms with which we have some acquaintance, or knowledge derived from acquaintance knowledge; any other terms can have no real meaning for us. This suggests, among other things, that in present-day sociology we need to build up a great deal more acquaintance knowledge than we now have, concerning some of the things in which we are interested, before we can to advantage do much laborious or expensive statistical work on those problems.

The matter may be further clarified by a brief consideration of the nature of scientific *data*. Dewey makes the pertinent suggestion that the effect of the scientific or experimental method of studying things is to "substitute data for objects."³ In his conception, data are elements which we *take* from the objects of common sense, as means to further knowledge. In other words, data, in the sense in which the term is used in science, are not the stuff of acquaintance knowledge, but are objects constructed from that stuff for the purposes of further inquiry. A part of the purpose of scientific inquiry, he says, is to perform operations of measurement upon the data, hence they are so taken, or constructed, that they will lend themselves to measurement. But such resolution of objects into data which can be handled by numerical calculation does not imply that the objects of acquaintance knowledge *are* those measurable elements, or that they are composed of such elements. Dewey contends that it is just here that the physical and social sciences part company. Physical scientists are interested in doing things which are not precluded by the radical abstraction that is involved in the reduction of the objects of experience to numerical data. But in the social and humanistic studies the case is different; the use of measurable data only brings about a reduction of the actual stuff of experience to the physical.⁴ Park has expressed the same thought in a passage in which he says that "statisticians have applied their technique to social phenomena as if the social sciences did not exist, or as if they were mere compendiums of common sense."⁵ Sociologi-

³ *The Quest for Certainty* (New York, 1929), pp. 98-99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 216.

⁵ "Sociology" (chap. i in *Research in the Social Sciences*, ed. Wilson Gee [New York: Macmillan, 1929]), pp. 4-5.

cal knowledge must be based on data, to be sure, but as Dewey so suggestively puts it, data are somewhat unfortunately named; they are in one sense "givens," but they are also "takens," and what must be taken from the raw materials of experience for the purposes of formulating sociological knowledge is, in part, a kind of elements which do not readily lend themselves to enumeration or measurement, though of course no complete repudiation of measurement is necessarily involved.

A part of the knowledge that we need for sociological purposes consists of what we variously call "insight" or "understanding." As Dewey has said, insight, as distinguished from sight, involves inferences regarding what is not seen, nor, we may add, otherwise known to sense experience.⁶ Perhaps we can go a step farther and mention a source of insight which Dewey seems reluctant to credit, namely, one's own introspection. This factor in the development of sociological knowledge has been described in the late Charles Horton Cooley's discussion of "spatial knowledge" and "social knowledge."⁷ He accepts quite candidly the characterization of this "social knowledge" as, in one sense of the term, *subjective*; in fact he refers to the process by which it is generated as "sympathetic introspection." But he points out that in this respect the distinction between social knowledge and spatial or material knowledge is at most one of degree only.⁸ As I understand him, Professor Lundberg, who has been one of the more vigorous proponents of quantification in sociological research, follows the reasoning of Cooley without difficulty but reaches a different conclusion. The inference he would draw is, let us define our terms as objectively as we can, and make as accurate measurements of the factors so defined as are possible. In one passage of an unpublished seminar paper which he has kindly furnished me, Lundberg seems to take issue with the proposition that knowledge of social phenomena is gained in part through other means than sense experience, which would be a flat refusal to accept the reasoning of Cooley and others were it not qualified by the remark that the sense experience is "conceptualized and organized into the pat-

⁶ *Experience and Nature*, p. 329.

⁷ *Sociological Theory and Social Research* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), p. 290.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

terns determined by our neuro-muscular system as conditioned by the culture in which we have lived, and now live."⁹ I find this terminology somewhat obscure, not to say awkward, but I take it that Lundberg means to concede the point made by Cooley in terms of "sympathetic introspection," "visualization," and "dramatization." If so, the difference seems to resolve itself into one of emphasis and terminology, but may be important for all that.

In the remainder of this discussion I shall try to illustrate briefly some of the considerations to which I have sought to call attention in the foregoing, by means of a necessarily brief examination of four experimental attempts to measure phenomena of sociological interest, namely, (1) Professor F. Stuart Chapin's living-room scale,¹⁰ (2) Professor E. S. Bogardus' technique for the measurement of "social distance,"¹¹ (3) Professor L. L. Thurstone's scales for the measurement of attitudes,¹² and (4) Professor Stuart A. Rice's experiments in the measurement of mass attitudes in politics through the analysis of the votes cast in actual elections.¹³

These four experiments fall into one class to the extent that they all undertake to secure *measurement* of social phenomena rather than mere statistical enumeration. When they are examined closely, however, and with particular reference to the nature of the phenomena which they undertake to measure, they fall into two categories. Bogardus, Thurstone, and Rice are all trying to measure *attitudes*. Chapin's living-room scale, on the other hand, seems to be designed to measure phenomena of the sort to which Cooley refers when he says that some facts commonly regarded as social are also material

⁹ "An Attempt To Reconcile Some Conflicting Viewpoints Regarding Methods in the Social Sciences," mimeographed seminar paper, p. 4. See also Lundberg's recent article, "Is Sociology Too Scientific," with comments by R. M. MacIver, in *Sociologus*, IX (September, 1933), 298-322.

¹⁰ "The Meaning of Measurement in Sociology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (1930), 83 ff. "Socio-Economic Status—Some Preliminary Results of Measurement," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (January, 1932), 581 ff.

¹¹ *The New Social Research* (Los Angeles, 1926), chap. x.

¹² "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (January, 1928), 529 ff. L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitudes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

¹³ *Quantitative Methods in Politics* (New York, 1928). See especially chaps. x-xxi.

events, like marriage, and hence they can be precisely observed and enumerated.¹⁴ Chapin does not entirely evade the question of the adequacy of his scale as an index or measure of an intangible something called "socio-economic status," but he does not dwell upon this aspect of his investigation. In any case, one may ask whether socio-economic status, as Chapin employs the term, is not in the last analysis a matter of material and pecuniary differences between families. Material and pecuniary differences are, almost by definition, measurable; however, status, in a different sense of the term, is something constituted by the attitudes of other people toward the person or family in question, and the measurement of status in this sense would be another problem of measuring attitudes. Since Chapin is obviously making no attempt to measure status in the latter sense, we may dismiss his living-room scale without further comment as one that proves, upon analysis, to fall outside the scope of this paper.

As has been said, the other three experiments in sociological measurement referred to have in common the character of attempts to measure attitudes, or something closely related to attitudes. Attitudes are important to the sociologist, for the behavior of people is largely determined by what they think other people think and intend; in other words, social behavior is largely a process of the interaction of attitudes. In so far as social behavior displays any consistency at all—in so far, in other words, as it can be made the object-matter of a science—it is due to the relative stability of human attitudes. But an attitude is subjective, as is conceded by nearly all writers. Faris has pointed out that an attitude is subjective at least in the sense that one may be said to have a certain attitude "in between times," when he is not visibly acting upon it.¹⁵ Bain, however, contends that "feelings, sentiments, tendencies to act, wishes, attitudes, and so on, mean nothing, and worse than nothing, unless they are interpreted as overt behavior of some kind."¹⁶ From the point of view so indicated, he criticizes the use of verbal re-

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

¹⁵ Ellsworth Faris, "Attitudes and Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (September, 1928), 273-74.

¹⁶ "An Attitude on Attitude Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 950.

sponses to questions as indexes to attitudes, and points out that there is little evidence to show that such responses are correlated with the overt behavior of the subjects. From such controversy as this, at least two fundamental questions emerge: (1) What are attitudes? and (2) By what means can reliable knowledge of attitudes be had? A third question is conditioned upon the answer to the second: Can knowledge of attitudes be reduced to fairly precise quantitative form? It is conceivable that valid knowledge of human attitudes may be had only by such methods of inquiry as will preclude establishment of accurate quantitative measurements. Attitudes, for example, may be so deep-seated in the personality that *neither* verbal responses to questions, marking of scales, and the like, *nor* overt acts which can be observed in some simple way, will serve as reliable indexes; the behavior of the person, verbal and non-verbal, may have to be studied extensively and over a rather long period of time before an investigator can have reasonably certain knowledge of that person's attitudes.

Bogardus does not deal with the question of the reliability of his technique for the measurement of social distance except by tests for the internal consistency of results. Thurstone, on the other hand, indicates frankly the possibility that expressions of "opinion" may not measure real attitudes, but contends that overt acts are no better index.¹⁷ He points out, however, that verbal reactions have at least this significance: they enable us to measure the attitudes which the subjects wish to make people believe that they have.¹⁸ This seems to be a point well taken, though Thurstone does not seem to be particularly concerned to interpret his findings in the way that this comment would suggest. He does, however, state a working limitation of his technique, namely, that an attitude scale is used only in situations in which one may reasonably expect people to tell the truth about their opinions.¹⁹ From this it appears that Thurstone's attitude scales, by his own account, are limited to cases in which, from criteria not ascertainable by the technique itself, we judge that verbal expressions, or the marking of one's preference among such expressions, actually measure the underlying attitude. There re-

¹⁷ "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *loc. cit.*, p. 532.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

mains the task of dealing with attitudes which may be of great social significance, but which do not fall within the class so defined; also the task of objectifying the criteria by which one can judge whether, in a given case, the subjects tell the truth.

It is in response to such needs and difficulties as these that Rice has offered, as a partial solution, his methods for the measurement of attitudes by the analysis of the votes cast in actual elections. Rice's method tends to meet the objection, too, that in such techniques for the measurement of attitude as have been developed by Bogardus and Thurstone those who serve as subjects do not have the feeling that there is anything at stake in their answers to questions or marking of scales. At least, in purely experimental studies of this type, it is well nigh impossible to ascertain what consequences of his expression of opinion the subject may have in view. Rice's technique is relatively immune to such criticisms, for he takes as his data the returns of actual political elections. The data available for correlation with the votes cast in such elections are, however, none too abundant, and this is, accordingly, a case where the investigation is limited by the availability of data rather than by the nature of the interests to be served, unless one permits himself to go outside the framework of his quantitative procedure and seek to illuminate his findings by non-quantitative evidence and methods. On the whole, however, one cannot help being impressed favorably by this method. It appears to be a technique that may profitably be used and adapted as widely as available data can be found. It should be possible to discover many situations in which people indicate their attitudes by significant acts which can be enumerated and statistically correlated with other data.

Do not quantitative techniques, of the more refined and critical sorts, in the very nature of their operations yield some criteria of the validity of the indexes of which they make use? Bain contends, by implication, at least, that they do not; he holds that the consistency of response to questionnaires and similar tests of attitude are no proof that such responses will be consistent with overt action. In the most recent of Thurstone's publications on this subject which I have seen, however, he cites a study of nationality preference by Eggan, similar to Bogardus' studies of social distance, in which it

was found that the subjects would continue to express consistent preferential judgments of discrimination between nationalities after they had forgotten the exact question at the beginning of the schedule. Thurstone now defines attitude as the degree of affect about a psychological object, and contends that the attitude scale does measure this affect, and not simply surface rationalizations of it.²⁰ Apparently, however, this claim must still be qualified by the stipulation that the subject shall have no strong reason to conceal or misrepresent his attitude. In most situations, people probably do not feel called upon to make any secret of their attitude of prejudice against certain races and nationalities; indeed, they are rather proud of such attitudes. If we need knowledge concerning attitudes which people are in the habit of concealing from others and even from themselves, for example, some of their sex attitudes, or their evaluations of themselves in comparison with other members of their own groups, we might find the verbal attitude scale less reliable. Possibly Thurstone's tests for consistency and relevancy would expose the limitations of such measurements, but I do not see that they would give any indication of a way by which the knowledge desired could be more reliably secured in quantitative form.

Concerning the desirability of establishing a body of knowledge about human attitudes and their formation, change, and operation, there is scarcely any difference of opinion among contemporary American sociologists. Nor will there be many to dispute the proposition that it is desirable to have such knowledge in quantitative form so far as possible. The crux of the matter seems to be contained in two questions: (1) Do the techniques for the measurement of attitudes which have been presented for our consideration up to now promise to afford with a fair degree of validity knowledge of *all* the different kinds of attitudes in which we, as sociologists, are interested? and (2) Is it good research policy to allow our inquiries to be directed and limited, to a large degree, by the availability of data suitable for quantitative treatment?

²⁰ "Commentary" on Stuart Rice's paper, "Statistical Studies of Social Attitudes and Public Opinion," in *Statistics in Social Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 194-95.

LIMITATIONS OF STATISTICS

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ABSTRACT

Zeal for statistics sometimes blinds one to its limitations as an instrument of discovery, as a form of language, as a contributor to understanding, as a device for holding factors constant, and as an aid in constructing a composite account; as well as its obvious limitations in fields where the social sciences deal with the unique.

The increasing usefulness of statistics has brought its devotees. But devotion is unreasoning, and loyalties are more appropriate to group action than to clear thinking. Schools of thought based on loyalty to authority or emotional attachments should be more frequent among scholars and artists than among scientists. For these reasons a discussion of some of the limitations of statistics seems appropriate. These limitations contemplated are not, however, territorial, but rather methodological. Statistics, like science, began in a small way with certain types of problems, and from such a center of dispersal the expansion movement has swept into a great variety of fields, one after another. Each new conquest, like each new wave of immigrants to our country, is looked down upon by the established. Of course, there is no special reason for building a fence around a preserve for statistics. The only fence should be that one inherent in the method, for which many devotees claim too much. Science, for instance, cannot be all things to all men. Its place is quite limited in scholarship, in intellectuality, in the control of human affairs, in leadership, in the determination of values, and in furnishing human happiness. Similarly limited is the place of statistics in science.

DISCOVERY

The word "science" is used by different readers with different meanings. As here used it means the discovery of reliable and precise knowledge. Usage in the physical and biological sciences has given it this meaning. As the word is taken over by the social sciences, its content may undergo some change. At least the question may very well be asked whether discovery will be emphasized as

much in the social sciences as it has been in the natural sciences. There, out of the unknown, have come such startling discoveries as that infinitesimal and invisible germs cause disease; that electrons travel at incredible rates of speed even through solid substances; that wood can be made into silken garments; that we can talk through the air for distances as far away as the poles. Is there an unknown in the social field that will yield any such unexpected discoveries? It has been said that the discovery of an "unconscious" that dominates much of our behavior is of that order of magnitude and of unexpectedness in the field of human relations—if, indeed, it has been discovered. There are also those claims that the causal rôle of technology in social change in general is of similar significance, if not perhaps as startling. But these are problematical.

There will, of course, be discovery of the new in social science, but these will be quite generally less dramatic than the most quoted ones. The vast number of discoveries in any science are quite minor. Science grows by the accumulation of small increments to the store of knowledge, and no doubt as the volume increases through the years there will be more of the big discoveries.

Whether the unknown in social science will have a small yield or not, statistics as one scientific method seems to have certain limitations as an agent of discovery. Some discoveries are made by statistics, of course. Thus our death-rate will rise; our population is approaching a stationary condition; oldest children are more often successes and more often failures; the sex ratio affects the marriageability of women much more than men; business depressions are more favorable to the increase in church membership than business prosperity. But the rôle of statistics is often that of making more exact something that is already known. Thus men are taller than women. Statistics only tells us with precision how much taller. The fact that such exactness is seldom needed often leads to the criticism that statistics proves the obvious. What is overlooked is that exactness is sometimes useful. In the familiar world of social relationships about us a good deal of observation is made about such matters as poverty, crime, conditions of the family, and this is called discovery; but in these cases statistics appears to be verifying what has already been discovered. It is in this sense that statistics is limited in dis-

covery. There is probably more of this general observation in the social world than in the world of nature. It is seen that the analysis has led us into the question of what is a discovery, which cannot be answered until inquiry is made into what is knowledge.

KNOWLEDGE

Discovery usually proceeds from hunch to hypothesis to verification. The step from hypothesis to proof in social science is often in reality a series of steps, including the strengthening of the hypothesis and approximations. Undoubtedly many would claim knowledge before the final step is reached, which is the one where statistics is most often used. But the pressure is to reserve the seal of science until the last step is completed. Such seems appropriate in the case of the person who has a hunch or a hypothesis that he can send mail from New York to Paris by rocket, in the case of a discovery of a cure for cancer, or in the claim that acquired characteristics are inherited. But often in sociology observations are taken as proof, when they are only approximations to certainty. Thus one is said to have discovered that the basis of neurosis is laid before a child is five years old. There is some evidence pointing that way; it is questioned whether this hypothesis has yet become knowledge. There is, no doubt, need for counting here. Often too readily accepted discoveries are found to be untrue when the verification process is carried far enough. Such is the case with the supposedly common knowledge that criminals are recruited more largely from the foreign-born; or that the villages have been decreasing, ruined by the automobile. Statistical verification is not always checking the obvious, or merely a useless compilation about what is already known. Still it seems to be true that the discipline of statistics helps little in the initial step of discovery, even though it be of importance in the final step.

There is another aspect of knowledge. Some is of the all or none type. Hydrogen and oxygen combine to produce water or they do not. But there is a knowledge of degree also which may be very important. It is not enough to know that when production and money do not increase at equal rates of speed there is fluctuation in business conditions. It is needed also to know how much. In the social sciences knowledge of the amount or degree may be as useful as the

knowledge of the fact itself. Hence in social science there may come to be more emphasis on the adjective "precise" in the definition of science.

It still remains true, though, that a vast amount of the business of life is done on approximate information. We once got along very well without a thermometer, but the exact measurement it affords proves useful on occasion. One reason why we do not use more exact information is its costliness. Statistics is limited to the wealthy countries, or to those with dictators.

THE NON-QUANTITATIVE

The greatest limitation of statistics is the one that needs to be stressed least, because it is obvious. It is that so much knowledge is either unique or the quantitative aspects are not sufficiently great to be called statistical. Such is the case in large part with history, political science, ethnology, law, ethics, religion, journalism, although there is some statistical measurement in each of these disciplines.

Another great area of non-statistical scientific work is in the general work preparatory to the task of deriving definitive conclusions. Concepts must be delineated, classifications and comparisons undertaken, rough observation must be made, preliminary surveys to get a perspective often need to be done. This kind of preliminary work is not always broken down into the hypothesis-verification pattern, but may go on for years over a large field, before the precise reliable knowledge is found. Statistics may help in this organizational work but is not always necessary. Indeed, most of it is undertaken without any reference to statistics. But the inapplicability of statistics to these non-quantitative fields is well known.

THE LABORATORY METHOD

The essence of the laboratory method is that one factor or combination of factors can be varied alone, to note the effect, while the others are held constant or eliminated. In this sense, so-called social experiments, such as the prohibition of the sale of liquor, are not experimental at all. In many of the natural and biological sciences, the laboratory has been the greatest source of advance. How will it be in

the social sciences without a laboratory? Statistics has been looked upon as a substitute for the laboratory, because of its techniques for holding factors constant or eliminating them in measuring relationships. Statistics is, of course, not the only device for making comparisons between two factors when all the others are the same. Thus Professor Lowie compares the Chukchee culture with the Eskimo culture to note the influence of the change in the economic factor. However, the statistical technique is a little more facile in this regard than most other devices. Nevertheless, it is quite limited as compared with the laboratory, which is much more flexible and adaptable. One of the most beautiful devices is the control group to compare with the group being tested, say, for vaccination, as was done by Pasteur. All the factors, except the one under investigation, are readily held constant.

In statistics, with the device of partial correlation, it is quite a task to get a large-enough number of factors included, and the instrument becomes somewhat complicated when the relationships are not linear. For the device of subclassification a very large number of cases are necessary, if it is pushed through several factors. The method of standard population has only limited applicability. While statistics offers some facility, it seems very limited as compared with the simplicity, cheapness, and adaptability of the laboratory. This limitation of statistics is more apparent because of the much larger number of factors that are variable in social phenomena.

The difficulty due to these many varying factors is seen in the special situation when prediction is tried. In the case, for instance, of forecasting the future condition of business it is evident that many variable factors are involved. It so happens that under the present conditions not all these influences can be measured. The forecasting curves are based on a limited number of factors. Hence, predictions cannot be right all the time; and another limitation of statistics is chalked down. Certainly those forecasters who trust solely to their statistical measurements are to be blamed for their narrowness. It would probably be better if instead of relying wholly on the objective but incomplete measurements they drew on their best guesses, even though the subjective element entered, as to the influence of the unmeasured factors. Prediction is still largely an art and should

be recognized as such, although naturally it should make use of such science as may be available. Prediction is a severe test of science. These same qualifications, discussed in regard to prediction, apply likewise to social or governmental control based on statistical information.

INTERPRETATION

The language of statistics is another limitation. Figures are necessarily very limited in conveying meanings as compared to the rich variety of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and other words that make up the dictionary. Hence statistical tables are only a framework in which the data may be examined, and a coefficient or a curve is merely an abbreviation of the table. As to what the arrangement of figures means depends on what the author or reader brings to them in the way of associations—very much as one gets the meaning of a political cartoon in a newspaper. The process of deriving knowledge is one of explanation and interpretation. Thus if $r_{12} = -.14$, where the first variable is the birth-rate by cities and where the second is the percentage of young women married in the same cities, what is the meaning?

A certain amount of explanation is necessary to make the language of coefficients intelligible. In this case it means that on the average cities with a lower birth-rate have a larger percentage of young married women for a given number of cities at a certain time. But the meaning even after the terms are explained is still not clear. Hence an interpretation, in addition to explanation, is demanded. But interpretation nearly always calls for further scientific work and can hardly be done *ex cathedra*. Any such interpretation, in contrast to explanation, unsupported by evidence is merely a guess and hence not reliable knowledge and not science. Much looseness arises from a failure to distinguish between explanation and interpretation. In this particular case it is not the hypothesis that the marriage-rate affects the birth-rate. It is difficult to see how this could be. On the other hand, could the birth-rate affect the marriage-rate? Certainly the knowledge as to how the birth-rate may be lowered—that is, through birth-control information—might very well influence the marriage-rate. Young people might marry more readily if they knew that, for a time, there would not have to be babies to support.

This hypothesis could be further checked if we had the information on the sale and use of contraceptive devices. There are, however, no statistical data available on this point.

A special type of interpretation is often demanded, namely, a statement of the significance of the implications of the statistics. But a reliable statement of the implications, like a reliable statement of other interpretations, cannot be made without evidence, and hence often without further research. Some implications are more or less obvious; others may be suggested as possible or probable. But interpretations, if reliable, require evidence and research as did the original statement. As a form of language, statistics has its limitations.

UNDERSTANDING

The aim of science is sometimes said to yield understanding rather than, or in addition to, discovering new knowledge. It is always desirable to understand new knowledge, but this further step is one for education or experience. The two terms "knowledge" and "understanding" may, at times, be used interchangeably. But there are also differences. Sometimes by knowledge is meant a clear and certain mental apprehension, while understanding by contrast implies the perception of a meaning in terms of a feeling tone on the level of sentiment or experience. Thus one may know that sacrifice is an element in many religions, but one may not understand it. One may know that the sun is ninety-three million miles away, but one may have little understanding of what this great distance means. It is often the interpretation that gives the meaning of knowledge. But since interpretation may be wrong, as is the case when unsupported by evidence, it is possible to understand something that is not true, and hence not knowledge. Poetry is probably a better medium for conveying understanding in this sense than statistics.

In the natural sciences it is possible that the divergence between knowledge and understanding may not be so great as in some of the social sciences. There is no particular demand in biology for understanding a zygote other than the knowledge conveyed by the objective scientific account. On the other hand, a neurosis needs to be understood more than in knowing objective equations showing its relationships. This demand for understanding is much greater in

such social psychological phenomena as religion and crime than in, say, economics. The relation of the price level to the business cycle does not call for any great human understanding. The knowledge carries the meaning. In the study of symbols the search is for meanings. It is thus interesting to speculate on the possibility of a science of symbols. If it should be developed, the scientific test implied in the question "How do you know it?" will have to be applied to the meanings and understandings. If understanding is to be other than an artistic expression, we must ask the question, "How do we know that our understanding is correct?"

Equally as interesting as the symbol in science is the position of the proverb in knowledge. Is the proverb a scientific discovery? Much of the writings of sociologists is like the discussion of proverbs. The "consciousness of kind" is like the proverb "Birds of a feather flock together." The abstinence theory of interest suggests, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." If "a stitch in time" were practiced, there would be no cultural lag. The "primary group" escapes the situation where "out of sight is out of mind." The proverb is a folk saying that is widely used with great applicability. Hence, any principle of social science that resembles a proverb is likely to be popular and widely used. But is it science? Certainly the discovery of a proverb is hardly the discovery of new knowledge, though it seems to be rich in its potentialities of conveying understanding, and it may be a scientific tool if it lends itself to measurement. Statistics certainly has a limited usefulness in bringing about understanding, particularly in social psychology.

THE COMPOSITE

A final limitation of statistics and of science in general remains to be mentioned. It is their lack of guaranty of a satisfactory composite picture, even when each element of the composite is scientifically accurate. The difficulty lies in selection and emphasis rather than in accuracy or exactness. For instance, in regard to an account of Soviet Russia, it is possible for a conservative and a radical to visit that country at the same time and write books so different that the time and place might not be recognizable as the same. Science has grown up in handling single relationships affected, perhaps, by a

number of factors, or in describing a single phenomenon or a series of them, and in these cases has been able to eliminate the distorting influence of human bias. Such, for instance, is the relationship of temperature to crop production, or the account of a buried city. In such problems the question of a "fair picture" does not arise as it would if one were writing a book on, say, the influence of the machine. What goes into history is a matter of selection and values. Science does not tell us what to select for a general account of a large complex subject any more than it tells us what subject to choose for scientific investigation. What is a "fair" account is a matter of values, not of proof. One person thinks something should be included, another thinks it should not be emphasized so much, another may think it should be omitted. So we have different kinds of history—political, economic, social. History must be re-written every age, because the interest of each age selects different subjects for emphasis.

Indeed, statistics is not only not helpful in such a problem but is often an actual hindrance. For instance, if the purpose is to produce a well-balanced picture of the family as an institution, and if one relied solely on quantitative or factual records, the account would inevitably be one-sided. Because on certain aspects of the family we do not have adequate records. This is true, for instance, of the changes from one period of time to another in the personality influences of parents on children for the United States. If the purpose was to produce a "fair picture" of the family, it would be better to include non-quantitative material on these personality aspects, even if they were only estimates, than to omit them altogether. Perhaps it might be argued that one should not attempt a "fair picture," but general, well-balanced accounts are demanded; and they will be appraised as such. The purpose of science is to represent reality without distortion. The statistical method is undoubtedly limited in preventing a distortion or undue emphasis in a general picture, requiring omissions even when every part of the general picture consists of accurate reliable knowledge.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATION

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ABSTRACT

Europe during the one thousand years from A.D. 900 appears to be the best region and period for a study of the environmental factors determining the evolution of a nation. Seventy-four homogeneous regions appear. Grouping and indexing these according to length of national life, or independent government, two distinct zones are formed: a zone of high-index nations, extending from Iceland to Aragon; and a low-index zone from Lapland to Morea and Sicily. For simplification the three medium-index zones are for the most part ignored, leaving the two contrasting groups which may be used to test a number of correlations. As for religion and race the high-index regions appear to be strongly Protestant and Nordic, and the low-index regions strongly Greek Church and Alpine. No causal relationship is assumed. Good rainfall seems favorable to national continuity, temperature has practically no bearing, and rugged regions on the whole are not favorable for continued national growth. Death-rates are considerably lower in regions of high than in those of low national index.

In the course of a dozen years the writer has often looked for some logical discussion of the geographical factors which determine the evolution of a distinct nation. Webster gives two definitions of "nation" as follows: "(1) (Ethnology) A part or division of the people of the earth, distinguished from the rest by common descent, language or institutions; a race; a stock. (2) The body of inhabitants of a country united under an independent government of their own." The present writer strongly objects to the word "nation" being taken as synonymous with "race" or "stock." Often enough common ancestry, common language, and common institutions are involved in a given nation; but exceptions to one or other of these factors are extremely common. On the other hand, the criterion of an "independent government" is much less open to objection. Yet, the Finns never had an independent government (until 1918), but they have formed a fairly definite "nation" throughout historic times.

It is clear, therefore, that we are dealing with a very complex problem—so complex that there is no simple answer to the question "What constitutes a nation?" But it is an important problem lying on the borders of geography, history, and sociology, and as such seems to me to offer an interesting field for the use of what I am sometimes tempted to call the "new geography."

In the present instance it seemed clear to me that one field is prominent as a region for such a study. This field is Europe, whose national development is sufficiently complex but is, I think, better understood than that of any other similar part of the world. It was first necessary to decide on the limits of space and time. As in preceding studies, I decided to make use of those useful units of the

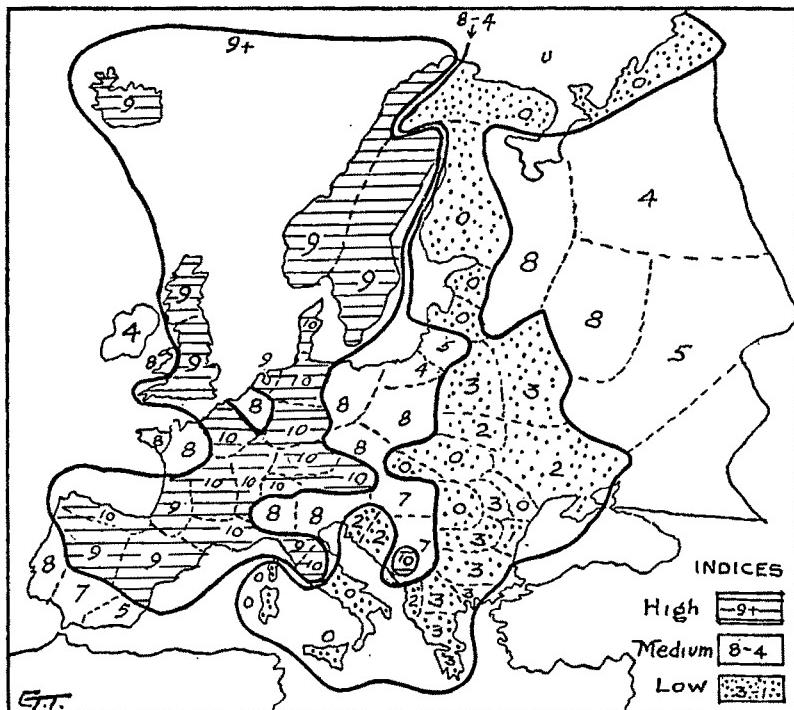


FIG. 1.—A map showing national-indices. Figures (and isopleths) indicate centuries of self-government of the 74 regions since A.D. 900. (Somewhat generalized.)

geographer, the "natural regions." After a close study of the development of the European nations I divided Europe into 74 regions, each of which had a measure of homogeneity, whether one considered its environment or its historical development. In general, each of these regions in the south and west has an area of some 24,000 square miles. In the north and east, however, where the development has involved larger and simpler units, the area of each division is about 200,000 square miles. (See Figure 1.)

As regards the period to be studied, it seemed to me that the last thousand years was rather clearly separated from earlier national development. In 873 Charlemagne's empire was divided into three areas, from two of which developed Germany and France, while Lotharingia gave rise to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and much of Italy. About this time also the Scandinavians, Spaniards, Magyars, Poles, Serbs, and Bulgarians were each just beginning to unite into nationalities which have persisted more or less successfully ever since. (It is true that in Russia and some minor regions tribal law still operated. I have treated this latter stage of development as preceding a real national consciousness.) Thus A.D. 900 is my starting-point, while 1918, when so many new governments came into being, marks the end of my survey. There is, therefore, a period of about ten centuries to be covered in respect of each of the 74 regions.

Since one could only hope to arrive at an approximate conclusion, I decided to use the method of typical periods at intervals of about a century. I chose those dates which were fairly well charted in such historical atlases as those by W. R. Shepherd¹ or Ramsay Muir.² In this fashion I collected the data which are given in an abbreviated form in Table I. In this table the first column (headed "900") shows how half of the 74 regions fared about the year A.D. 900. (The regions 37-74 are omitted from lack of space.)

In 900 England was half Danish and was suffering from an invasion of tribes not yet assimilated. In Scotland, Wales, and Ireland real nationality had not yet developed, for the clans were grouped in antagonized tribes. This is indicated by "TRI" in the table. Anjou was half Norman. Aquitaine was a fief of the French crown and is shown as "FR.F." I have, however, accepted this stage as an early type of national self-government. Provence was independent, but though it later came under Burgundy, and later again was a fief of the Holy Roman Empire (HRE), I have counted all these as phases of self-government. Asturias was the sole survival of Christian Spain. Leon (as limited on the map, Figure 1) was half Spanish and half Moorish; hence the term " $\frac{1}{2}$ Moor" in the table. Holland, and the region I have labeled "Hanover," were fiefs of the Holy Roman Empire. Brandenburg and East Prussia were still uncivilized

¹ New York, 1921.

² London, 1927.

and controlled by tribal law. In my study I have dated their national birth later. Austria and Slovakia were under Magyar control. This is not assessed as self-government. However, Hungary (also under

TABLE I
RULERS IN EUROPE, FROM A.D. 950 TO 1914 (GENERALIZED)

ABBREVIATIONS: BAVaria; BRAndenburg; ERE is Eastern Roman Empire; FR.F is French Fief; GERman; GREek; HRE is Holy Roman Empire Fief; KHAZar Turk; LOMBard; MAGyar; NORMan; NORWay; PRUSSia; SAVoy; SPAn; TRI is tribal organization, not a real national level. The symbol "i" before name means divided control.

NOTE: Names in black-face type indicate that the nation is unusually important about that time. Names in italics mean that the nation is suffering from foreign aggression to a marked extent at the time.

The figures in the last column indicate approximately the proportion of the period considered which has experienced national (i.e., not foreign) rule; 10 is the maximum.

Magyar control) is naturally counted as under self-government in A.D. 900. The Lombards were in power in Venetia and Lombardy. The pope had acquired control of certain papal states, largely by the aid of the Franks. Hence the insertion of the word "pope" in the table.

As regards the second half of the table (regions 37-74) the same methods are adopted. The Eastern Roman Empire (ERE), ruling from Constantinople, controlled in a feeble measure parts of the Balkans and Italy. I have not felt that this type of government was to be included in the term "self-government," though it is hard to draw the line between this type and that characteristic of the Holy Roman Empire of the North. The region north of the Black Sea was in the hands of waves of Turkish invaders like the Khazars, Pechenegs, and Cumans, who developed no later definite national life.

Proceeding in this fashion at each of the ten later dates (given at the head of Table I), we get a number of typical cross-sections of the development of national growth. Let us take the historical development of region 25, East Prussia, as an illustration of the method used. Until 1231 this region was inhabited by uncivilized heathen tribes who had no definite national consciousness. The Religious Order of Teutonic Knights then conquered the country and ruled with little regard for the desires of the peasants, until their order was dispersed, whereupon the Grand Master (allied to the Hohenzollerns) made himself secular ruler. By 1648 it was part of Brandenburg, and later this merged in turn into Prussia, which in 1871 became in turn part of the German Empire. These stages are accordingly entered as "tribal" (four centuries), "Teutonic Knights" (three centuries), "Brandenburg," and "Prussia." Only during the last three and a half or four centuries has East Prussia had a measure of self-government. Hence the figure 4 is placed at the end of the line which epitomizes the history of East Prussia.

In similar fashion I have obtained the other figures given in the last column. In some cases it has been difficult to decide how to classify a given period, whether tribal, foreign rule, or self-government. However, it is hoped that the figures obtained are a fair approximation to reality. It is, of course, the relative values of these figures which are of most interest to the geographer. To these figures (indicating length of self-government) I have given the name "national indices."

When these figures in the last column are plotted on the 74 regions, a most interesting set of isopleths is produced (Fig. 1). I have simplified the result by using only three rulings or divisions on the

map. Those regions whose "national index" is high (10 or 9) form the first class with lengthy national life. The second group includes the regions with indices ranging from 8 down to 4. They have had national existences of medium length. Lastly comes the group with low indices (from 3 down to 0). Clearly these have experienced foreign domination during most of their existence.

It will be seen that there are 24 regions belonging to the first class of high-index regions, where national development is pronounced; 23 in the intermediate class; and 27 in the class of low-index regions, where real national development has been prevented during nearly the whole of the 1,000 years under consideration. The map (Fig. 1) shows one isopleth³ separating indices 9 and 8, and another separating indices 4 and 3.

Clearly there is a high-index zone extending from Iceland to Aragon and a low-index zone extending from Lapland to Greece. There are three medium zones: one from the Baltic to the Adriatic, another in the east of Russia, and a third in the far western shores of Europe.

The writer feels that we now have charted a number of graded national groups which can be used to test a number of correlations. Let us simplify our problem by omitting the 23 regions which have less marked characteristics, i.e., the group with indices from 8 to 4. We have then two contrasted areas, i.e., those with lengthy national existences and those with very short (or no) national existences. These two groups are each about one-third of the whole (high index, 24 regions; medium, 23 regions; low index, 27 regions).

What factors shall we use in our correlations? Our early definitions suggest race, religion, language. Of environmental factors there are temperature, rainfall, and health. The number can be extended indefinitely, but the six mentioned above will illustrate the method of attack. To the writer this seems an interesting piece of research, even though he admits that no very clear-cut results can be expected.

We may assume that practically all the 74 regions belong to one of three dominant sects—Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Greek Catholic. Of the 74 regions, 32 are Roman, 20 are Greek, and 14 are

³ "Isopleth" is a general term for all lines of equal quantities.

Protestant. If we plot these frequencies in three columns (see Figure 2A), we obtain a characteristic graph A. If now we isolate the regions with high indices (10 and 9) and plot their frequencies (9, 13, 1), we obtain graph B; and, using the same method with the low indices (3 to 0), we obtain graph C (3, 8, 15). The fourth graph (D) shows what the figures would be if each of the three groups maintained the same religious proportions as the total. We can correlate the high-index regions as strongly Protestant, and the low-index re-

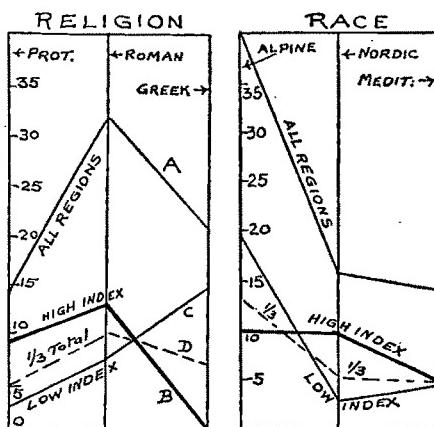


FIG. 2.—Frequency graphs for religion and race. Among high-index regions, the Protestant religion and Nordic race are much more frequent than among low-index regions.

gions as strongly Greek Church. (The high-index regions are a little more strongly Catholic than the low-index regions.) It is well to be clear that this does not mean that a long national existence is due to Protestantism or inhibited by the Greek religion. It may well be, however, that the mental independence which predisposed a people to protest against orthodox views also determined their resistance to foreign aggression. (See also Figure 4B.)

Similar graphs are shown for the three dominant races in Europe (Fig. 2B). These are Alpine, Nordic, and Mediterranean. The frequency figures for the whole 74 regions are: Alpine, 41; Nordic, 16; Mediterranean, 14. (Here three regions with very mixed races are omitted.) For the high-index regions the frequencies are: Alpine, 10; Nordic, 9; Mediterranean, 5. For the low-index regions the fre-

quencies are: Alpine, 20; Nordic, 3; Mediterranean, 4. The conclusion here is that the high-index regions are strongly Nordic, the low-index regions are strongly Alpine, while the Mediterranean race does not vary with the national index. (See Figure 4C.)

Of course, a mere inspection of isopleths will often show when it is useless to try to correlate two variables. For instance, in Figure 3

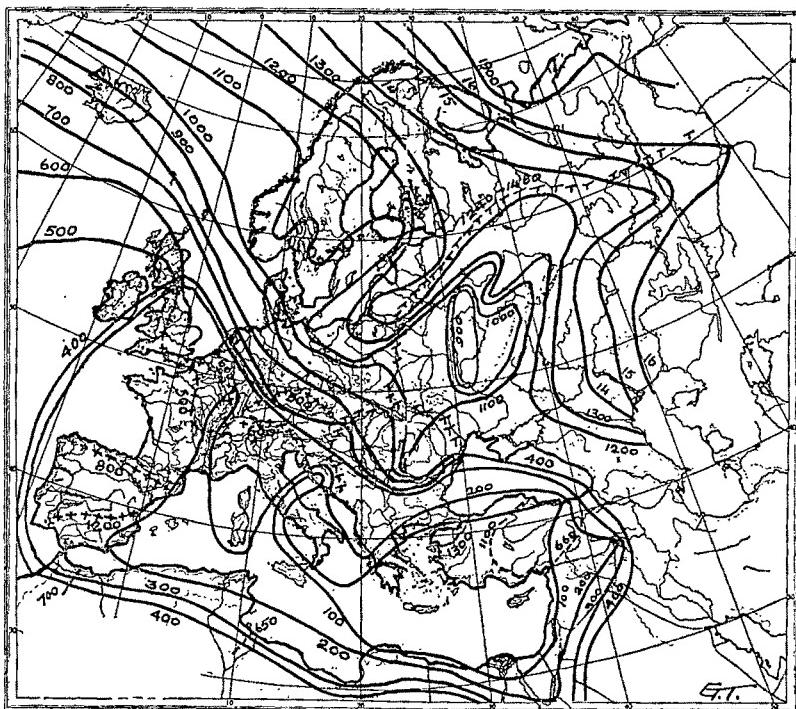


FIG. 3.—The spread of Christianity in Europe. The line marked A.D. 400 nearly agrees with the Roman Empire at its widest extent. Crosses and broken lines represent non-Christian invasions. (Partly based on Heussi and Molert, and W. R. Shepherd.)

I have given the result of a study of the spread of Christianity in Europe. So far as I know, these interesting isopleths have not before been published quite as fully as I show them.⁴ It can be seen from a glance at Figure 1 that our two critical zones (high-index and low-index regions) run right across the general west-east course of the

⁴ I owe to Father Snegireff (of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral at Chicago) the data regarding the spread of Christianity in Northeast Russia.

"Christianity" isopleths. It does not appear, therefore, that early conversion had any bearing on continuity of nationality, though this might reasonably have been expected.

This map (Fig. 3) also illustrates the extent of the Roman Empire, which reached to the isopleth numbered A.D. 400, before it fell to pieces as a result of the Barbarian invasions. On the whole the high-index regions are either places like Northern France and Britain, which were conquered relatively lately by Rome, or places like Germany and Scandinavia, which were never affected by Roman rule. In effect the latter is correlated with rather a low national-index.

We may use an alternative method to see if rainfall has any bearing on the continuity of European nations. Using, as before, our two contrasted groups (high-index and low-index) we may construct two dot-graphs (not reproduced) with rainfall and temperature as second ordinates. Let us consider first the rainfall problem. Here we plot for the 24 high-index regions the appropriate index against the appropriate average annual rainfall. Thus England has an index $9\frac{1}{2}$ and a rainfall of about 35 inches. This gives us one dot on our graph. We proceed in the same way with the remaining regional figures.

Let us now examine our dot graph, and we find that 13 out of 24 (55 per cent) of the high-index regions have a good rainfall, i.e., over 33 inches. On the other hand, only 3 out of 27 (or 11 per cent) of the low-index regions have a rainfall over 33 inches. Hence a good rainfall would seem favorable to national continuity. (See Figure 4D.)

As regards temperature and nationality, we can plot the same type of graph (which, however, is not illustrated). Here average temperature is plotted against nation-index. Thus England has an index of 9.5 and an average temperature of about 48° F. Plotting the remaining high-index regions with their temperatures, and doing the same for the low-index regions, we seem to obtain a result which shows that annual temperature has practically no bearing on our problem. Taking a mean temperature of 55° F. as our criterion, we find that half of the high-index regions have higher temperatures and half lower. The same result (half over 55° F. and half under 55° F.) applies to the low-index regions.

Mountain regions have always been considered to be favorable

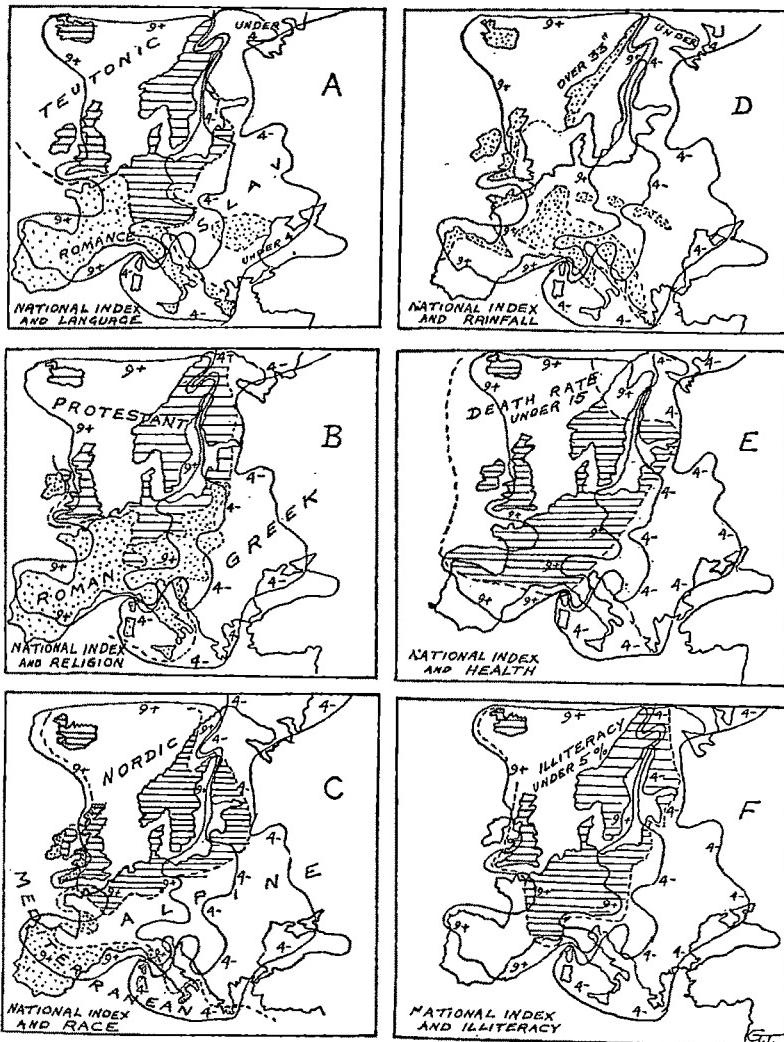


FIG. 4.—Correlations of national-index in Europe with language, religion, race, rainfall, health, and illiteracy. In all cases the area inclosed by the isopleth 9+ has a high national-index (i.e., lengthy self-government) and by isopleth 4- has a low national-index. (E, partly after Huntington; F partly after Hettner.)

for preserving nationality. Montenegro is a splendid example, for this little principality maintained its freedom practically throughout the Turkish invasion, in spite of persistent attacks for five centuries. Yet equally mountainous Slovakia never had a Slav government until 1918, while Transylvania since A.D. 900 has been governed by Magyars, though its people were always largely Rumanian.

The result is not very decisive but seems on the whole against the popular view. If we classify our two nation-index groups into lowlands and highlands (the former comprising undulating areas of moderate elevation also), we find that the high-index regions are about equally divided between the two. (Graph not given.) When we consider the low-index regions, we find that about 66 per cent are rather rugged highlands, while approximately 34 per cent are lowlands. The total result seems to be that, on the whole, rugged regions are not favorable for continued national growth.

One more factor may be correlated here—one of the best, in the writer's opinion, though probably it is not a direct factor. Let us compare the death-rates (as given by Huntington and Williams)⁵ with our nation-indices. (See Figure 4E.) The most progressive countries, like Holland and Denmark, have death-rates below 11. Regions in the south and east of Europe have death-rates of more than 20. Let us choose 15 as a mean figure. Our high-index group has only 4 regions with death-rates above 15, i.e., only 17 per cent have high death-rates. When we turn to the regions with low national-indices, then we find that 25 out of 27 (or 93 per cent) have death-rates exceeding 15. Of course, we are dealing here with present death-rates and comparing them with events which occurred during the last thousand years.

Possibly we are putting the cart before the horse, for the high correlation between health and "national continuity" may be explained in at least three ways: (a) the people in these regions were energetic and intelligent, therefore they rebelled not only against evil political conditions but also against evil social conditions; (b) the people in these regions early acquired independence, which left them free to pursue an enlightened social program resulting in great increase in health; (c) the people in these regions were so healthy that

⁵ *Business Geography* (1922), p. 242.

this factor helped them in their struggles to remain independent. To the writer, reason *b* seems the most logical. Another interesting map with isopleths agreeing with the national-index map (Fig. 1) is that of illiteracy given by A. Hettner on page 56 in his book *Europa*.⁶ (See Figure 4F.)

For many years the writer has been experimenting with graphs in three dimensions. As used for topography, these graphs (block diagrams) are unexcelled. But they can, of course, be used for three independent variables of any kind. In the present discussion of factors affecting European nationality, we can construct a three-dimension graph which enables us at a glance to pick out affinities among the thirty European nations of today.

TABLE II
MAJOR TYPES OF LANGUAGE, RELIGION, AND RACE

Culture-Type	Language	Religion	Race	National Examples
I. Slav.....	Slav	Greek	Alpine	Russia, Bulgaria
II. Roman.....	Romance	Roman	Mediterranean	Spain, Portugal
III. German.....	Teutonic	Protestant	Nordic	Denmark, Holland

Our variables are race, language, and religion. There are in each case three dominant classes, which may be indicated in Table II. These three types seem to center about three "nuclei"—in Moscow, Rome, and Northwest Germany.

However, almost all the remaining regions in Europe depart in some fashion from this simple grouping of types. In the three-dimension graph (Fig. 5) the nine variations (three each in language, religion, and race) are arranged somewhat like nine "sets of apartments" in intersecting rows. Since the Mediterranean race was the first to enter Europe, we may represent nations of this type as living on the "ground floor." The Nordics may be shown as occupying the next floor, while the Alpine race (which seems to be slowly submerging the other two all over the world)⁷ may be represented as occupying the top floor in each "apartment."

Let us divide our area (which may be taken to represent Europe) into three "parks," and name them (in accord with the languages)

⁶ Leipzig, 1925.

⁷ See the writer's paper "Nordic and Alpine Races and Their Kin," *American Journal of Sociology* (Chicago, 1931), XXXVII, 67-81.

"Teutonic Park," "Romance Park," and "Slav Park." The cross-avenues (in an east-west direction) indicate the religions of the nations occupying the respective apartments.

To give an example: the North Swiss for the most part speak German (a Teutonic language); hence they have a place in the western "park." They are mostly Protestant; hence they live in the northern "avenue." They belong to the Alpine race; hence they can

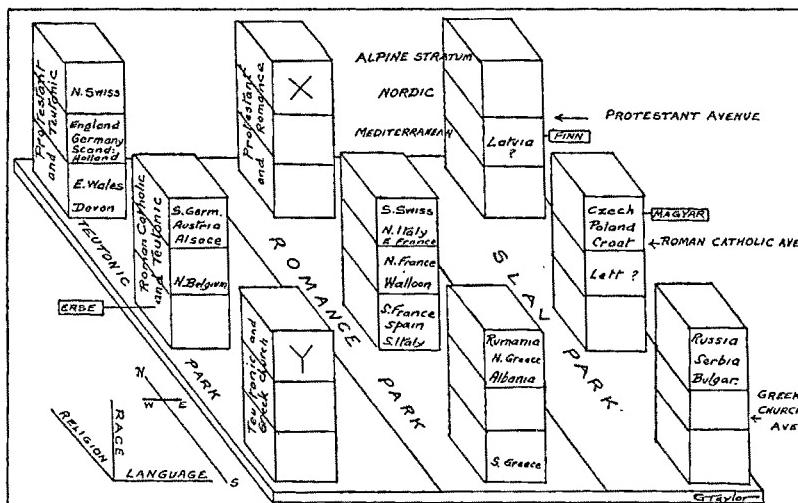


FIG. 5.—Three-dimension diagram showing the combinations of the three variables—race, language, and religion—which characterize the nations of Europe. In each "building" the lowest stratum is occupied by "Mediterranean" stocks, the middle stratum by Nordic, the top stratum by Alpine stocks. For example: the Northern Swiss being Alpine (top stratum), Protestant (north avenue), and Teutonic speakers (west park), are found in the top of the left-hand "building." X (Protestant-Romance) and Y (Teutonic-Greek Church) are virtually absent among European peoples.

be shown in the top "flat." Here the word "N. Swiss" will be found in the block diagram (or model, Figure 5).

To accommodate a few less important nations, characterized by special languages, I have attached labels to the nearest nations which agree with them in race and religion. Thus the Magyar nation is fairly close to the Poles, and the Finn is fairly close to the Swede. In Western Ireland, Erse (Irish) is spoken by the primitive "Mediterranean Catholic." This small national group is remote from any other.

THE DRUM LANGUAGE OF THE TUMBA PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

The drum language of the Bantu tribes living in the Equatorial forest is a system of signals beaten with two sticks on a hollowed wooden drum which gives out two notes corresponding to the two tones of the vowels of the language. Use of the drum is restricted to men but is now entirely secular. The signals represent the tones of the syllables of conventional phrases of a traditional and highly poetic character. The phrases are sufficient in number that the code can be used for a large variety of messages, furnishing a means of instantaneous communication throughout a radius of several miles.

For a long time drums and horns have been employed in sending news and calling persons or groups of persons among the Bantu peoples of Central Africa. On inquiring as to the beginning of the use of the drum as a medium for conveying messages, one gets the answer: "We have always had the drum." One of my informants said that their drum language, as well as most of their folkways, came from their traditional ancestor, called in this section, Jibanza or Liyanza.

The languages differ in various localities. In spite of the fact that with the coming of the Europeans many of the people from different language groups have acquired a common *lingua franca*, the drum languages have been very little modified. Strangers going into a new locality, although their spoken language may have only slight differences, do not as a rule understand the language of the drum. However, I have found two instances where the spoken language of two tribes was not readily understood, but the drum language was so nearly identical that a member of one tribe had no difficulty in understanding the ordinary messages sent on the drum by the other tribe, except, of course, personal names.

The *lingua franca* of this section is not used on the drum except one call, "Move swiftly" (Tambola noke noke). It may mean either "come" or "go" depending on the first part of the message given in the local dialect.

The people of the Tumba tribe are situated on the east side of the Congo River directly on the equator. There are no hills, and the

dense tropical rain forest covers the whole country. It is impossible to see for a distance greater than the length of a village except up and down the river. Under these conditions the only way to convey a message by signals from one village to another without a messenger is by sound.

There are two trees commonly used for making drums, called in the lonkundo (the language spoken here), "Bosulu" and "Iyamba." The former is much more common. It is known in Europe and America as "camwood." The drums vary in size according to the diameter of the trunk of the tree, and are hewn only by men who know the art. There is, however, so far as I can learn, no restriction on learning to send messages. Many are not able to "talk on the drum," but they insist that it is because they have not taken the time to learn. Usually one learns this art during childhood, but there are two men in the village of Bolenge past middle age who are studying the drum at the present time. Most women understand all that is "said" on the drum, but it is out of their province to send a message. Women never touch the drum.

The hewing of a drum is considered an art, or even a closed profession. One who has not learned from his family will not attempt such a project. In spite of the great range in size, the drums of the tribes of Central Congo that the author has seen differ very little as to the general pattern. After a section of a tree has been cut the desired length (usually between three or four feet), the hewer flattens off a base so that the drum will lie stable. Next he slopes up each end so the drum rests only on the middle. Then on the top side a strip five or six inches wide is smoothed off. Along this strip two slots, two or three inches wide, extending to within five inches of each end of the drum, are chiseled out. In the middle they are joined by a very narrow slot so that two "lips" about four inches long are left. From the two larger slots the inside of the log is removed, leaving only a shell of hard wood. The shell is left thicker on one side than on the other, and this gives the two tones corresponding to the tones of the spoken language.

To send a message the sender stands on the side of the drum that has the lower tone. (Representatives from two tribes say that he stands on the high-tone side.) With a stick of light pulpy wood

(called bombambo) in each hand, he beats rhythmically, alternating between the high and low tones according to the words he wishes to say. Those who are especially proficient in the art of "talking" with the drum usually hum the message, thus keeping time with the beats.

The two tones are about a musical third apart and might be designated "do" and "mi." In this article the notations used for transcribing messages are: MmDd. The first, M, is high tone on right side; second, m, high tone on left side; D is low tone on right side; and fourth, d, low tone left side. Italicized tones indicate stress. Different individuals may beat the same call changing the right- and left-handed strokes, but so long as the proper tone is struck and the rhythm is maintained, each will be understood perfectly. In some calls there are simultaneous beats on both the high and low tones, producing a middle tone with considerable stress. These have not been italicized because it is the two beats that produce the stress rather than heavier strokes on the part of the beater. Such simultaneous notes are indicated by parentheses.

There is very little resonance to the drum, and the beats must of necessity all be staccato. The message is divided into phrases and the corresponding drum-code set opposite each phrase. This method has one defect in that it does not show the rhythm accurately. There is no standard tempo. Just as one person may talk more rapidly than another, so he may beat the drum with a quicker time.

The wording of the message on the drum is usually longer than the oral statement of the same message. For example, the name of one of the author's informants is Ekebe Jacob. However, his drum name is:

efoma ntolaka la nkesa, Ekebe is'ea Bidzo	dMdMmMdMm cdMdMddM
--	-----------------------

Coffin is not brought out (of forest) in the morning,
Ekebe, father of Bidzo.

All of the men of importance in the village have drum names. In fact, no evidence has been found to show that any man is forbidden to choose a drum name for himself. As may be seen from the above example, the drum name of a person usually consists of a motto (which usually describes some characteristic of the individual) fol-

lowed by his spoken name. The drum name of the village of Bolenge is:

Bolenge wa kala kala basek'Elenge	dDdMDdDd dMMdM
--------------------------------------	-------------------

Bolenge of long ago
people of (it also means children of) Elenge.

It must be borne in mind that the drum language has never before been transcribed, and like the folk tales there is little emphasis on verbal accuracy. This fact adds to the difficulty the novice encounters in comprehending the various codes. Two individuals may send the same communication with slight modifications in the wording. Some persons add extra beats between phrases in order to maintain the proper rhythm. This is doubly confusing to the learner.

As to the types of messages that were sent on the drum, there seems to be unanimous agreement that in former times the chief purpose of the drum was to call people together for fighting. However, when the occasion demanded, it was possible to inform neighboring villages of any incident.

At the beginning of all messages a certain series of beats is used to call attention to the drum. The same series is repeated when the message is finished. The sender may pause at intervals between phrases, but the hearer will continue to listen until he "signs off." In former days MMMMMMD preceded and ended a call to fight. Now it means only attention, but is most commonly used with assembly calls. Other calls are usually introduced and ended by MmMmMmMm or some variation of it. These beats will not be included in the following calls, but it must be remembered that attention must be called to the fact that a message is about to be sent if people are to be expected to hear what is "said" without missing part of it.

There are many variations of assembly calls, but the following is a typical one:

esombe langangala	DmMmMm
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The shaman is in full regalia.

The call may be repeated in rapid succession as many times as desired and has the significance of a bell. It is also used as the evening curfew on stations occupied by white men.

When one awakes in the morning he may send greetings to a friend or "say" farewell to his bed:

itoko la mbete ochikalakaoo ddMdM_mdMdDdM

Mat and bed, "goodbye."

This may be followed by greetings to his friends, or he may tell of his plans for the day. For example, if he wished to say "good morning" to the chief he would add it to the above message:

Bongese is'ea Ntuka ddMdMdMm

boseka jokulaka dDd(dM)dDd

betswo oetswo dMddMd

Bongese father of Ntuka
companion of elders
are you awake? are you awake?

If he wished to add a special honor he might ask for the chief's motto:

nkosangela te losako M_dDdD_ddMd

I say to you, Salaam.

The chief would not reply with his motto but would say:

ambyaka lotefela MMMdM_dD

choka fole fole fole. MddMdMdM

Cease speaking.

We hear clearly.

When one has been visiting his friends and has started home his host may send him a farewell greeting while he is on the way. He will "say" after calling the name of his friend:

nkosesa beseso M_dMddMd
ochwaka okendakao d(dM)ddMdDdM

I say farewell to you
(farewell greetings) you go? you are going?

A morning greeting to the Belgian government official is:

ikongo ifonge kukola dDdMMdMdDd

baseka Ntange dMMdM

oetswo oetswo olenk'anko dMddMdMdM

A stinging caterpillar is not good disturbed
people of Ntange;
are you awake? are you awake? are you there?

Ntange (bed) was the native name of one of the early officials in this section of Congo. Many Europeans who have spent a long time in Congo and are highly respected by the natives have been given drum names. The personal name precedes "ikongo ifonge kukola," which is applied to all Europeans.

On some occasions, when it was necessary to send word secretly to another village, the name of Europeans was changed to:

ejim'ondele boseka jokulaka dMdMmdDd(dM)dDd

Venerable white man companion of chiefs.

This was done to prevent the native soldiers or assistants of the white man from intercepting the message.

The call to bring people together to fight is:

ki ki ki ki ki ki	<i>MMMMMD</i>
bokumba kelekwa	<i>ddMdMM</i>
okemyaka loke lokolo	<i>dMdMMdDd</i>
ki ki ki ki ki	<i>MMMD</i>
bobala boikongo la ngilima	<i>dDddMdMdMdM</i>
okanaka ntolote	<i>dMdMMdM</i>
ki ki ki ki ki	<i>MMMMMD</i>

Make the drum strong;
strengthen your legs,
spear, shaft and head,
and the noise of moving feet;
think not to run away.

If one wished to warn his friends in a neighboring village that men were going to fight with them, or during the rubber war days if soldiers were coming, he would call the name of the village and then say:

loalaka lonselenge	<i>DdDdDmMm</i>
etaf'eteta	<i>dMMMd</i>

Behold they are on the path.
The branch is breaking.

A call that one hears very often in the evening is a farewell greeting to the sun:

bongolo ngolo bojefa	<i>dMmMmMMd</i>
osalaki lifeta nda loola	<i>MmMmDdDMdMD</i>

akendaki bonteke biekinsanse	MdMMMdDd(dM)dMM
nkesa nkesa	MmMm
mbile mbile	dMdM
bokolo bosokita	dDdMdDd
ochwaka okendakao	d(dM)ddDddM

Shining sun, who has made a dwelling in the sky,
 who has gone to the concourse of counsel,
all morning,
all day,
evening comes,
you are going,
good-bye.

The call for men to go hunting is:

tolenk'ane nde	MddM
kala kala kala kala	DdDdDdDd
bopele pele bojende	čDdDdMdD
bojanga nda lisoko	čMdMdMd
empeta nda lokondo	čDdMddM
tolanga lofiko lonyama	MdddMdMdD
lole nda tonkilingonda	ddMdMmDd
tosalaki mpambe la mboloko	MmMmdMdMmM
tofolange bekisanse mbil'ene	MMdMddMdMdMM
betema besoowa la nzala	dMdMdMMdDd
bele nde fole fole	ddMdMdM

We have been here
 since long ago,
 men with nets on shoulders,
 knives at their sides,
 we want some meat
 which is in the forest
 where the antelopes lived (drum name for forest)
 we don't want to stay at home today,
 our stomachs are dying of hunger.
 They are empty.

If they had a successful hunt the neighboring villages will be told
 about it thus:

tokema bolo bolo bolo	MMdMmMmMm
toosena balongo safala	MdMddMMdDd
lofiko lonyama jimaka	
tonkilingonda	dMdMdDMmMmdMmDd
tosalaki mpambe la mboloko	MmMmdMdMmM

lofiko lonyamaoleka nd'onanga dMdMdDMddMdM
 teleke teleke dDddDd

We feel strong,
 we have seen blood spilled
 about some meat from the forest,
 some meat goes to the village.

When people in another village hear the call they may reply:

tosoka fole fole fole	MMddMdMdM
lonchikelaka lofiko lonyama	dMdDddMdMdD
betema besoowa la nzala	dMdMdMMdDd
bele nde fole fole	ddMdMdM
loalaka lonselenge	DdDddMmM
tole nda mboka	ddMMd

We hear clearly,
 save some meat for me,
 stomachs are dying of hunger,
 they are empty.
 Behold they are on the path.
 We are on the path.

If one wishes to buy some fish he may call to a fisherman,

elinga l'enjale	dMMdMm
talotefelake la nkesa	dDMmMmdMm
lombonge lokombwa	dDdMdD
osangela (bolengo bochwaki	
lifeta nda loola)	dDdDddMddMMdDdMdM
oalaka lonselenge	DdDdDdMmM
tole nda mboka	ddMMd
ochikelaka beningo la nkaka	dMdDdddMdDd
besalaki lifeta elinga l'enjale	MmMmMdDdMMdMm
botema bosoowa la nzala	dMdMdMMdDd
bele nde fole fole	ddMdMdM

River,
 do not speak in morning
 until the fog lifts,
 tell (name of Bontaci, a Bolenge fisherman)
 behold they are on the path.
 We are on the path.
 Save the minnows.
 Our stomachs are dying of hunger.
 They are empty.

The fisherman may send a reply, and if the fish are all gone he will say:

beningo la nkaka basosimba	ddMdDdMdMd
bosila fe fe	MdMdMM

The minnows are all finished.

When the chief calls the men out to do special work he will say:

bopele pele bojende	dDdDdMdD
lotakana lotakana	dMmMdMmM
tokende benteke biesala	MdDdDdMdMm

Men,
come together, come together,
let us go to work.

If the occasion demands he may tell the people what the work is to be. For example, if a house is to be roofed the call is as follows:

bopele pele bojende	dDdDdMdD
loetswo loetswo	dMddMd
joka fole fole	MddMdM
lokeko lokomak'ampulu ja	
lonkoko	dMdmMmMdMdMdd
njesangela te,	MdDdDd
la nkesa la mpombola	dMmdDdD
tekendake tonkilingonda	ddMMdMmDd
tekendake elinga l'enjale	ddMMdMMMdMm
tole nda bonteke wa bosala	ddMdDdMdMm
totela tolombe	MMdMdD
lotakana lotakana	dMmMdMmM
la nkesa la mpombola totela	
tolombe	dMmdDdDMMdMdD

Men, are you awake?
Listen! (Name of another man, Lonkoko)
I say to you,
in the morning at dawn
do not go to the forest,
do not go to the river.
We are at work.
We are roofing houses.
Come together, come together,
in the morning at dawn
we will roof some houses.

When it is necessary for the chief to call a council of the elders of the village he will say:

lotakana lotakana	dMmMdMmM
tekendake elinga l'enjale	ddMMdMMdMm
tekendake tonkilingonda	ddMMdMmDd
tolanga nde benteke beetefela	
mposo	MddMdDdMdDdD
bimaki ikongo ifonge kukola	MmMmdDdMMdMdDd
baseka ntange	dMMdM

Come together, come together;
 do not go to the river,
 do not go to the forest,
 we want some meetings
 to talk over affairs
 from the government officials.

The call for men and women to come to school in the morning is:

bopele pele bojende	dDdDdMdD
boseka woliana	dDdMdMdD
loetswo loetswo	dMddMd
tokende bonteke wa sukulu	MdDdDdMdMd
tofolange benteke b'itoko la	
mbete	MMdMdDd(dM)dMdMm

Men and women
 are you awake? Are you awake?
 let us go to school.
 We do not want meeting with mat and bed.

The call to a Protestant church service is:

(ikongo ifonge kukola	dDdMMdMdDd
baseka engambe ea njambola)	
lotakana lotakana	dMMdMdMdMmMdMmMdM
tokende bonteke bolosambo	MdDdDdMdMd
bole nda ikongo ifonge kukola	ddMdDdMMdMdDd
(Protestants)	
come together, come together.	
Let us go to the church service	
which is where the white man is found.	

The Catholic call differs only in the name for Catholics which is:

etaf'enjolo baseka mpelu dMdMmdMMdD

Strong branch children of fathers

The call to bring people to plays and dances is:

bolenge wa kala kala	dDdMDdDd
basck'elenge	dMMMdM
lokema bolo bolo	dMdMmMm
tofolange benteke bitoko la mbete	MMdMdDd(dM)dMdMm
tolanga nde benteke bolokolo	MddMdDdMdDd
bopele pele bojende	dDdDdMdD
boseka woliana elenge l'onkosi	dDdMdMdDddMdMd
tososila felele	dMddMmM
toleka kala kala	MddMDdDd
itoko la mbete ochikalaka	ddMdMmdMdDd

Bolenge, strengthen yourselves,
we don't like meetings with mat and bed.
We want gatherings for dancing.
Men, women, children,
we have all gone.
We left long ago.
Mat and bed remain behind.

During the dance a steady rhythm is maintained on the drum as follows:

DmMmDmMm

Other types of drums are used for accompaniment also.

If the affair is a drinking feast the following is the call used:

batoko fala fala fala	ddMdDdDdD
tokema bolo bolo bolo	MMdMmMmMm
benteke bimbongolo nkombola	dDd(dM)dMdMd
tomelo benteke bimbongolonkombola	MdDdDd(dM)dMdMdD
bale nda likutu bolo bolo bolo kwo	ddMdMdMmMmMm(dM)
tomelo kwo kotuku kwo	MdD(dM)MmM(dM)
tomelo mbole kwo kotu ku kwo	MdDdM(dM)MmM(dM)
etaf'enjolo	dMdMm
bonanga bokendaki la mbanza lokalak'engongo	dDdMdMmdDddMdMM
tomela nkesa nkesa nkesa	MdDMmMmMm
tomela mbile mbile mbile	MdDdMdMdM
betafosila	dMdMMd
bele nda likutu bolo bolo	ddMdMdMmMm

The mats are rolled up,
 we strengthen ourselves at drinking feasts,
 let us drink, drinking bouts.
 It is strong in the pots,
 [let us drink(kwo etc.) cannot be translated. Possibly archaic words.]
 (Name of man giving the feast), you are thirsty
 We drink in the morning
 We drink all day.
 It is not finished.
 It is strong in the pots.

If a man is lost in the forest his friends will call to him:

tonkilingonda tosalaki mpambe	dMmDdMmMmdM
tetefelake	DdMmMm
loyala fole fole fole	dDddMdMdM
kela chesangele imposo nda lokole	dMdMdMmdDdMddM
losangelaka (ilonga ndengela is'ea'benge)	dDdDddMdMmMdMdM
tandema la mboka	MmMmMd
tofokena osokela mo	MMdMddMdMd
okendaki tonkilingonda	MdMmdMmDd
nkesa nkesa mbile mbile	MmMmdMdM
bokolo bookita	dDdMdDd
tofokena ol'enko	MMdMddMd
tandema la mboka	MmMmMd
teo tokendake itoko la mbete	MdddMMddMdMm
tonkilingonda	dMmDd
itoko la mbete ile nda bobila wa fole fole fole	ddMdMmddMdDdMdMdM
tandema la mboka	MmMmMd
teo toketaki kolo kolo	MdMdMmMMmMm
toketaki kala kala tofokena	MdMmMDdDdMMdM
osokela mo	ddMdMd

Forest, where the gazelle labored,
 do not speak,
 remain quiet,
 let us tell you in the voice on the drum.
 Tell, (drum name of certain man),
 come onto the trail
 We don't see you,
 what are you doing?
 You went into the forest,
 all morning, all day,

evening falls,
 we don't see you, where are you?
 Get onto the trail.
 Come, do not go to mat and bed in the forest.
 Mat and bed are in the open village.
 Come.
 We called you constantly.
 We called you long ago.
 We don't see you.
 Where are you?

In case a person is seriously ill the relatives will be called, thus:

bakanga ba kala kala basek'	dMMMMdDdDdMMdD
ompanga	DdMmMmdMm
talotefelake la nkesa	dDdMDdD
lombonge lokombwa	
losangelaka bolengo ochwaki	
lifeta nda loola	dDdDddMdMmMdDdMdMd
toketa	MMdM
tandema la mboka	MmMmMd
teo bielo losika ja waji	MddMddDdMmM
afokende la mpamba la bolo	MMdMddMdMm
ale nd'itoko la mbete	ddMddMdMm
ale nde tompole	ddMdDd
tokendake benteke biekisanse	
elinga l'enjale	ddMMdDddMdMdMdMMdMm
tandema la mboka	MmMmMd
tambola kwa kwa	MmMdd
te tokinake lokole	MddMMddM

Bakanga (name of village across the river from Bolenge),
 do not speak in the morning,
 the fog is lifting.
 Tell (name of man)
 we are calling you.
 Come.
 Your wife is sick.
 She has no strength.
 She is on a mat and bed.
 She is indeed unable to care for herself.
 Do not go fishing.
 Come.
 Come quickly.
 Do not overlook the drum.

At the birth of a child, if it is a boy the call is:

batoko fala fala	ddMdDdD
tokema bolo bolo bopele pele	MMdMmMmdDdDd
bojende bokataka likonga la	
nguwa	MdDdMMMddMdDd
imaki tonkilingonda	MmMmdMmDd
ale nda bobila wa fole fole	ddMdDdMdMdM
asokoka l'isika koke koke	MdDddMMMdMdM

The mats are rolled up,
we feel strong,
a man who holds a spear and a shield
came from the forest.
He is in the open village,
That is enough for this time.

If the child is a girl the call differs only in the name of woman instead of that of man. To repeat the whole call it is,

batoko fala fala	ddMdDdD
tokema bolo bolo	MmdMmMm
boseka woliana	dDdMdMdd
imaki tonkilingonda	MmMmdMmDd
ale nda bobila wa fole fole	ddMdDdMdMdM
asokoka l'isika koke koke	MdDddMMMdMdM

The mats are rolled up,
we feel strong,
a woman
came from the forest,
she is in the open village.
That is enough for this time.

If twins are born the regular call is given with the following added:

ocio bicho ocho bichcho MdMdMdMdd

This is not translatable; it is possibly archaic.

At the death of a man the call is:

bopele pele bojende asowa	dDdDdMdDMdM
tokaka tokali	dMMddM
tosoka bonkita nkele nkele nkele	MdMddMdDdDdDd

A man has died,
the feet are turned up.
We feel heart sorrow.

When a certain young man of Bolenge village who was a fisherman died, the following call was given to bring his friends to the funeral plays:

Ilangi lofoso y'ongonda	MdMdDdMdDD
la nkesa la mpombolo	dMmdDdD
tofolange benteke biesala	MMMdMdDdMdMm
tolanga bonteke bolokolo bole nda	
elinga l'enjale baenga	MdDdDdMdDdddMdMMdMmdMd
basaki l'okala bopele pele	MdMMMdDddDdDd
bojende bosalaki lifeta bolenge	
wa kala kala	MdDMmMmdDddDdMDdDd
tekendake tonkilingonda	dJMMMdMmDd
tekendake beningo la nkaka	
elinga l'enjale	dJMMMdDdDddMMdMm
tolanga bonteke bolokolo bole	
nda elinga l'enjale	MdDdDdMdDdddMdMMdMm
la nkesa la mpombolo	dMmdDdD
Bongonda, the sub-chief,	
in the morning at dawn	
we do not want gatherings for work,	
we want a meeting of play on the river.	
Men who live in Bolenge	
do not go to the forest,	
do not go fishing.	
We want a meeting of play on the river	
in the morning at dawn.	

The calls recorded serve to show the principal underlying the drum language. To give all of the possible combinations of words and messages would require a large volume. As was stated in the beginning one seldom finds two persons who beat messages in exactly the same order. In fact the same person often changes the wording of a message. The calls given above, although few, are sufficient to show the variety of messages which are sent on the drum. However, the wealth of possible combinations would make a more exhaustive study very worth while.

FACTORS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF SUCCESS IN MARRIAGE

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ABSTRACT

The present article attempts to explain the marked negative skewness found in the distribution of success in marriage of a sample of 252 individuals, as reported in an earlier article. Age, income, education, and absence of children must be discarded as explanatory factors of success in marriage in the present sample. A negatively skewed curve is probably normal for distribution of marital satisfaction, but this skewness is exaggerated in the present study by the instrument used and by psychological selective factors. The Appendix suggests that a periodic relationship may obtain between number of years' duration of marriage and marital satisfaction; that a parabolic relationship exists between the difference in age of the spouses and marital satisfaction; that a negative relationship may exist between age of men at marriage and their marital satisfaction; and that the first child is more of a disturbing factor with men than the second child.

In an earlier article, on the distribution of success in marriage,¹ a marked negative skewness (approximately $-.759$) was reported to exist in the distribution of "marital satisfaction," as measured by an instrument designed to measure success in marriage,² in a sample of 252 individuals. The question was raised in that article as to whether this type of curve—a negatively skewed one—was truly representative of the general population or whether it was due to peculiarities of the sample studied. In the present article this problem will be discussed in an attempt to account for the nature of the curve found.

We may first examine the influence of the various factors with regard to which we know definitely that our sample is biased, such as age, economic status, number of children, and education.³ If we find that any of these variables influence the success of marriage (as indicated by score on a measuring instrument), we may then apply this information to an explanation of the curve. If we find that these variables do not influence success of marriage, as above defined, we

¹ See "The Distribution of Success in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 194-203 (September, 1933).

² "An Instrument for the Measurement of Success in Marriage," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII, 94-106 (May, 1933).

³ See the article cited in footnote 1 above, p. 194, for a description of the sample.

shall then be obliged to look to other factors to explain the distribution.

With respect to age, we know that our sample is younger than the population as a whole. If high scores on an instrument for the measurement of success in marriage are correlated with youth, this might help to explain the skewness in our distribution. In the case of women, this correlation (between score on the instrument and age) is $-.24$, with an error of $-.08$;⁴ in the case of men, it is $-.29$, with an error of $.09$. These correlations, low as they are, taken in conjunction with Hamilton's similar findings, seem to represent a real fact.⁵ But

⁴ Standard error given in all cases.

⁵ Hamilton found that his subjects remembered the first years of their married life as the happiest (G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage* [1929]). (The common viewpoint is quite the opposite. See Goodwin Watson and Geraldine Green, "Scientific Studies and Personal Opinion on Sex Questions," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVII, 139 [July-September, 1932]. In this study Watson found that only 22 per cent of the students questioned with regard to this point guessed that happiness would decrease with age; whereas 43 per cent "thought those married more than five years more apt to be satisfied with marriage.") This seems contrary to other known facts. In 1930, marriages of four years or less duration contributed 37 per cent of all divorces granted in the United States (*Marriage and Divorce, 1930* [Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census], p. 33). In the present sample, known to be younger than the population at large, marriages of this duration constitute only 30.5 per cent of the total. This means that in the general population marriages of four years or less duration constitute less than 30.5 per cent of all marriages. Yet they contribute 37 per cent of all divorces—at least 6.5 per cent more than they should. By and large, therefore, these young marriages ought to score lower than older ones. How can the foregoing facts be reconciled to the findings secured by Hamilton and by the present author? We must appeal to the nature of the selection in such studies. If one could secure a perfectly random sample of all marriages, the negative correlation of happiness in marriage and age might disappear; or at least a much more complex type of relationship might emerge. But the high turnover in young marriages seems automatically to exclude them from a sample. Thus, dissatisfied couples are selected out of a sample in the earlier age groups, but they are selected into it in the older age groups. It is known that older people are less likely than younger to resort to divorce. In the present sample, 15.3 per cent of the marriages were of twenty or more years' duration; yet marriages of this class contributed only 10.2 per cent of all divorces in 1930. Marriages of five to nine, ten to fourteen, and fifteen to nineteen years constitute 28.2 per cent, 16.1 per cent, and 10.7 per cent of the present sample and contributed 28.7 per cent, 15.8 per cent, and 8.3 per cent, respectively, of all divorces in 1930. At a younger age many of the dissatisfied people might have sought divorce; but the home-providing function of marriage probably seems more important when they grow older, so they remain married, even though not actually satisfied with their spouses. Also, there are other primary-group satisfactions derived from children and other family connections which supplement those derived from spouses. It is, therefore, not altogether illogical to find a negative correlation between marriage happiness and age.

they are much too low to account for the marked negative skewness of our curve.⁶

A second variable with regard to which we know our sample to be non-normal is absence of children. Bi-serial correlation, however, between score on the measuring instrument and absence of children indicated no relationship at all.⁷ The Yule coefficient of colligation for women's scores (using above and below average as the division point) and absence of children was also zero.⁸ Clearly, our curve can be explained no more in terms of this variable than in terms of the age distribution of the sample.

Two other factors remain to be examined for their influence on score, namely, economic status, or income,⁹ and education. No relationship was found to exist in the present sample between the first of these, that is, income, and marital success as measured by the instrument. It may be, of course, that here, as in the case of the presence or absence of children, the true relationship is too complex and subtle for the somewhat mechanical logic of correlation to reveal. The influence of income is relative to a standard, and we have no way of determining the standard with our limited data. Nevertheless, when we consider the relative homogeneity of the present sam-

⁶ Especially since, if income is held constant by partial correlation, the coefficient of correlation is reduced to $-.22$ for men. This indicates a probability, however small, that the relationship found is a chance one.

⁷ For women, $-.09$; for men, $+.05$.

⁸ This seems contrary to other well-established facts. Dickinson, for example, found that non-complaining marriages had more children than complaining ones (Robert Latou Dickinson, "Medical Analysis of a Thousand Marriages," reprinted from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, XCIVII, 6 [August 21, 1931]). Also, we know that divorces are more frequent among the childless than among couples with children (Groves and Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relations* [New York, 1928], p. 351). In the Dickinson sample, however, many of the cases came to his attention because of sterility. As for divorce, it may be that the presence of children keeps men and women together long after they themselves have ceased to derive any personal-satisfaction from the relationship, on the theory that at least the children are benefiting by the maintenance of family integrity. This would mean that unhappiness among childless couples is selected out more readily than among those with children, so that whatever the real relationship between marital happiness and children may be, it is obscured by this fact.

⁹ The income figures, as stated by the subjects, were accepted at their face value. Where there were marked discrepancies in the figures as reported by husband and wife, the case was discarded. Three families reported no income, that is, an income of zero. The study was made in 1931-32, and income figures are as of that period.

ple, we might almost consider the income-score correlations to be partial correlations, social status being held constant. In any event, however, we cannot use the slight economic superiority of our sample to explain the skewness of our curve.

We come, then, to the influence of education,¹⁰ the variable with respect to which our sample is most abnormal. Here, again, correlation failed to reveal any connection between score on the instrument and number of years of education. The most important implication of this conclusion, if it should prove true upon further checking, has to do not with the present study, however, but with future ones. Studies of normal families, depending, as they must, upon voluntary co-operation, will probably always select an exceptionally intelligent, well-educated group.¹¹ Average people can seldom mobilize their intelligence and emotions sufficiently to co-operate in a study of family relations, dealing, as such studies so frequently do, with emotional sore spots. If education were itself an important factor in making for marital adjustment, the conclusions from such studies would lack generality. If it is not, however, we may take the results of these studies as probably valid for lower educational strata of the population also.

We have now examined the four variables with respect to which we know definitely that our sample is non-normal, and we have found that not one of them is itself sufficiently correlated with marital adjustment, as measured by the instrument in question, to permit of its use in explaining the nature of our curve. Four possible hypotheses are open to us as a result of these findings. They are: first, that the true distribution of success in marriage is normal but that the instrument used in the present experiment produced the skewness; second, that the distribution of success in marriage is normal but

¹⁰ Education was measured in terms of the number of years of schooling. If a person reported simply "B.A. degree" or "high-school graduate," he was credited with 16 or 12 years, respectively.

¹¹ Dr. Adolf Meyer, in discussing Dickinson's paper already referred to, speaks with implied criticism of the "self-chosen volunteers" in the marriage studies of Drs. Davis and Hamilton (*loc. cit.*, p. 16). But even Dickinson's cases were selected ones. Indeed, they were a selection (cases where psychological as well as medical data were available) of a selection (cases brought to the attention of a physician). Some selection is inevitable. The best way to handle it is to recognize it and to learn to measure its influence.

that sampling errors produced the skewness; third, that the true distribution of success in marriage is actually skewed; and, finally, that the distribution of success in marriage is skewed but that the instrument used and sampling errors tend to exaggerate the skewness.

With respect to the first of these hypotheses, we have already admitted that the present instrument is not adequately discriminating in the upper-score brackets.¹² It is extremely difficult to construct an instrument based on attitudes that will be thus adequately discriminating.¹³ The not-quite adjusted, the adjusted, and the well adjusted all register equally on practically all items, for there is almost nothing a well-adjusted person will say about his wife (or her husband) that many not-quite adjusted persons will not also say about their spouses. Thus, fine degrees of adjustment in the upper-score brackets are difficult to discriminate on the basis of attitudinal instruments.¹⁴ This accounts in part for the skewness in the present study. But other factors tending to produce skewness must also be considered.

Although we have examined all the known biases in our sample and found none of them sufficiently correlated with high scores to warrant explaining our distribution in terms of them, we cannot thus dismiss the problem of sampling errors. If we turn to Figure 1, showing the distribution of marital satisfaction of the 221 non-clinical persons, and draw in free hand a curve which seems best to describe the distribution, we notice that the points of greatest discrepancy between the actual and the theoretical curves lie above and below the success-failure point,¹⁵ that is, above indifference,¹⁶ but below average. Between scores of 50 and 75, approximately, the curve

¹² See "An Instrument for the Measurement of Success in Marriage," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII, 98-99.

¹³ Every type of attitudinal instrument experimented with so far has shown this same defect. A system of differential weighting, based on, say, personality type, or some other criterion, may ultimately be required to overcome this difficulty.

¹⁴ Another type of instrument, based on similarity or dissimilarity of interests rather than on attitudes, may prove more discriminating in the upper-score brackets. Such an instrument is in process of experimentation.

¹⁵ This point, about 66 for women and 68 for men, was computed, it will be recalled, on the basis of Dr. Davis' findings. See the article cited in footnote 1 above.

¹⁶ By analogy with true-false tests, 50 was taken as the indifference point.

seems suspiciously irregular and steep. From this we may conclude that, although there was undoubtedly drastic selection throughout the whole score range, because of the human aversion toward such instruments, there was a special and peculiar selection in addition which fell most heavily at certain psychological points. Men and women whose marital adjustment was precarious, that is, below average but above indifference, were probably selected out more rigorously than those above or below them.¹⁷ We may picture them

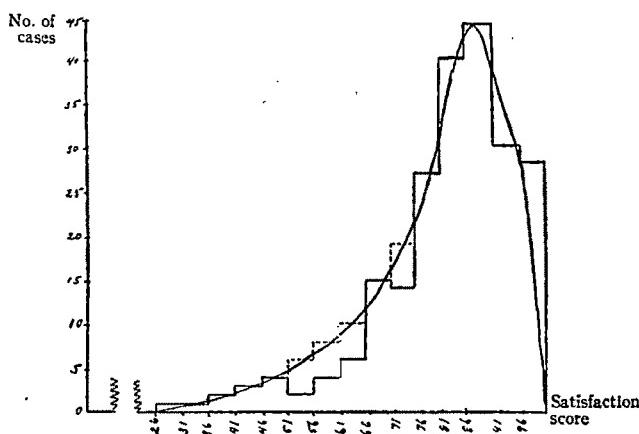


FIG. 1.—Distribution of marital satisfaction of 221 men and women, excluding clinical cases. The dotted lines indicate marginal cases which were probably selected out.

as declining to undergo the emotional strain of reopening conflict situations for the sake of a scientific study which could have no meaning for them personally. They would not, therefore, appear in

¹⁷ This group is probably selected out of all voluntary studies of marriage. They are marginal people. Perhaps they think of divorce upon occasion but never quite make up their minds to it. From the point of view of adjustment they may endure more actual mental suffering than the very low-scoring individuals because, after all, there is a certain amount of relief in admitting that one's marriage is a failure. The marginal group constitute an important sector of the marriage curve, one that deserves intensive study. It would be valuable to learn the maladjustment symptoms of marriage at this critical point. The following case given by Groves (*Marriage* [New York, 1933]) may be typical of these marginal cases: "Recently I was consulted by a husband whose first knowledge that his wife was dissatisfied came to him several years after their marriage when, upon her return from a visit she had made to a neighboring city, she announced to him that she was leaving him for good and all and, whether he divorced her or not, was going to

the sample. This selective factor, if it operated as thus described, would also help to some extent to explain our negatively skewed curve.

There remains, however, another possibility to be considered in explaining our curve. With our present concepts of adjustment and maladjustment, and with our present instruments, based on these concepts, a skewed curve may be—in fact, seems inevitably to be—normal for adjustment-maladjustment series. For example, the norms given for the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, as of September, 1932, indicate a curve skewed toward maladjustment (neuroticism).¹⁸ Similarly, the Thurstones' distribution of maladjustment among college Freshmen shows a like skewness.¹⁹ This is not strange. As has been repeatedly pointed out,²⁰ adjustment is so common, so taken-for-granted, that it is only when maladjustments occur that we even become conscious of it.²¹ Our criteria of adjustment, therefore, are such that a very large proportion of people can pass them. We referred to this fact above, but we may repeat it again in the present connection. An instrument that would show a normal distribution for adjustment series would have to be made up of items all of which would split a random sample on a fifty-fifty basis. That is, half of a random sample would answer *yes* and half would

live with another man. No husband could have had a greater surprise, for although there had been for many months on her part a rapidly increasing dissatisfaction, it had not been expressed in such a way as either to attract his attention or give him any warning of what was about to happen" (pp. 85-86). A similar case in the present sample was rated 60 by Dr. Popenoe and 74 by the instrument.

¹⁸ For adult men the range is -200 to 165 (negative scores indicate adjustment in all series), with the median at -75. For adult women the range is -180 to 150, with the median at -27.5. For college men the range is -200 to 170, with the median at -70. For college women the range is -185 to 150, with the median at -7.5.

¹⁹ Range, 0-135; mode, 30. See L. L. Thurstone and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone, "A Neurotic Inventory," *Journal of Social Psychology*, I, 17 (February, 1930).

²⁰ M. M. Willey, in Davis and Barnes, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1927), pp. 495-501.

²¹ The psychology of this is not difficult to understand. As Bernard (*An Introduction to Social Psychology* [New York, 1926], pp. 159-60) has pointed out, we tend to be much more conscious of unpleasant situations than of pleasant ones, since unpleasantness is by its very nature interference with or conflict of organic processes.

answer *no* to each item.²² Now, unless one has himself actually tried to find items which would do this, it is hard to realize how difficult it is. The reason for this fact, if our hypothesis is correct, is that our very concept of adjustment implies criteria that most people can measure up to. More than 50 per cent of a random sample, in other words, can truthfully answer *yes* to almost any individual question we can now formulate, with our present concept of adjustment; and, conversely, less than 50 per cent can truthfully answer *no* to almost any individual question we can formulate indicating maladjustment. Thus, not only our instruments for the measurement of adjustment and maladjustment, but also our very concepts of these processes themselves, are important and perhaps determining factors in producing the characteristically skewed distribution found in this type of series.

The fourth hypothesis mentioned above would seem, therefore, to be the most tenable. According to this hypothesis, the true distribution of success in marriage is skewed toward maladjustment, but this tendency is exaggerated in the present sample by the instrument used and by sampling errors. So long as available data do not warrant any more specific conclusions, this may be considered a legitimate hypothesis, worthy at least of further testing.

APPENDIX

Although the factors discussed in the main body of this article—age, absence of children, income, and education—showed little, if any, relationship to success in marriage as measured by the instrument used in the present study, certain other factors, with respect to which we have no way of knowing how normal or non-normal our sample is, did show rather interesting relationships. Figure 2, for example, shows the average score of the men according to the number of years' duration of the marriage. The linear correlation between these variables is $-.34$, with a standard error of .09. Figure 3 shows the corresponding relationship between average score for women and number of years' duration of the marriage. Here the linear correlation is $-.27$. Interestingly enough, a free-hand periodic curve—of the type $y=f(\sin x)$ —beginning at the second time interval (5–10 years' duration of marriage)—increases the correlation index in the case of women to $.47$, with an error of .09. It has no such effect in the case of men. The general shape of the curves in both Figures 2 and 3, however, sug-

²² For the theoretical considerations underlying this statement see any standard work on tests and measurement.

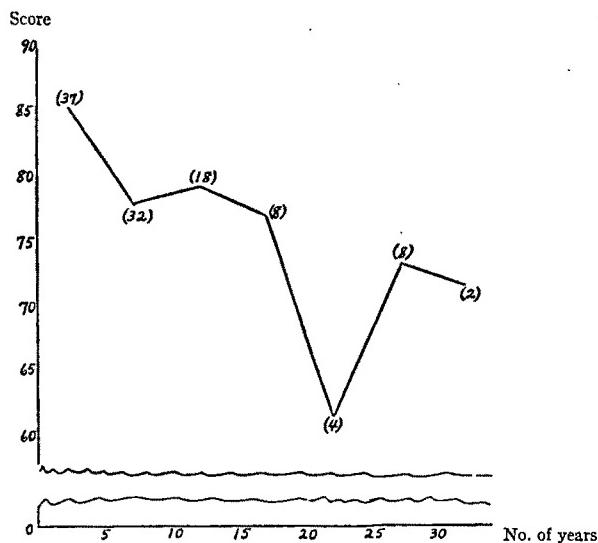


FIG. 2.—Average score of marital satisfaction of men according to the number of years married. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

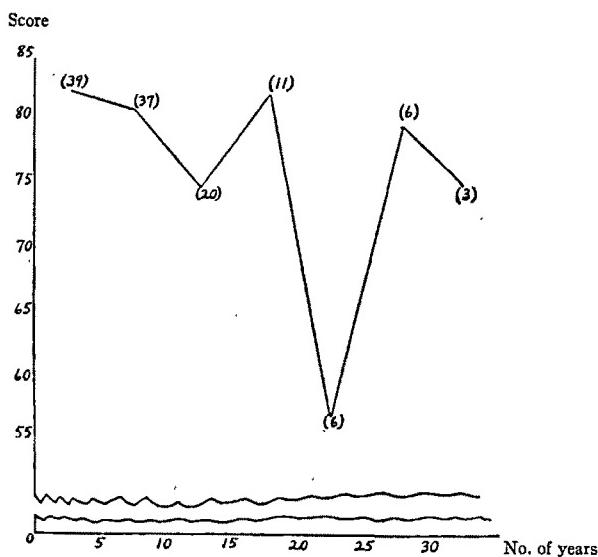


FIG. 3.—Average score of marital satisfaction of women according to the number of years married. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

gests the following hypothesis. There may be in the natural history of marriage—at least in the social class from which the present sample was drawn—certain crisis periods, after ten years of marriage with women, somewhat earlier with men, and with both after twenty years, as indicated by the drops in the curves. Each of these crisis periods may tend to select out the unsuccessful marriages, so that there is a corresponding rebound in the general average for the next time-interval. Kimball Young and C. L. Dedrick found in Wisconsin that the average duration of marriages ending in divorce was about ten years, tending to confirm the existence of the first crisis period (see "Variation in the Duration of Marriages which End in Divorce, with Special Reference to the State of Wisconsin," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVII, 160-67 [June, 1932]). (See also the interesting discussion in E. R. Mowrer's *Family Disorganization*, pp. 84-87, 119). The precise relationship is complex. In a more recent study, using an altogether different class of subjects, with different selective factors operating (the "new poor"), the linear correlation between scores of women and duration of marriage, in marriages of from four to fifteen years' duration, was $-.26$; and in marriages of from sixteen to thirty-two years' duration, it was $-.32$. The consistently negative correlations indicate some sort of negative relationship between these variables. The low values of these correlations indicate that there are other complicating factors also involved.

Another interesting relationship was revealed between difference in age between husband and wife and marital satisfaction as measured on the present instrument. Figure 4 shows the average score of women according to the difference in age between their husbands and themselves. Where the wife was older than the husband, the difference was considered negative. A free-hand curve (of the type $(x-h)^2 = -2p(y-k)$) gives a correlation index of .60, with an error of .06, indicating that such a parabola fits the data rather well. For the men (Fig. 5) the axes of the parabola must be rotated toward the left through an angle of about 10° . In terms of the data themselves, these facts indicate that in the present sample the women were most satisfied with their husbands when their husbands were from zero to five years older than they and that their satisfaction tended to diminish at about an equal rate when this difference increased, regardless of whether it was they or their husbands who were the older. The men tended to be most satisfied with their wives when they were from zero to ten years older than their wives, but their dissatisfaction with their wives tended to increase more rapidly when their wives were older than they than when they were older than their wives.

With respect to age at marriage, the linear correlation between this factor and the marital satisfaction of the men in the present sample was $-.34$, with an error of .08. For women, the corresponding correlation co-efficient was only $-.11$. The low-scoring women averaged older at marriage than the high-scoring ones.

Figures 6 and 7 show the average scores of women and men, respectively, ac-

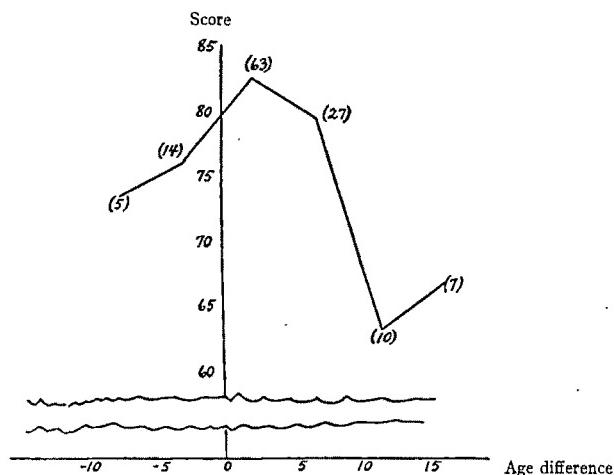


FIG. 4.—Average score of marital satisfaction of women according to the difference in age between husband and wife. Difference considered negative when wife is older than husband. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

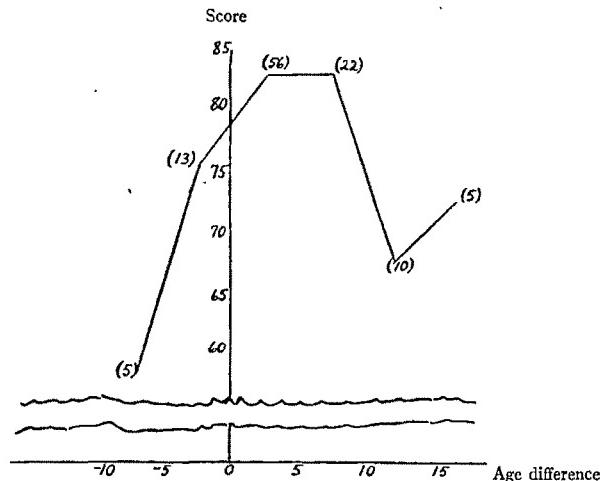


FIG. 5.—Average score of marital satisfaction of men according to the difference in age between husband and wife. Difference considered negative when wife is older than husband. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

cording to the number of children in the family. The small number of cases where there were more than two children makes the interpretation of these figures difficult. If we concentrate our attention on cases where there were two or fewer children, we find that the differences in average scores of women with no children, of women with one child, and of women with two children are not

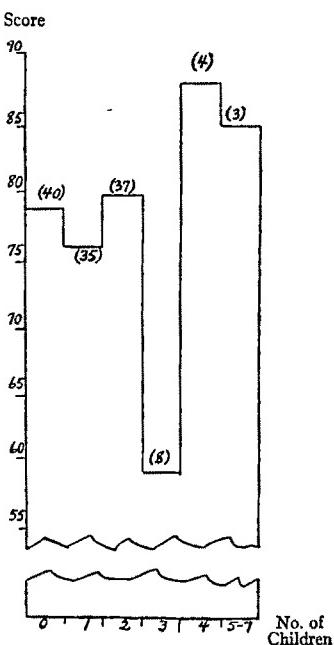


FIG. 6.—Average score of marital satisfaction of women according to number of children. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

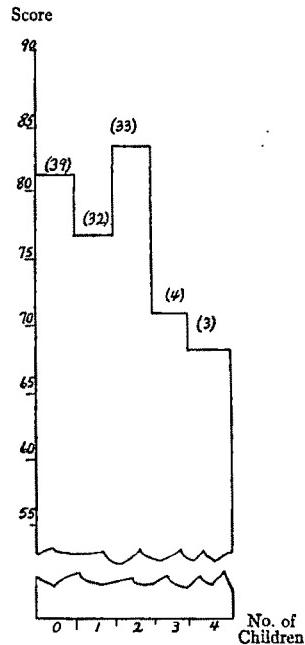


FIG. 7.—Average score of marital satisfaction of men according to number of children. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.)

statistically significant. Figure 7, however, suggests that with men the first child is more of a disturbing factor than is the second.

We must, of course, recognize that the relationships here suggested are quite tentative. The extreme complexity of the interrelationships of the variables involved in marriage cannot be overemphasized. No single study can hope to unravel them. The present experiment was simply a beginning step in this direction.

LATENT CULTURE PATTERNS OF THE UNSEEN WORLD OF SOCIAL REALITY¹

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ABSTRACT

Sense impressions of the physical environment do not depict the unseen world of atomic structure. Similarly, there is a social world of unseen social realities that underlies the visible social environment. It is in this unseen world of latent culture patterns that social changes germinate. Underneath the visible social world of manifest culture patterns of local government as these are explicit in a bicameral council, an executive hierarchy, and a city plan, there exists a latent culture pattern of the unseen government. This consists of the lower level of the hierarchy of political committees, the secret caucus, the machine, the ring, and in the pattern of predatory-business-politician-police-gambling-vice-crime interests. Along with this quality of intension, or social depth, that is revealed in the manifest and in the latent culture patterns of any given social institution, there is another quality, that of extension or reaching out in space (both physical and social) or of reaching out in time. This dimension of society is revealed in spatial patterns (culture area, ecological zones, etc.), in structural patterns (group hierarchies and social distance), and in sequential patterns (the succession of structural patterns or the display of function). This type of analysis breaks down the culture pattern concept into subcategories which give insight into the depths and complexities of social processes. The analysis is applied to explain such social institutions as city government and the family, and may equally well be applied to the church and other institutions.

Common sense impressions of the physical world of size, shape, weight, taste, sound, etc., are now known to be only the superficial surface phenomena of a vast unseen world of electrons, protons, atoms, and molecules.

It is not so generally realized that contrasting with the social world of explicit reality there is also a vast unseen world of social reality which consists of latent culture patterns, implicit in human action systems and in the folkways. In much early sociological study the investigator was engaged in the examination, analysis, and interpretation of the visible social world. Surveys were made of slum areas, congested housing, physically handicapped classes, poverty, pauperism, unemployment, racial antagonisms, class conflict, overt crime, etc. These investigations dealt with specific human beings and tangible environmental conditions. Recent study shows that out beyond and also underneath these common-sense experiences of social reality

¹ This article is a summary of sections of a forthcoming book by the author, *Contemporary Social Institutions*, to be published by Harper and Brothers.

there is a world of relationships unseen by most of us. Here are generated forces that set in motion those massive and elemental social movements that often defeat "the best laid schemes o' mice and men." In this area of latent culture patterns there take place the countless individual human decisions, acts, or opinions that combine, reinforce, facilitate, block, or supplement each other until waves of social force are set up which surge unhampered hither and yon. As individual human atoms we are often helpless before the sweep of these mass tendencies.

Now these forces follow certain patterns that are latent until disclosed by research. Mere beginnings have been made in the identification and description of these patterns. The phenomena are both gross and minute. The gross configurations are spatial patterns and exhibit themselves in urban ecological zones and culture areas. The minute configurations are structural patterns that involve human attitudes and hence the manifestations of personal and social distance in contrast to spatial dimensions. There are also sequential patterns that involve changes in personal distance and attitudes. Cutting through these spatial, structural, and sequential patterns that are manifest to the observant, we discover lower levels of position and arrangement that are latent in human action systems and in the folkways. For the sake of convenience we may posit two levels of culture patterns: manifest patterns that are explicit or in the mores; and latent patterns that are implicit in human action systems or in folkways.

To demonstrate the value and use of these distinctions, analyses of specific institutions like the city government and the city family will be made.

City government in the concrete is known to the average citizen as the city hall, the municipal officials, ward lines, precinct police stations, street system maintenance, the park system, etc. These are all parts of the manifest spatial patterns of the city government. A bicameral council, the mayor and city department heads, and hierarchies of employees are also known and may be identified as the structural pattern of a particular city government by those students who take the time to read up on the city charter, legislative enactments, and municipal ordinances. The members of the various city

departments, commissions or bureaus, acting officially give content to the idea of a functional pattern. The parliamentary procedure in adopting a city ordinance and its later enforcement by a bureau of licenses or by the police department is the sequential pattern whereby the city government functions in preserving order or otherwise giving service. All of these aspects of city government are explicit patterns of activity and are manifest to the observant person. They differ from city to city in minor details as we pass to a commission government or to the city-manager plan. All mature citizens acquire a practical working knowledge of these manifest culture patterns.

Besides such common knowledge, one hears vague rumors of the underworld's influence in local politics. During a political campaign the issue of graft and crime is raised, and accusations are bandied back and forth without clarifying the situation. These references to an unseen government of the city give us a clue to the existence of an invisible world of latent culture patterns. In fact, we know that the spatial pattern of city services is paralleled by a network of ward political clubs. Within this system there is a pattern of local political committees. Behind and beyond such quasi-formal patterns lies the pattern of political attitudes of the voters. Some wards are known as conservative. Others have the notoriety of being radical wards. Some are nominally Republican while others are Democratic. Although we are now in the level of sub-surface social phenomena, we are not yet outside the realm of the average citizen's knowledge, nor have we yet actually entered the invisible world of social reality from which the controlling forces of mass action often emanate.

The best approach to this underworld of politics is not through the spatial pattern of the network of ward political committees, but is found in a study of the structural pattern of the party system. The nominal government of the city is a formal and legalistic structure. Provisions and prescriptions embodied in charter and statutory law mark its boundaries and limit its functions. Its structural pattern is explicit in the mores of the law. The party system, on the other hand, is a quasi-legal institution of government. Its behavior at the polls, its campaign expenditures, and other activities may be regulated by law, but its internal organization is as yet its own affair. Through its hierarchy of committees, its secret caucus, its core group

of working members, "the machine," and its inner circle of machine managers, "the ring," the party organization reaches down deeply into the swarming life of the city to control voters by the distribution of patronage and protection. In these murky depths it is often hard to distinguish where politics leaves off and crime begins. In fact the underworld of city government is a predatory business-politician-police-gambling-vice-crime-interest pattern. This structural pattern is informal and overtly behavioristic. It gets things done with speed while the cumbrous legal machinery of the visible government grinds slowly along its appointed way. At this level of latent culture patterns we can discover more by following the sequence of spoils, graft, bribes, blackmail, and the collection of other tributes, than by further analysis of the latent structural pattern of politics. In short, the functioning of the partisan spoils system in league with the underworld of vice and crime opens up for study the latent sequential pattern of how things are "fixed" and how predatory business gets things done.

To make our pattern analysis less verbal, more visual, and hence perhaps less abstract, there is presented in Table I a summary analysis of city government. Here we begin with the problem of analysis stated in the upper left-hand corner. To follow the analysis of the quality of extension or the tendency of a culture pattern to reach out in space and time, the reader should move from left to right on the first level of intension, thus passing from a brief enumeration of the attributes of the spatial pattern of city government, city hall, ward lines, street system, etc., as these exist in geographic space to the structural pattern of the bicameral council, mayor, city department heads, etc., as these exist in social space; and then to the less familiar sequential pattern of the city government in action as it formulates and then enforces a new ordinance. Up to this point we have used the table to trace the extension of the pattern of the city government on the level on which all the patterns are manifest, i.e., explicit or in the mores. If now we drop down to a lower level and consider culture patterns of less visible content, we begin with the latent pattern of the network of political clubs as these exist over the area of city wards; then, passing from left to right at this level of the table, we enter the column labeled "structural pattern." Here we note the

reference to the unseen government of the party and discover the hierarchy of powers as these are arranged in social space. Finally we

TABLE I
PATTERN OF CITY GOVERNMENT*

PROBLEM: CITY GOVERNMENT	A. QUALITY OF EXTENSION—STRETCHING OUT IN SPACE OR TIME			
	I. Spatial pattern	II. Structural pattern	III. Sequential pattern	
B. Quality of intension, visibility of content, or depth	I. Manifest pattern	1. city hall, officials, ward lines 2. precinct police stations 3. street system 4. park system	1. bicameral council 2. mayor and city department heads 3. party system hierarchy of political committees	1. parliamentary procedure in adopting city ordinance, and enforcing it by bureau of licenses or police
	II. Latent pattern	5. political ward clubs 6. ward political committees 7. ward political attitudes: conservative, radical	4. unseen government of the party organization a) machine b) ring c) boss 5. underworld	2. partisan politics and spoils system 3. graft, blackmail, etc. 4. impersonal patterns a) growth curve b) societal reaction pattern

* The relationship between the sequential pattern and the structural pattern may be explained analogically. Suppose we consider a talkie picture of a city council in session. The presiding officer sits above the council on the rostrum. He is spatially removed from his fellows both in physical distance and in prerogative (social distance). A speaker is recognized by the chair and presents a petition. There is animated discussion, gesticulation, and debate. Individual members take sides and a vote is cast by roll-call. In short, a sequence of spatial patterns (physical and social) is displayed. But at any moment the run of the film may be stopped and a still photograph of that instant shows a pattern of static relationships. An instant later the pattern has changed, for the next still shows a different pattern of parts to the controversy. Thus we may conceive of the sequential pattern as a succession of static patterns of relationship, or, vice versa, we may conceive of the structural pattern as the static physical-social distance pattern of a given instant. In using the concept of "function," the temporal continuity of pattern occupies the center of attention to the immediate exclusion of considerations that relate to spatial changes among the parts of the pattern. It is chiefly a question of emphasis. In "function" the emphasis is upon a sequence or continuum in time of the essential pattern. In "structure" the emphasis is upon discontinuity among the parts.

turn to the column labeled "sequential pattern" and here on the same level we encounter the underworld in league with the political hierarchy and following an action pattern that procures votes by

distributing spoils, graft, and bribes, and collects tribute by blackmail. In pursuing this analysis it is not assumed that a hard and fast line always can be drawn between the manifest and the latent pattern. In fact, the party organization has parts that are legalistic and yet other parts have roots that reach down into the underworld. By contrast the manifest pattern of the legal city government is always explicit and in the mores.

Certain practical and theoretical corollaries follow from this method of pattern analysis. The first practical corollary is that, as we pass from left to right on the level of the manifest pattern, we disclose more and more complex social phenomena and delve into realms of relationship understood by fewer and fewer people. Only political leaders and political scientists have detailed knowledge of the intricacy of the structural and sequential patterns of political institutions. If this observation is true on the level of more concrete types of relationship exhibited in manifest patterns of political institutions, it holds with even greater force for the more intangible types of relationship exhibited in the latent patterns of political institutions. The second corollary of practical importance relates to the possibility of political reform. Most political reforms have aimed at changing the manifest pattern of government and neglected the dynamic latent pattern. By various legislative enactments a given structure is changed from the conventional bicameral system to the commission form and then to the city-manager plan. Ballot reform and such devices as the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and other forms of direct popular participation are tried out. Meanwhile little attention is given to the sinister latent pattern of political institutions. Partisan politics, patronage, waste, and corruption are still entrenched because their tap roots spread out in the deep tangle of elemental activities that satisfy greed, lust, and brutishness, as these drives are organized and satisfied by the underworld system and the predatory business-politician-police-gambling-vice-crime-interest pattern.

The theoretical corollaries of this analysis support two contributions of Gestalt psychologists. First, that spatial discontinuity of pattern gives us our perception of structure. As a concept, structure is the part-whole relationship that involves arrangement and dis-

tance (either physical or social). Second, that temporal continuity of pattern gives us our perception of function. As a concept, function becomes a sequence of patterns that leads up to some consummation or to the termination of a cycle which is then followed by repetition. Thus space (either physical or social) and time are the fundamental categories of an objective and measurable kind that differentiate structural culture patterns and functional culture patterns. A final, theoretical corollary is the sequential pattern of a latent sort that exists in such impersonal relations as the growth cycle of the institution and the societal reaction pattern as related thereto.² These patterns are discoverable only by research, and their identification determines the stage of development attained by the institution at any given time. Such a determination has practical importance in planning because the practicability of any given plan is a function of the stage of growth attained by the institution. If it is in a stage of rapid growth and experimentation, then one plan is suitable; if it has attained the stage of integration of the successful experiments, then plans for co-ordination and consolidation are in order; if culture lags have accumulated, plans for varied experiments should be tried out.

Studies of the city family show that there are different sorts of families in different areas. The family institution adapts to the city environment by a spatial pattern in the distribution of types. Corresponding to the zonal distribution of these types there are structural variations. Finally, the original child-bearing, child-rearing function also changes with the ecological incidence of different types. The bare outlines of pattern analysis applied to the family institution are noted in Table II. Here also are indicated the latent patterns of family distribution, structure, and its institutional cycle (the larger sequential pattern). Other social institutions may be subjected to this sort of pattern analysis by using the same tabular analytical arrangement.

A recapitulation of the analytical procedure outlined in this article leads to the following hypothesis. Complex culture patterns stretch-

² For a more extensive analysis of the growth curves of institutions and the societal reaction pattern, both impersonal forms of the sequential culture pattern, see the author's *Cultural Change*.

ing out into space or time may be broken down into: (1) spatial patterns, such as exist in physical space; (2) structural patterns, such as exist in social space; and (3) sequential patterns, such as exist in temporal or functional relations. Where the content and depth of a given culture pattern are important, then each of the three aspects

TABLE II
PATTERN OF THE CITY FAMILY*

PROBLEM: CITY FAMILY	A. QUALITY OF EXTENSION—STRETCHING OUT IN SPACE OR TIME			
	I. Spatial pattern	II. Structural pattern	III. Sequential pattern	
B. Quality of intension, visibility of content or depth.	I. Manifest pattern	1. rooming house zone 2. workingmen's zone 3. residential zone 4. commuter's zone	1. size of family: no. of persons 2. age and sex distribution of members 3. home and equipment	1. child bearing 2. support of children 3. training and education of children
	II. Latent pattern	5. ecological pattern of family disorganization shown in indices of divorce, poverty, juvenile delinquency, etc.	4. member rôles 5. patterns of equilibrium a) equalitarian b) authoritarian 6. the gestalt of socio-economic status	4. rise and fall of family fortunes 5. three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves

* See the author's article, "The Advantages of Experimental Sociology in the Study of Family Group Patterns," *Social Forces*, Vol. II, No. 2 (December, 1932), pp. 200-207.

of extension first enumerated may be broken down into: (1) manifest patterns, that are explicit or in the mores; these shade off into (2) latent patterns, that are implicit in human action systems or in the folkways. If it is true that the familiar world of social relationships is merely the formalization in culture of human behavior patterns whose roots lie deep in the vast universe of unseen social reality, then the identification of latent culture patterns at different levels and in different dimensions of arrangement should help in directing further research.

A SHORT LIFE-HISTORY OF THE CHAUTAUQUA

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ABSTRACT

The Chautauqua has had a natural life-history, passing through the stages of idea, movement, and institution. It first had a religious character, originating in the Sunday-school movement of the nineteenth century. Incorporation of other studies, activities, and entertainment features changed the Sunday School Institute into the Chautauqua Assembly, which evolved into the Chautauqua Institution and the Chautauqua Assembly Movement, with assemblies in various parts of the country. With increasing financial difficulties the field came to be entered by leaders of the lyceum movement, and the permanent Chautauqua assemblies gave place to the circuit Chautauqua. Changing social conditions—increasing means of communication and transportation, moving picture, radio, etc.—have resulted in declining interest in Chautauqua programs since the middle of the last decade. The old permanent Chautauqua and the circuit Chautauqua are now past history. There remains only the original assembly on Lake Chautauqua, which itself has changed in many ways.

First an idea, then a movement, and finally an institution, the Chautauqua has had a natural life-history. In the history of the Chautauqua are outlined the forces that modify and perpetuate an institution, as well as those that contribute to its decline and final dissolution.

In the early years of the nineteenth century there were revivals of religious interest in various parts of the country. In some cases these took on the character of social epidemics. They resulted in two things of more or less permanent nature: the stimulation of the development of the Sunday school in the various Protestant churches and the growth of the "camp-meeting," a form of outdoor religious exercise.

The Sunday school came to have a more or less central place in the church program. It was a major means of religious proselytizing and social uplift. In order to strengthen the Sunday school and make its work more effective, institutions were developed for the training of Sunday school teachers and workers. Through the activities of Reverend John Vincent, a combination of a Sunday School Institute with the open-air camp-meeting on Lake Chautauqua in New York was effected in 1874. This was the beginning of the Chautauqua.

The first phase of the Chautauqua movement was purely religious, with special reference to Sunday school work. The incorporation of

other studies, activities, and entertainment features changed the Sunday School Institute into the Chautauqua Assembly. This assembly evolved into the Chautauqua Institution on Lake Chautauqua, and this in turn into the Chautauqua Assembly Movement. Many assemblies, patterned after the first assembly and dedicated to the ideal of social regeneration through religion and education, were rapidly established throughout the country.

Two important outgrowths of the assembly were the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, established in 1878, and the Chautauqua Summer School, founded in 1879. The former grew rapidly. In many communities it became one of the dominant social activities. It was associated with the local church and sometimes with the public school or library. Very often the leaders of the local circle were the leaders in other social institutions and received many of their ideas for conducting affairs in these other institutions from their activities in the circle. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle and the summer school did have significant effects in that they paved the way for the later university summer schools and extension service.

The majority of the assemblies which were established in the various parts of the country attempted to provide activities and programs similar to those inaugurated by the mother Chautauqua. As they ceased to be novel they were faced with the serious problem of meeting the expenses involved in the project. At this point another step in the process of institutionalization was taken. Attempts were made to organize and integrate their activities and effect economy in operation through the organization, in 1897, of the Western Federation of Chautauquas and of the International Chautauqua Alliance in 1899. These organizations were effective for a time; but new problems arose, and these organizations were unable to meet them and went out of business.

The lyceum movement, which had its origin in the activities of Joseph Holbrook in the early years of the nineteenth century, flourished in the eastern states in the second quarter of the century and began to decline rapidly in the years preceding the Civil War. At the close of the war, several men, capitalizing upon the former interest in the lyceum, established lyceum bureaus as commercial enterprises. The best known of these bureaus was the Boston

Lyceum Musical Bureau, organized by James Clark Redpath in 1868. The lyceum, once an open and public forum, thus became a commercial booking agency. This later lyceum development was flourishing when Chautauqua assemblies everywhere were in financial difficulties. Lyceum operators and other business men saw an opportunity to extend their business. They had the capital, experience, and equipment. Their activity initiated a new step in Chautauqua development.

Keith Vawter was the first to enter the circuit Chautauqua field. In 1904, he arranged to furnish programs for several permanent Chautauqua assemblies. Dates were arranged for the different assemblies so that the same program could be used at each of them. Then he undertook to sell the same program to other communities. The net result of these activities was the circuit, or traveling, Chautauqua. The circuit Chautauqua rapidly superseded the permanent Chautauqua assemblies, most of which were discontinued. At the peak of its success the circuit Chautauqua visited nearly 10,000 communities during one season in the United States and Canada. The total attendance in one year was 40,000,000 or more persons. The circuit Chautauqua, like the lyceum and Chautauqua assembly which preceded it, became very popular because it arose in answer to a need; it thereby satisfied a popular demand. The local Chautauqua was sometimes a community institution in which the interest of many people in the community was centered. It disregarded religion, social position, occupation, and diverse other factors of the small community. It promoted a kind of fellowship on the one hand and gave opportunities for certain persons to enhance their social status on the other; it operated to satisfy the wish for recognition; it provided a new experience.

As social conditions changed with the increasing means of communication and transportation, there was a decline of popular interest in the Chautauqua. The definite decline of the circuit Chautauqua began in the middle of the last decade. In 1925, there were fifteen bureaus operating fifty circuits, and by 1930 there were only five bureaus in the chautauqua field operating fifteen circuits. In 1932, not more than three hundred small American communities were visited by the chautauqua, and during the past summer independent Chautauqua programs were supplied to fifteen or twenty towns.

Several things have contributed to the decline of the Chautauqua:

1. The sophistication of the Chautauqua clientèle was increasing. Celebrities were demanded on the programs. In retrospect, the shapes of Bryan, LaFollette, and their kind loomed up big, but the moving pictures had made the faces and figures of these national personages common property, and the radio is rapidly familiarizing the public with the voices of celebrities.

2. The desires and tastes of the American public were changing. Twenty years ago the best dramatic productions would have crowded the opera houses of the midwestern cities; but after the war, the same productions would do no more than fill half of the house. Chautauqua bureaus attempted to stage some of these better dramatic productions, but they were not well attended. The type of lectures, music, and plays offered by Chautauqua are no longer able to attract popular interest. The decrease in attendance resulted in a decrease in revenue and a lowering of program standards.

3. The moving picture and radio supplied a need which had formerly been partially met by the Chautauqua.

4. The World War and the propaganda activities of Chautauqua resulted in a decline of popular interest in Chautauqua and the loss of local leadership.

5. Community life in the small rural town is gradually disintegrating, owing to the rapid increase in means of communication and travel.

6. The many civic, luncheon, golf, and country clubs which have been rapidly established in American communities robbed local Chautauqua organizations of their leaders. It meant more to a man to be president of the Rotary Club than chairman of the local Chautauqua committee. Formerly the Chautauqua offered opportunities for men to secure honor and prestige. Many men expended hours of effort working for the local Chautauqua because of the prestige it accorded them during Chautauqua week. It was their privilege to address their fellow-citizens from the Chautauqua platform during this great week as community leaders. It was an opportunity which they highly prized, but recent events and trends have destroyed its glamor. Another motive back of the untiring support of local men was the opportunity it gave to meet the Chautauqua celebrities. When a speaker or artist arrived in town,

the local Chautauqua committeemen met him and entertained him. The visitor was then shown about the town and the community saw them together, all to the glory of the local men. After the program, the committeemen might invite in some of their select friends to bask with them in the glory of the speaker's presence. Such opportunities as these seem to have lost their appeal.

7. The economic conditions of the last three years hastened the decline.

Reasons for the decline of the Chautauqua may be stated from the point of view of the communities in which the Chautauqua operated. Many communities reported that the programs were not of good quality and were too much alike; that the Chautauqua talent was very amateurish; that the Chautauqua took money out of the town. The majority of these towns felt that the Chautauqua was no longer necessary; it was designed to meet a social need, but other interests and activities robbed it of its local patronage.

Like the circuit Chautauqua, the old permanent Chautauqua assembly is a thing of the past. One of the earliest and strongest assemblies, still known by the name of "Chautauqua," is nothing but a summer colony of lodges and cabins. At the center of the grounds is the auditorium in which a few programs are given during the season. But when some well-known speaker, scientist, or artist appears, only a handful of people may be found in the auditorium, though many more are at the dancing pavilion or wandering about the grounds. On the nights when the latest motion pictures are shown, the auditorium is full. The story of this permanent Chautauqua assembly is the story of all except those which have become permanent sites for religious conferences or for meetings of similar nature. The original assembly on Lake Chautauqua is probably the only permanent assembly in the country that still adheres to the ideals of the founders of Chautauqua, and even it has changed many of its ways.

The Chautauqua assembly has passed, leaving in its place recreational centers or religious conferences. The circuit Chautauqua, having made its last stand in a few widely scattered rural towns, apparently has no offspring; and with its passing there will be no institution remaining as a memento of its former glory.

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and Masters' theses in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The date given indicates the probable year in which the degree will be conferred. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution where the dissertation is in progress.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- Mostafa Abbassi, A.B. Carleton, 1927; A.M. Chicago, 1931. "Mohammedanism and the Minority Group." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Frank F. Alexander, A.B., A.M. Peabody College for Teachers, 1926, 1928. "Culture Areas in Tennessee." 1935. *Vanderbilt*.
- Minne E. Allen, M.S. Iowa State, 1929. "The German Youth Movement." 1935. *Columbia*.
- Ronald Almack, B.S., A.M. Ohio, 1930, 1931. "Propaganda in Religion." 1935. *Ohio*.
- Virgil Dewey Annakin, A.B. Depauw, 1922; A.M. Wisconsin, 1923. "The Missionary as a Cultural Carrier." 1935. *Ohio*.
- James O. Babcock, A.B. Cornell, 1929; A.M. Iowa, 1930. "Rural Unrest in Iowa." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Louis Balsam, B.S. Tufts, 1932; A.M. Harvard, 1933. "Study of the Changes in Punishment for Crime in Massachusetts from 1630 to 1930." 1934. *Harvard*.
- Ernest M. Banzet, A.B. Hamline, 1920; A.M. Minnesota, 1926. "A Half-Century Development of a Rural County-Seat Community as Reflected in Its Newspaper." 1934. *Michigan State College*.
- Robert Harvie Barker, A.B. Emory and Henry, 1925; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1927. "A Study of Juvenile Delinquency and Its Treatment in Charlottesville and Albemarle County." 1934. *Virginia*.
- James H. Barnett, A.B. Berea, 1928; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1930. "Liquor Control in Philadelphia the First Year after Repeal." 1935. *Pennsylvania*.
- John Newman Beecher, A.B. Alabama, 1926; A.M. Wisconsin, 1930. "Social and Industrial Study of the Birmingham District." 1937. *North Carolina*.
- Howard Wayland Beers, B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1929, 1930. "Forms of Family Interaction." 1934. *Cornell*.
- Helen O. Belknap, A.B. Oberlin, 1913; A.M. Columbia, 1917. "Neighborhood Trends." 1934. *Columbia*.

- Helen Bernard, A.B., A.M. Oklahoma, 1922, 1926. "The Functioning of Clients of a Social Agency in Their Environment: The Social Content of One Hundred Case Histories of the St. Louis Provident Association." 1934. *Washington University*.
- Jessie Bernard, A.B., A.M. Minnesota, 1923, 1924. "The Social Science Movement in the United States." 1935. *Washington University*.
- William S. Bernard, A.B. Yale, 1929. "Naturalization in Its Social Setting." 1934. *Yale*.
- Ruth Z. Bernstein, A.B., A.M. Columbia, 1918, 1924. "Naturalization and Citizenship." 1935. *Columbia*.
- Julia Ann Bishop, A.B. Abilene Christian, 1924; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1926. "The Initial Interview in the Social Case Work Organization." 1934. *Bryn Mawr*.
- William J. Blackburn, Jr., B.S., A.M. Ohio, 1920, 1923. "Administration of Criminal Justice in Franklin County, Ohio." 1934. *Ohio*.
- Gordon Williams Blackwell, A.B. Furman, 1932; A.M. North Carolina, 1933. "Measures of Social Waste in the Southern Region of the United States." 1937. *North Carolina*.
- Rhea Kay Boardman, B.S., A.M. New York, 1931, 1933. "A Statistical Study of the Factors Associated with Problem Behavior in Public School Children." 1935. *New York University School of Education*.
- John William Boldyreff, A.B. Michigan State, 1929; A.M. Harvard, 1933. "Periodic and Non-Periodic Long- and Short-Time Fluctuations in Social Adaptation." 1934. *Harvard*.
- J. Max Bond, B.P.E. Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago, 1926; A.M. Pittsburgh, 1931. "The Negro in Los Angeles." 1934. *Southern California*.
- Nelson Markley Bortz, B.S. Ursinus, 1930; A.M. Clark, 1931. "Recent Developments in Collective Bargaining in Railway Development." 1935. *Clark*.
- Aneta Bowden, A.B. Beloit, 1918; A.M. Wisconsin, 1931. "Sociological Implications of Trends in Consumption." 1935. *Wisconsin*.
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- Raymond Victor Bowers, A.B. Kansas, 1927; A.M. Northwestern, 1930. "Radio and Culture Change." 1934. *Minnesota*.
- Arthur Brophy, A.B., A.M. St. Bonaventure, 1921, 1924. "Development of the Wage Concept in American Labor." 1935. *Catholic University of America*.
- David K. Bruner, A.B., A.M. Northwestern, 1923, 1924. "Township and Borough System of Public Relief in Pennsylvania." 1935. *Pennsylvania*.
- I. Victor Burger, B.S., A.M. New York, 1916, 1929. "An Experimental Study of the Development and Measurement of the Health of Elementary School Children from the Third to the Eighth Grades." 1934. *New York University School of Education*.
- Beulah W. Burhoe (Mrs.), A.B. Barnard, 1915. "The Re-education of Patients

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- Arthur P. Butler, A.B. Bishops, 1915; A.M. Chicago, 1924. "The Natural History of the Press Agent." 1935. *Chicago.*
- William F. Byron, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1914. "A Study of Success and Failure of Persons with Institutional Experience." 1934. *Chicago.*
- Margaret Callaghan, A.B. College of New Rochelle, 1925. "A History of Federal Prison Administration." 1934. *Columbia.*
- Anna M. Cameron, A.B., A.M. Nebraska, 1915, 1920. "The Evolution of Certain Social Attitudes in the United States, 1866-1926." 1934. *Michigan.*
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- Grace E. Chaffee, A.B. Iowa, 1919; A.M. Chicago, 1927. "The Sociology of the Sectarian Community." 1935. *Chicago.*
- Charles G. Chakerian, A.B. Dubuque, 1924; A.M. Chicago, 1929. "Trends toward Centralization in Public Welfare in New England." 1934. *Yale.*
- Yin Lin Chang, A.B., A.M. Stanford, 1931, 1932. "The Evolution of Feudalism in Ancient China 1000 B.C. to 1 A.D." 1935. *Stanford.*
- J. L. Charlton, A.B. Richmond, 1926; A.M. North Carolina, 1927. "The Place of Custom and Tradition in Community Organization." 1935. *Michigan State College.*
- Sherman Chau, A.B. Lingnan (Canton, China), 1929; A.M. Ohio, 1933. "The Province of Sociology." 1935. *Ohio.*
- Theodore P. Chitambar, A.B. Lucknow, 1927; A.M. Northwestern, 1929. "Caste in Transition: A Study of the Changing Elements in the Social Institution of India." 1935. *Columbia.*
- Thomas H. Clare, A.B. McKendree, 1930; A.M. Washington University, 1933. "The Sociological Theories of W. T. Harris." 1934. *Washington University.*
- Pearl E. Clark, A.B., A.M. Montana, 1916, 1917. "Social Adjustment Problems of Junior College Women." 1935. *Southern California.*
- Wendell Cleland, A.B. Westminster, 1909; A.M. Princeton, 1914. "Population Problems in Egypt." 1935. *Columbia.*
- Harold Coe Coffman, A.B. Kansas, 1915; A.M. Michigan, 1922. "A Study of Foundations Interested in Child Welfare." 1934. *Columbia.*
- Joseph Cohen, A.B., A.M. Washington. "The Automobile in Relation to Economic and Demographic Forces in the Detroit Metropolitan Region." 1934. *Michigan.*
- Marie F. Concistra, B.S., A.M. Columbia, 1925, 1927. "Adult Education in an Interstitial Area." 1934. *New York University School of Education.*
- Walter Couturier, A.B. Wisconsin, 1924. "The Professions—An Analytical and Definitive Study of Their Criteria, Status, and Control." 1935. *Wisconsin.*
- Leonard Covello, B.S. Columbia. "Social Backgrounds of the Italian School Child." 1934. *New York University School of Education.*

- Edwin J. Coventry, A.B. Washington, 1925. "Federal Probation Systems." 1936. *Washington.*
- Oliver C. Cox, B.S.L. Northwestern; A.M. Chicago. "Social Attitudes in the West Indies." 1935. *Chicago.*
- Walter O. Cralle, A.B., A.M. Oklahoma, 1915, 1925. "Social Changes and Isolation in Selected Ozark Mountain Communities." 1934. *Minnesota.*
- Paul G. Cressey, A.B. Oberlin, 1922; A.M. Chicago, 1929. "The Social Rôle of Motion Pictures in an Interstitial Area." 1934. *New York University School of Education.*
- Albert Croft, A.B. Carroll, 1923; A.M. Wisconsin, 1927. "Sculpturing the Personality of the Consumer; A Study in Changes Since 1900." 1934. *Wisconsin.*
- Evelyn Buchan Crook, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1920, 1922. "Delinquency Triangles, Chicago." 1935. *Chicago.*
- Rachael G. Crook, B.S., M.S. Auburn Polytechnic Institute, 1928, 1930. "Cotton Farms of the South: Economic and Social." 1937. *North Carolina.*
- Bingham Dai, A.B. St. John's, 1923; A.M. Chicago, 1932. "A Sociological Study of Opium Addiction in the City of Chicago." 1934. *Chicago.*
- Vattel Elbert Daniel, A.B. Virginia Union, 1914; A.M. Colorado, 1924. "A Study of Ritual in the Negro Church." 1934. *Chicago.*
- George Franklin David, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1915, 1928. "The Marginal Man: A Study of Racial and Cultural Hybrids." 1935. *Ohio.*
- Ada J. Davis, A.B. Oberlin; A.M. Chicago, 1925. "The Social Control of Adolescent Girls." 1935. *Chicago.*
- Kingsley Davis, A.B., A.M. Texas, 1930, 1931; A.M. Harvard, 1933. "Theory of Social Structure and Mobility of Western Universities." 1934. *Harvard.*
- Dawson F. Dean, B.S. New York, 1930. "The Homosexual Attitude." 1934. *New York University School of Education.*
- Neal Breault De Nood, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1932, 1933. "An Analytic Study of the Formation of Social Strata in Industrial Societies." 1935. *Harvard.*
- Thorne Deuel, A.B. West Point, 1912. "Prehistoric Mississippi Valley Cultures and Their Sequences." 1934. *Chicago.*
- Blagovest Panoff Dimkoff, Diploma, State University, Sofia, Bulgaria, 1926. "New Attitudes toward Crime in Soviet Russia." 1935. *Chicago.*
- Margaret J. Drake (Mrs.), B.S. New York; A.M. Columbia. "Social Conflict in Hawaii." 1934. *New York University School of Education.*
- Mary Dublin, A.B. Barnard, 1930. "A Study of Maternal Mortality Rates." 1934. *Columbia.*
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- Mary Duthie, B.S. Columbia, 1924. "An Evaluation of 4-H Club Work in Certain Mid-Western States." 1935. *Wisconsin.*

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- Leah Feder, A.B. Mt. Holyoke, 1917. "A Study of Unemployment Relief in the U.S. in Times of Depression, from 1857 to 1930." 1935. *Bryn Mawr*.
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- Byron Fox, A.B., B.S.C., A.M. Ohio, 1928, 1928, 1930. "The Concept of Social Control." 1934. *Ohio*.
- John F. Fox, B.S. Missouri, 1919; A.M. New York, 1931. "Recreation and Community Organization in a Commuting Community." 1934. *New York University School of Education*.
- Merle Elbert Frampton, B.R.E., A.M.. M.S.C. Boston, 1925, 1927, 1928. "A Farm Family System of Living in a So-Called Submarginal Agrarian Area of the Ozark Highlands." 1934. *Harvard*.
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- Jule L. Friedman (Mrs.), B.S., A.M. New York, 1929, 1931. "College Advisers in the Secondary Schools of New York City." 1935. *New York University School of Education*.
- Henry Hoag Frost, Jr., A.B., A.M. California, 1930, 1932. "Functional Sociology: A Study of the Work of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay of Brussels, and Especially of Its Director (1902-1916), Emile Waxweiler." 1934. *California*.
- Flarea Galdau, A.B., A.M. Bucharest. "A Critical Analysis of the Social and Cultural Development of the Roumanian Peasantry." 1935. *Columbia*.
- Margaret B. Gerard, B.S. Teachers College, Columbia, 1928. "The Region as a Unit for Social Organization." 1934. *New York University School of Education*.
- William Harlan Gilbert, A.B. Cincinnati, 1927; A.M. Chicago, 1930. "Cultural Position of the Cherokees." 1934. *Chicago*.
- E. Colum Gilfillan, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1910; A.M. Columbia, 1920. "Invention in the History of the Ship." 1934. *Columbia*.

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- H. C. Phillips, A.B. Iowa State College, 1924. "An Analysis of the Social Contacts of Junior and Senior High-School Students in a Rural Community." 1934. *Iowa.*
- Lydia I. Phillips, B.S. Western State Teachers. "Charlevoix—a Case Study of a Resort Community." 1935. *Michigan State College.*
- George A. Pierson, Jr., A.B. Utah, 1929. "The Attitude of High-School Pupils toward War." 1934. *Utah.*
- Leila W. Poage, A.B. Kentucky, 1926; LL.B. Cinti Night Law School, 1934. "Women in the Legal Profession." 1934. *Kentucky.*
- Rose Port, B.S. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1930. "Homeless Men." 1934. *Pittsburgh.*
- Samuel Port, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1932. "Transient Boys." 1934. *Pittsburgh.*
- Deborah Portnoy, A.B. Washington University, 1926. "History of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Missouri." 1934. *Washington University.*
- Allen R. Potter, A.B. Washington, 1929. "The Homeless Men in Seattle." 1934. *Washington.*

- James L. Powell, A.B. Kentucky Wesleyan, 1931. "Ecological Aspects of Delinquency in Nashville." 1935. *Vanderbilt*.
- John A. Rademaker, A.B. College of Puget Sound, 1930. "Japanese Land-Holding for Agricultural Purposes in the Puget Sound Region." 1934. *Washington*.
- Leona Rau, A.B. Washington University, 1927. "Social Aspects of Nutrition in Relation to Pregnancy." 1934. *Washington University*.
- Elizabeth Read, A.B. Vassar, 1933. "Standards of Care of Dependent Children with Particular Reference to Pennsylvania." 1934. *Columbia*.
- Frank Rearick, A.B. Missouri College, 1933. "A Study of Sociology as Taught in the White Protestant Theological Schools of the United States." 1934. *Kansas*.
- John Reinecke, A.B. Yenching, 1931. "Island Creole—A Study in Language Assimilation." 1934. *Hawaii*.
- Karl H. A. Rest, A.B. Elmhurst, 1929; B.D. Eden Theological Seminary, 1931. "Some Trends toward the Social and the Secular in the Left Wing of American Unitarianism." 1934. *Washington University*.
- Erwina Robinson, A.B. Kentucky, 1918. "History and Development of Ormsby Village." 1934. *Kentucky*.
- Caroline Averill Rose, A.B. Vassar, 1925. "The Incorporation of Recreation in the Current Programs of the Church in the United States." 1934. *Northwestern*.
- Joseph Rose, A.B. Western Reserve, 1932. "Changing Objectives in American Jewish Philanthropy with Special Reference to Family Welfare Work." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.
- Ruth R. Rosenbaum, A.B. St. Lawrence, 1927. "Reasons for Closing 685 Major Care Cases in a Family Agency." 1934. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.
- Helen D. Rossi, A.B. Washington University, 1928. "Emotion and Learning." 1935. *Washington University*.
- Lorna Hustel Rowe (Mrs.), A.B. Minnesota, 1930. "A Study of Nine Hundred Children under the Supervision of the Lymanhurst Heart Clinic." 1934. *Minnesota*.
- William Joseph Roy, B.S. New Hampshire, 1933. "The French-English Division of Labor in the Province of Quebec in its Relations to Unemployment." 1935. *McGill*.
- Edmond Hales Runcorn, A.B. Colorado, 1931. "The Effects of Capitalism upon the Social Order." 1934. *Colorado*.
- Reiichi Sakakibara, LL.B. Tokyo Hosai (Japan), A.B. DePauw, 1932. "The Japanese Family: Study of Family Disorganization." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Bertha Samuels, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1932. "The Development of Occupational Therapy in a Selected Number of New York Hospitals." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.

- Norman B. Scharer, A.B. Pasadena, 1925. "A Case Study of Problem Boys in Alhambra." 1934. *Southern California.*
- Gertrude A. Schnabel, A.B. Western Reserve, 1932. "Changing Objectives in Medical Social Work Based on a Study of Selected Sources." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work.*
- Ella R. Schneideman, A.B. Michigan, 1931. "Social Opposition to Sterilization Legislation in New York State, 1909-32." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work.*
- Rachel Schulman (Gusrae), A.B. Hunter, 1930. "The Adjustment Histories of the Members of Four Jewish Immigrant Families." 1934. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work.*
- Wilson T. Seney, A.B. Dartmouth, 1931. "Negro Community Relations in Chicago." 1934. *Chicago.*
- William H. Sewell, Jr., A.B. Michigan State, 1933. "A Study of Inmates in the Michigan State Prison." 1934. *Michigan State College.*
- Joe C. Sharp, A.B. Peabody College for Teachers, 1932. "Tobacco Culture in Robinson County, Tennessee." 1935. *Vanderbilt.*
- Emma Jean Brown Short, A.B. and B.S., Missouri, 1927. "The Culture of the Osage Indians." 1934. *Missouri.*
- Harold Silver, Ph.B. Chicago, 1922. "Some Attitudes of East European Jewish Immigrants toward Organized Jewish Charity in the United States, 1890-1900." 1934. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work.*
- Luther Walter Slifer, A.B. Gettysburg, 1917; B.D. Union Theological Seminary, 1921; A.M. Columbia, 1921. "The Rural Reconstruction Program for the United Lutheran Church Mission in Guntur District, South India." 1934. *Cornell.*
- George Small, B.S. Kansas State Teachers College, 1928. "An Investigation of the Problems of Negroes of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma in Obtaining a Higher Education." 1934. *Kansas.*
- Ruth E. Smith, A.B. Carleton, 1916. "A Study of Parole Conditions Affecting Success or Failure on Parole—Women (Based on an Investigation of Inmates Paroled from the State Reformatory for Women, Shakopee, Minnesota)." 1934. *Minnesota.*
- Verna Snell, A.B. Peru State Teachers College, 1929. "Religious Social Service." 1934. *Municipal University of Omaha.*
- Richard M. Snodgrasse, A.B. Chicago, 1929. "An Examination of the So-Called Pleistocene Faunal Remains Associated with Human Remains in America." 1934. *Chicago.*
- Waldo S. Sommerlatte, A.B. Heidelberg, 1927. "Effects of the Depression on Municipal Relief Administration in Connecticut Cities." 1934. *Yale.*
- Edward P. Staudt, A.B. Dartmouth, 1933. "Changes in Organized Play." 1934. *Columbia.*
- Frank Paul Stevens, A.B. Clark, 1930. "Shifts in the Production Areas of Certain Fresh Products for the Worcester Market." 1934. *Clark.*

- Ruth Lucretia Stevenson, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1931. "The Urban League of Pittsburgh as a Social Institution." 1934. *Pittsburgh*.
- Lena B. Strawbridge, A.B. Maryville, 1928. "Leadership in Associations of Young Women." 1934. *Columbia*.
- Paul Eugene Strickler, B.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1931. "Economic and Social Development of Agriculture in Tennessee to 1880." 1934. *Tennessee*.
- Sidney Strober, A.B. College of the City of New York, 1932. "Adult Companionship as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency." 1934. *Columbia*.
- Charles Stroebel, A.B. Wisconsin, 1931. "Cranial Types from the Various Levels of the Fisher Site, Joliet, Illinois." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Eugene T. Stromberg, A.B. Nebraska Wesleyan, 1931. "A Study of the Rural Single Young Persons, Not in School, within the Chronological Age Grouping of 14-25, as to Their Attitudes toward and Problems of Adjustment to the Respective Lane County (Oregon) Communities in Which They Live." 1934. *Oregon*.
- Johannes Stuart, A.B. Michigan, 1929. "Study of Divorce in Cook County." 1934. *Chicago*.
- C. A. Stub. "Danish Assimilation in the U.S. as Manifested by the Change in Content of Danish Foreign-Language Newspapers, 1913-1929." 1934. *Minnesota*.
- Dewitt Peyton Thompson, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1933. "Recreation in a Local Urban Community." 1933. *New York University School of Education*.
- Henry E. Thomson, A.B. Washington, 1928. "The Houseboat—An Ecological Study of an Urban Rim Population." 1934. *Washington*.
- William B. Tollen, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1930. "The Sociological Conception of the State and Law." 1934. *Duke*.
- Doris Trivers, A.B. Smith, 1932. "The Influence of Continuing Parental Relationships in 100 Cases Known to a Foster-Care Agency." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.
- Ching-Yuen Tso, A.B. Nanking, 1933. "Changes Occurring in the Chinese Family." 1935. *Wisconsin*.
- Kensaku Tsunoda, A.B. Columbia. "The Japanese Language in Hawaii and Race Conflicts." 1934. *Hawaii*.
- F. Elizabeth Tuttle, A.B. Oberlin, 1932. "Case Study of the Provident Association Work Relief Project." 1934. *Washington University*.
- Merle Underhill, A.B. Iowa, 1931. "The Iowa Vigilance Committee." 1934. *Iowa*.
- Violet Ung, A.B. Hawaii, 1928. "The Taxi-Dance Hall—A Study of Commercialized Entertainment in an Interracial Community." 1934. *Hawaii*.
- Frieda R. Unger, A.B. Hunter, 1932. "Changing Aims and Methods in the Care of the Jewish Dependent Child in the United States." 1935. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.
- Thomas Utterback, A.B. Omaha, 1933. "Some Causative Factors of Illegitimacy." 1934. *Municipal University of Omaha*.

- Catherine L. Wahlstrom, A.B. Southern California, 1924. "Group Leadership Training of the Campfire Girls." 1934. *Southern California*.
- Beulah W. Walker (Mrs.), A.B. Iowa, 1933. "The History and Development of the Fort Madison Penitentiary." 1934. *Iowa*.
- Norma E. Watts Walker (Mrs.), A.B. Manitoba, 1928. "Cultural Penetration by Means of the Motion Picture (A Study of the Peaceful Penetration of Canada by the United States.)" 1935. *McGill*.
- T. H. Wang, A.B. Nanking, 1925. "Recent Trends in Chinese Family Life." 1934. *Bucknell*.
- Georgia Watson, A.B. Northwestern, 1909. "Instability of Forced Marriages in Chicago." 1934. *Northwestern*.
- William Weinfeld, A.B. Minnesota, 1933. "The Growth of the Chain Daily Newspapers in the U.S. from 1927-1933: A Study in Social Control." 1934. *Minnesota*.
- C. Hale Wellman, Jr., A.B. Carleton, 1928. "Juvenile Delinquency in an Isolated Industrial Community—the 'Bush' South Chicago." 1934. *Chicago*.
- William I. White, A.B. Fisk, 1930. "The History of the Mobility of the Unattached, Unemployed Negro." 1935. *Chicago*.
- James B. Wilkinson, B.S. Detroit Teachers College, 1925. "Relation of Health to Achievement of Intermediate School Students." 1934. *Michigan State College*.
- Janice Louise Wilson, A.B. Shaw, 1928. "The Effects of the Depression on the Continuity of Negro Family Life in Harlem." 1934. *New York University, Graduate School*.
- William John Winter, A.B. Arizona, 1928. "The Atlatl in the Americas." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Halaine A. Wise, A.B. Vassar, 1933. "The Relation between Some of the Various Disciplines and Social Work." 1934. *Missouri*.
- Edgar Witte, C.R.M. Concordia Theological Seminary. "A Study of the Relation of Social Case Workers to the Church, Based upon Incidence of Past and Present Membership and Activity, the Utilization of the Church in Social Work, and Attitude toward the Church." 1934. *Minnesota*.
- Harold C. Woodruff, A.B. Hiram, 1923. "A Study of the Structures and Processes in Unemployed Councils." 1935. *Pittsburgh*.
- June Work, Ph.B. Chicago, 1925. "A Comparative Study of the Archaeology of the Hopewell, the 'Hopewell Variants,' and Related Cultures of the Northeastern United States." 1934. *Chicago*.
- George K. T. Wu, A.B. Yenching (China), 1928. "The Culture Concept in American Sociology." 1934. *Southern California*.
- Harvey Torrence Young, A.B. New York, 1932. "Negative Eugenics and Crime Prevention." 1934. *New York University, Graduate School*.
- Bertha M. Zahren, Ph.B. Chicago, 1927. "Auto or Tourist Camps as an Institution." 1934. *Chicago*.
- Ada Zeidelman (Kafter), B.S. Pennsylvania, 1921. "Vocational Guidance Cases Known to a Family Agency." 1934. *Graduate School for Jewish Social Work*.

ANNIE MARION MACLEAN

Annie Marion MacLean, Ph.D., Litt.D., extension assistant professor of sociology, died May 1, 1934, at her home in Pasadena, California.

Dr. MacLean was actively connected with the University of Chicago in the Home-Study Department from 1903 until February, 1934, when illness forced her retirement. She was for many years in poor health and for more than a decade was practically an invalid. The courses in the Home-Study Department which she conducted were, therefore, a central interest in her life, and her conduct of these courses by correspondence was exceptionally efficient. Dr. MacLean had the practice of writing personal letters to the students and extended her interest in them beyond the mere formal academic aspects of her courses. Thousands of students in all parts of the world have had reason to be grateful to her for personal assistance in their more intimate problems.

Her academic record includes: A.B. Acadia College, 1893; A.M. Acadia College, 1894; Ph.M. Chicago, 1897; Ph.D. Chicago, 1900; Litt.D. Acadia, 1923. She was professor of sociology, Adelphi College, 1906-16; professor of sociology, National Training School, Y.M.C.A., New York, 1903-16; and extension assistant professor of sociology, University of Chicago, 1903-34.

Dr. MacLean conducted the national investigation of labor for women, for the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., 1907-9. She was a member of the American Sociological Society and of Kappa Alpha Theta. Dr. MacLean contributed numerous articles to the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Survey*, *Forum*, and *Scribner's*. In addition to these literary activities she was the author also of the following books: *Wage Earning Women*, 1910; *Mary Ann's Malady*, 1913; *Women Workers and Society*, 1916; *Cheero*, 1918; *Some Problems of Reconstruction*, 1921; *Our Neighbors*, 1922; *This Way Lies Happiness*, 1923; *Modern Immigration*, 1925.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the May issue and up to May 15 are as follows:

- Bousfield, M. O., 3513 South Parkway, Chicago
Brophy, Arthur, 16th and Shepherd, N.E., Washington, D.C.
Burhoe, Beulah Weldon, Box 291, New Caanan, Conn.
Burstein, Shillamith, 42 Perry St., New York City
Cranor, John R., Huntingdon, Pa.
Curry, Arthur R., The Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tex.
Dean, Dawson Frank, 10 Fairview Place, Morristown, N.J.
De Sylvester, Corrado, 5240 Congress St., Chicago
Doan, Effie E., Hull House, 800 South Halsted St., Chicago
Dunlap, Amy, 170 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Friedman, Mrs. Jule L., 30 Fifth Ave., Apt. 2G, New York City
Gibson, Mattie Cal, 811 N.W. 24th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Haydon, Edward Morgan, 6120 Ingleside Ave., Chicago
Hill, Henry C., U.S. Northeastern Penitentiary Lewisburg, Pa.
Irre, Emeline M., P.O. Box 426, Madison Square Station, New York City
Jones, Marshall E., 19 Munroe St., Northampton, Mass.
Kast, Ludwig, 565 Park Ave., New York City
Kemball, A. W., 1441 Drummond St., Montreal, Quebec
Koenig, Samuel, 132 Greenwood St., New Haven, Conn.
McMillen, Wayne, University of Chicago, Chicago
Munson, Sara P., 439 South Pacific Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Navin, Robert B., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Owings, Daniel Boone, 1014 Emerson St., Evanston, Ill.
Pomplun, Burton R., 160 Benzinger St., Buffalo, N.Y.
Robinson, Louis N., 411 College Ave., Swarthmore, Pa.
Rosenbaum, Ruth, 2609 Collingwood, Detroit, Mich.
Sewell, William H., Jr., 507 South Grinnell St., Jackson, Mich.
Shill, Isabel R., 907 Morgan Ave., Palmyra, N.J.
Soby, B. Edward, 401 Hitt St., Columbia, Mo.
Taylor, Glen S., F.E.R.A., 1734 New York Ave., Washington, D.C.
Tietsort, Ralph R., 3540 North 40th St., Omaha, Neb.
Tso, Ching Yuen, Barnard Hall, Madison, Wis.
Tsunoda, Kensaku, 1767 Fort St., Honolulu, T.H.
Whiting, Willson, Box 43, Devon, Pa.

Williams, Robin M., State College Station, Box 5368, Raleigh, N.C.
Wood, Arthur D., U.S. Board of Parole, 201 Tower Bldg., Washington, D.C.

American Association for the Advancement of Science.—The Section on Social and Economic Sciences (K), of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which met in Berkeley, California, June 18-23, held a joint session with the Econometric Society. The program extended through five sessions.

The Bibliographical Society of America.—The *Gesamtkatalog der preußischen Bibliotheken* is a union catalog of 18 German libraries. With the exception of university and school publications, music, maps, and oriental texts, it includes all the books published before 1930 which are in the State Library in Berlin, the university libraries of Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Göttingen, Greifswald, Halle, Kiel, Königsberg, Marburg, and Münster, the Academy library in Braunschweig, and the technical-school libraries in Aachen, Berlin, Breslau, and Hannover. The other two libraries, the Bavarian State Library in Munich and the National Library in Vienna, are partially included by the indication of their holdings of the books catalogued for any one of the other sixteen libraries. Three volumes (A-Amicizia) have been published and volume 4 will probably have appeared by the time this report is published.

The *Gesamtkatalog* is to consist of some 150 volumes, at 85 marks per volume (or 90 to 91 marks per bound volume), provided, however, at least 300 subscriptions are obtained.

The *Gesamtkatalog*, therefore, both deserves and needs a campaign of sales promotion in this country, and American libraries both need and deserve the assistance which this catalog would afford in research, reference, and catalog work.

This committee, a joint committee of the American Library Association and the Bibliographical Society of America, has undertaken to do what it can to increase the number of American subscriptions by this report, which will also be sent out as a circular to a considerable number of libraries, and by supplementary correspondence. The Committee will greatly appreciate replies, so as to correct and keep up to date its at present incomplete information as to which libraries have subscribed and which expect to subscribe. We have a few copies of the prospectus and a few copies of the finished first volume which we should be glad to loan for inspection to any likely purchasers. Subscriptions should be sent direct to: Generalverwaltung des Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Berlin N.W. 7, Unter den Linden 38.

Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.—The Ninth Seminar in Mexico of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America will be held July 10-30 at Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The program consists of round-table discussions and field trips. For further information address Mr. Hubert C. Herring, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Eastern Sociological Conference.—The fifth annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Conference was held April 21 and 22, 1934, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The program of this session was devoted to the general theme "The Part of Sociology in National Reconstruction Programs." A general introduction to this subject was made at the first session by Edward Heimann, Niles Carpenter, and R. S. Lynd. The principal deliberations of the Conference were conducted in five round-table groups which discussed: (1) sociological researches relevant to reconstruction programs; (2) research policies; (3) interplay of social and economic factors; (4) sociological significance of traditional economic problems; (5) relation of social work to reconstruction programs. The two sessions of the second day were spent on the reports of these groups and in general discussion. At the annual dinner meeting Drs. MacIver and Sorokin addressed the Conference.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Professor James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, Professor Frank D. Watson, Haverford College; Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. Earl E. Muntz, New York University; Executive Committee (for terms of one and three years respectively), Professor Maurice Davie, Yale University, and Professor Harold Phelps, University of Pittsburgh. The next annual meeting will be held at Columbia University.

Institute of Race Relations.—The Institute of Race Relations will be held, under the auspices of the Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends, at Swarthmore College, July 1-28, 1934. The organization of the present year will follow in broad outline the procedure of last year, with many of the same lecturers, but with certain topical changes and new faculty personnel. The lecture series offers two new general topics: "Natural History of Race Prejudice," and "Imperialism and Nationalism." There will be four pro-seminars devoted to consideration of: (a) methods of investigating the processes of acculturation; (b) the Great Society: prospects and problems of achieving a cosmopolitan culture, expanding the means of international communication and education, the cinema and radio; (c) race problem: its origin, etiology, and cure; (d) the education of

the rural Negro: the problem reviewed and re-defined after seventy years' experiment.

International Institute of Sociology.—The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes has decided to hold the Twelfth Congress of the International Institute of Sociology at the Universal Exposition to be held at Brussels, Belgium, in 1935. The date proposed for the Congress is about August 25, 1935. The Belgian government and other governments interested in the Exposition will be patrons of the Congress. The subject for general discussion will be "The Elementary Forms of the Social Life," but other sociological subjects will be given a place on the program. The authors of papers and other communications are requested to make known the titles of their papers not later than December 31, 1934. These should be sent to the Secretary-General of the International Institute of Sociology, Professor G. L. Duprat, of the University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland. All inquiries concerning the Congress should be addressed to Professor Duprat.

Social Science Research Council.—The Social Science Research Council announces the award of forty-six grants-in-aid of research, fourteen new fellowship appointments, and one fellowship reappointment for a period of one year. The grants-in-aid total \$22,175; the fellowships, slightly over \$48,000.

As in previous years, the grants-in-aid were awarded to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way.

The fellowships were designed to afford opportunity for research training, preferably interdisciplinary in nature, rather than to assist in the carrying-out of research projects as such. As in previous years, they were open to citizens of the United States and of Canada not over thirty-five years of age who possessed the Ph.D. or its equivalent in research training and experience.

The Council also wishes to call attention to two additional series of training fellowships in the social sciences which will be offered for the first time for 1935-36. One of the new series will be known as Pre-Doctoral Fellowships for Graduate Study, and will be open to citizens of the United States or Canada not over twenty-five years of age who will not have been enrolled in any graduate school for more than one semester before July 1, 1935. Their purpose is to aid exceptionally promising students of the social sciences to obtain research training beginning with the first year of graduate study. The other new series will be known as Pre-Doctoral Field Fellowships, and will be open to citizens of the United States or Canada

not over twenty-seven years of age who are candidates for the Ph.D. degree, and who will have completed, prior to the end of the academic year 1934-35, all courses and examinations for which they are eligible before completion of the thesis. The purpose of these Field Fellowships is to supplement formal graduate study by opportunities for field work which will assure first-hand familiarity with the data of social science in the making. The Post-Doctoral Training Fellowships will again be offered under policies and regulations similar to those previously in effect.

The closing date for the receipt of applications for Grants-in-aid for the academic year 1935-36 will be January 15, 1935; for Pre-Doctoral Field Fellowships and Post-Doctoral Training Fellowships, December 1, 1934; for Pre-Doctoral Fellowships for Graduate Study, December 15, 1934. In order to facilitate the filing of applications on the proper blanks before the closing dates, it is requested that persons interested communicate with the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid, 230 Park Avenue, New York City, as early in the fall of 1934 as possible. The first letter of inquiry should include a brief statement of the candidate's proposed plan of work and of his academic and professional record.

The list of appointments of interest to the readers of this *Journal* for the academic year 1934-35 follows:

GRANTS-IN-AID

Edward P. Cheyney, Emeritus Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania, to aid in the completion of a history of the invention of the steamboat.

Marjorie Ruth Clark, American Federation of Labor, to aid in a study of organized labor in Mexico.

Earl E. Cummins, Professor of Economics, Union College, to aid in the completion of a study in the history, practice, and philosophy of carpenters' craft unionism.

Cora Du Bois, Research Associate in Anthropology, University of California, to aid in the completion of a study of cult religions among the Oregon Indians.

E. Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology, Fisk University, to aid in the completion of a study of the Negro family in the United States.

Thomas R. Garth, Professor of Psychology, University of Denver, to aid in the completion of a study of the intelligence of foster Indian children in white homes.

A. I. Hallowell, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, to aid in an investigation of the ethnology of the Berens River Saulteaux.

Eugenia Hanfmann, Research worker, Worcester State Hospital, to aid in the completion of a study of the psychological situation of the patients in hospitals for mental diseases.

Harold E. Jones, Professor of Psychology, University of California, to aid in

the completion of a study of child development as related to certain social and economic factors.

Homer L. Morris, Professor of Economics, Fisk University, to aid in the completion of a study of the bituminous coal miner.

Constantine Panunzio, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of California at Los Angeles, to aid in the completion of a study of workers' co-operatives.

Philip A. Parsons, Professor of Sociology, University of Oregon, to aid in the completion of a study of youthful transients.

Maria A. Rickers-Ovsiankina, Research Associate, Worcester State Hospital, to aid in the completion of a study of the accessibility of schizophrenics to environmental influences as manifested in a "free" situation.

Keith Sward, Professor of Psychology, Pennsylvania College for Women, to aid in the completion of a study of Jewish psychology.

Paul S. Taylor, Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, to aid in the completion of a study of an American-Mexican frontier.

Kimball Young, Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin, to aid in the completion of a study of Mormon family life with particular reference to polygyny.

Pauline V. Young, Lecturer, University of Southern California, to aid in the completion of a study of the new American "peasantry."

FELLOWSHIPS

Howard P. Becker, Associate Professor of Sociology, Smith College, for the study, chiefly in France, of the sociology of knowledge.

Raymond V. Bowers, Instructor in Sociology, University of Minnesota, for training in the United States in the techniques of experimental sociology.

Richard D. Kozelka, Assistant Professor of Economics and Statistics, University of Minnesota, for study in the principal European countries of the theoretical problems involved in the construction and use of cost-of-living indexes.

Ben W. Lewis, Associate Professor of Economics, Oberlin College, for study in England and the United States of government, industrial recovery, and the coming economic order.

Kalervo Oberg, Fellow of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture at the London School of Economics, for a study of culture contact in an East African tribe.

Morris S. Viteles, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania, for study in Russia of the methods employed by Russian psychologists in promoting individual efficiency and adjustment in industry.

Sociologists and Governmental Research.—In the May issue of the *Journal* an extensive list was given of sociologists engaged in governmental research. This list did not include Mr. Harold R. Hosea, who is research supervisor in the F.E.R.A. division of research and statistics.

Recently Dr. John H. Mueller, of the University of Oregon, and Mrs. Helen G. Woolbert, of Iowa City, have accepted appointments in research work in the relief studies under the F.E.R.A.

Southwestern Social Science Association.—The Sociological Section of the Southwestern Social Science Association held its annual meeting in Dallas, Texas, March 30 and 31, 1934, in conjunction with the general meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. A number of papers were presented dealing, for the most part, with sociological problems of the Southwest. The sociological Section is joining with the other sections in a plan of making a general study of political, economic, and sociological conditions of the Southwest.

The following officers for 1934-35 were elected: Wm. C. Smith, William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri, Chairman; O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Secretary. O. D. Duncan was also elected executive committeeman at large for the Association as a whole.

A committee composed of T. Lynn Smith, Walter T. Watson, and Jennings J. Rhyne, was appointed to promulgate plans for a more tangible organization in the future and to poll the sentiments of the membership on the advisability of taking a chapter membership in the American Sociological Society, final action being delayed until the 1935 meeting.

University of Arkansas.—University of Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 296, *Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area*, by T. C. McCormick, was published in December. This is the second of a series of rural organization studies to be completed.

University of Hawaii.—Dr. Everett V. Stonequist, of Skidmore College, will teach courses in sociology during the year 1934-35. His place at Skidmore will be filled by Dr. E. T. Thompson, who for the past two years has occupied a place on the sociology faculty of the University of Hawaii.

University of Kentucky.—Macmillan Company announces the publication of *Blindness and the Blind in the United States* by Harry Best, professor of sociology.

University of Liverpool.—A Social Survey of Merseyside has recently been completed under the auspices of the University of Liverpool, England, on lines somewhat similar to the Booth Survey of London Life and Labour. The report, in three volumes, entitled *The Social Survey of Merseyside*,

edited by D. Caradog Jones, is published by the University Press of Liverpool, 175 Brownlow Hill, Liverpool 3.

New York State College of Agriculture.—Mr. H. W. Beers has been appointed associate economic analyst in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and is assisting in arranging research studies of rural relief families in various states. He will return to Cornell next year.

New York University.—John Wiley and Sons, Inc., announce the publication of *General Sociology* by Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology.

Janet Fowler Nelson was appointed research supervisor to work on the unemployment relief study in the Division of Research and Statistics, F.E.R.A., Washington.

Prentice Hall, Inc., announce the publication of *Readings in Educational Sociology*, edited by E. George Payne, assistant dean, School of Education, and head of the department of educational sociology.

Oberlin College.—Thomas Y. Crowell Company announce the publication of a revised edition of *Elements of Rural Sociology* by Newell L. Sims, professor of sociology.

University of Pennsylvania.—At the 1933 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Dr. Thorsten Sellin was elected a member of the Social Science Research Council for 1934-36. He has also been appointed, by the governor of Pennsylvania, a member of the recently organized State Probation Committee, which is to study the problem of the reorganization of probation in Pennsylvania.

A comprehensive analysis of the penal statutes passed by the legislatures of 1931 has just been published by the International Penal and Prison Commission.

Dr. J. P. Shaloo has been appointed Secretary of the governor's Commission on Special Policing in Industry. This is an investigating commission, centering its attention upon the employment of deputy sheriffs by coal, iron, and steel companies. Dr. Shaloo is the author of *Private Police*, a monograph study, published recently by the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. James H. S. Bossard has been appointed by Governor Gifford Pinchot to the Pennsylvania State Commission on Probation.

University of Southern California.—The Pacific Sociological Society (E. F. Young, Vice-President) met in Los Angeles for its regular spring

meeting on May 12 with the N.R.A. and Social Control as its major theme.

Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina is teaching the courses in the Summer Session on Folk Sociology, Modern Social Trends, and Regional Social Planning.

E. S. Bogardus is the author of a monograph on *The Mexican Immigrant in the United States*, published by the University of Southern California.

John E. Norkskog is the author of a volume being published this summer on *Social Democracy and Nationalism in Norway*.

Stockholm University.—Dorothy Swaine Thomas, of Yale University, has been appointed visiting professor, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. She will have leave of absence from Yale during the spring semester, 1934-35, and will carry on research and a seminar in the Social Science Institute, University of Stockholm.

University of Virginia.—W. W. Norton and Company announce the publication of *American Farm Policy* by Dr. Wilson Gee.

University of Wisconsin.—Kimball Young is on leave for the second semester under a subvention from the Graduate Committee. He is completing, with J. L. Gillin, the community study on Madison, but his major time will be devoted to research on certain aspects of Mormon culture.

Helen I. Clarke, who teaches social-work courses in the sociology department, announces that the department and the State Emergency Relief Administration are co-operating in a two weeks' summer conference or institute for relief workers in the state. This is the second institute of its type offered by the University for the emergency administration.

Research projects under the direction of J. H. Kolb, on C.W.A., include a survey of town-country communities of Evansville and Stoughton and an analysis of the educational situation and needs of farm youth in Wisconsin.

E. L. Kirkpatrick, on leave the first semester to serve as rural relief analyst and advisor in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, resumed his work in the Department of Rural Sociology on February first.

Rosalind Tough, research assistant in the Department of Rural Sociology since July, accepted the position of associate economic analyst in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in January. She will assist E. D. Tetreau and Clark Tibbitts with the supervision of rural relief studies in different states. Other former Wisconsin students and instruc-

tors assisting Mr. Tetreau and Mr. Tibbitts are P. G. Beck, Conrad Taeuber, B. F. DeWees Runk, Allan Edwards, and Glen Taylor.

Yale University.—Dorothy Swaine Thomas was appointed Senior Research Supervisor to work on the Unemployment Relief Census and related studies in the Division of Research and Statistics, F.E.R.A., Washington. Mildred Parten was appointed consultant on the same study.

PERSONAL NOTES

Mr. Elwood Street, who for five years has been director of the Community Chest of Washington, D.C., has been appointed director of Public Welfare of the District of Columbia. Mr. Street is president of the Washington Sociological Society.

Dr. Victor Deznai, whose address is Timisoara, Rumania, III. Str. Laurean 8, is anxious to exchange reprints with American sociologists. His particular field of interest is demography and urban sociology. He is especially anxious to obtain statistical and demographical material.

BOOK REVIEWS

Health and Environment. By EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933. Pp. xii + 217. \$2.50.

Some of the studies conducted for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends entailed extensive investigations and yielded results of larger scope than could be completely encompassed in a chapter of the Committee's report. Lest some of the fruits of these labors be lost, arrangements were effected to publish the series of monographs which includes this volume by Mr. Sydenstricker.

Among his prefatory remarks the author announces he has "tried to shun the temptation . . . to speculate and to philosophize, perhaps at the risk of being accused of lacking a proper imagination." No one who knows his history would think to accuse him of lacking "a proper imagination." Beneath the cold exterior of his writings shine through the evidences of a warmth of spirit and vividness of imagination exceeded in the works of few (if any) American statisticians. It was he who conceived the path through a forest of difficulties toward the first comprehensive American survey of morbidity. His reports on the Hagerstown survey are a monumental record in the study of the incidence of disease. Those labors were performed in a time when the health of the American people was accurately measurable only in terms of mortality. The field studies of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had provided the first large-scale measure of the *prevalence* of sickness. It remained for Sydenstricker to provide the first large scale measure of the *incidence* of sickness. And by intertwining social with medical variables, he gave us the first quantitative insight into the relation between social forces and sickness in the United States. It is a compliment to the quality of his work that a more recent inquiry (by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and the United States Public Health Service) among representative groups of families in 130 communities yielded substantial confirmation of his data from Hagerstown.

The author has also been a leader in development of vigorous, objective techniques to measure the validity of procedures which are widely followed in public-health practice—to discover whether we were doing things of real social significance or whether we were merely going through accus-

tomed motions. These elements of background are essential lest the reader of *Health and Environment* be misled and mistake restraint for weakness in the argument.

The purpose of the volume is to review in the dispassionate manner adopted by the President's Committee the evidence on the interrelations between health and environment—especially social environment. Such a program must not lose sight of the relations between health and heredity lest there result confusions between the somatic effects of social forces and the genetic effects operating through selection. Nor is there any confusion on these scores in Sydenstricker's mind. The two are as clearly disentangled (and as feebly) as they may be.

The evidence on the influence of heredity upon health is clear in the matter of longevity and is now attested by substantial data. The evidence for a corresponding correlation with respect to morbidity is rather feeble. Yet most of us incline to believe in it from the common observation that sickness and good health seem to "run" in families. Similarly, physical environment has from time immemorial been related to health, and the evidence has been clearest and most convincing in the association of extremely rigorous environment and poor health (as in the tropical or arctic regions). What of the relations of "social environment" and health? It is to this point that the volume is especially directed. The analysis of health and environment deals with both physical and social environment and recognizes the significance of their unchangeable, their changed, and their changing composition and form.

Ingenuity has not yet been able to devise some single index of health or vitality. To measure the state of a people's health we must performe use various indices. Neither birth-rates nor death-rates singly and alone measure health. For this reason there is special value in a small book like the present which collates the best data on the prevalence of physical impairments and disease, on fertility, illness, and mortality. Where the implications of statistical study are not clear—as in the relations of economic cycles or economic status or migrations to health—the comment is critical and the interpretations reserved. The organization of medicine is peculiarly and intimately related to social and economic factors and is of large significance for national health. Sydenstricker reviews the high points in the findings from the five-year survey of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and brings out forcibly the direct relations between economic status and the ability to purchase medical care. The rôle of occupation in affecting health is well known; but it receives new and stimulating treatment.

The trend of mortality is generally downward, and much of the vigor of our social life is a consequence of our youthful age distribution. That mortality from accidents—especially from automobile accidents—has been increasing is well known; but that mortality is rising in the years after middle age is less commonly known and of grave concern. Sydenstricker takes a more unequivocal stand in accepting the fact than do many vital statisticians. Perhaps he is justified. Is the untoward change in the latter years of life due to hard living, to industrialization, and to urbanization? Is it a consequence of changes in race stock and innate longevity effected some years back by the strong pulse of immigration? Has it come from the dysgenic effects of misguided preventive medicine, public health and other social efforts which (as is alleged) tend to preserve the unfit and conserve the less vital, less robust, and shorter-lived stock? The student of social trends steers a careful course in this maze. He will be interested in Sydenstricker's conclusion that "other factors have had a far greater influence [than the genetic factors], within the comparatively short period of our history, in determining the rate at which the American people survive."

Both method and procedure in this volume are so objective and rigorous that one asks, not what conclusion does the author draw from his data, but to what conviction is he led? So far as a single conclusion stands out, it is this (and Sydenstricker offers this only as an opinion):

What data we now possess . . . on the whole somewhat assures us that the prevention of that mortality and that ill health which are demonstrably due to unfavorable environment will not weaken the race. On the contrary we may be reasonably certain that the race will be more vigorous and happier even if the span of life is not affected.

It were an error, however, to focus all attention upon a pithy phrase or a sentence which leaps to the eye and lends itself to quotation. This monograph must be taken for what it is, not for what a reviewer might make it seem to be. It is a scholar's study and a student's handbook, as much for its method and close thinking as for its content and style. We who can use it and the President's Committee who make it possible—and, not to forget him, the man who fashioned it—are to be congratulated.

I. S. FALK

NEW CANAAN, CONNECTICUT

Heredity and Environment: Studies in the Genesis of Psychological Characteristics. By GLADYS C. SCHWESINGER. Edited by FREDERICK OSBORN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. viii+484. \$4.00.

The Eugenic Predicament. By S. J. HOLMES. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933. Pp. xi+232.

The scope of the Schwesinger volume is indicated by its subtitle. In content it is not a formal treatise or a research based on freshly found data; it is a summary survey of extant literature. The first two chapters deal with techniques of measurement of intelligence and personality, respectively; there follows a short and relatively inadequate chapter on the definition of the heredity-environment problem, and then two chapters summarizing systematically studies of intelligence and of personality. There are "Conclusions" and an Appendix, and both name and subject indexes. Any student of these problems, in whatever field, will welcome this volume and henceforth find it indispensable. The references at the end of chapters exceed eight hundred (counting duplicates) and may be safely said to include nearly every research and discussion of importance. There is no doubt but that the authcrs have striven to make the work objective, cautious, and impartial; and to the reviewer they seem to have succeeded admirably. While the conclusions reached support neither environmental nor hereditarian extremists, they will be interpreted by the former as leaning toward the latter. The field dealt with is broad and complex, and the material here summarized should be supplemented by surveys of (1) statistical methods and their implications; (2) the present state of knowledge of gene transmission and influence; and (3) heredity and environment in relation to physical traits and mental abnormalities.

Professor Holmes is already widely known among both biologists and sociologists for his contributions to biology. The present work is written from the standpoint of one who feels that "the progress of knowledge in this field has materially strengthened the position of the eugenist"; and he believes that "eugenics is still of the greatest importance for human welfare." The contents of the volume are indicated by chapter headings such as the following: "Some Biological Preliminaries," "The Legions of the Ill-Born," "The Heredity of Superior Ability," "The Sources of the Birth Supply," "Natural Selection, or the Ministrations of Death," "Eugenics and Its Critics," "What Can We Do about It?" The Appendix of thirty-five pages contains brief summaries of recent research materials on

various problems touched upon in the text. There is a selected body of references for each chapter and an index.

As the title suggests, Professor Holmes is not too optimistic regarding the eugenic outlook. On the whole, he leans strongly to the opinion of Bertrand Russell that eugenics and democracy will not mix and that consequently one may expect that for another century or so each succeeding generation will be somewhat more stupid than its predecessor. His final chapter is, however, a brief comprehensive survey of proposals and possibilities into which creeps more than one note of mild optimism. While the book is semipopular in character, it will abundantly repay reading by those sociologists inclined to be skeptical of the bases of eugenic opinion, partly because the author summarizes a good deal of pertinent research material and partly because he disposes of a considerable number of misconceptions and errors of reasoning on the part of opponents.

FRANK H. HANKINS

SMITH COLLEGE

Inheritance. By PHYLLIS BENTLEY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 592. \$2.50.

It is unusual for a novel to be reviewed in a learned journal devoted to sociology; but there is ample justification for the present instance, for although *Inheritance* is a work of fiction, it is something more than a product of the imagination. It may be described as an artistic presentation of certain important social phenomena as they are reflected in the lives of particular human beings who pass through a historical period.

The period covered is from 1812 until the present day. The scene is laid in England, in the heart of the West Riding. The social phenomena dealt with are the relations between employers and workers in the woolen industry and the effect on those relations of the introduction of machinery, the Luddite riots which followed it, the Chartist movement, the growth of trade-unions, popular education, democratic local government, the World War beginning in 1914, and the subsequent depression which has prevailed in the industry until the present day. The men and women through whose lives we witness both the causes and the effects of these social movements are the various members of the Oldroyd family. The Oldroyds are a rising line of mill-owners who carry on the manufacture of cloth from generation to generation. Their fortunes and destinies, their happiness and misery, are inescapably entwined with the love and hatred of certain lesser strains,

the Barnforths and Mellors, who in course of time become intermingled both biologically and spiritually with the main stock. The central drama of the book arises from the fact that the Mellors and the Barnforths are among the Oldroyd workpeople.

Miss Bentley has conceived a splendid story, excellently written and constructed. She has a genuine philosophy of history, although she has the literary discretion to keep it in the background until the very end. There will be many economic historians and sociologists who will be glad to know of a novel which is almost certain to interest the intelligent student and to enlighten the backward one.

WILLIAM A. ROBSON

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Origin and Nature of Man. By G. SPILLER. London: Williams & Norgate Ltd., 1931. Pp. xiv+383. 7s. 6d.

It is somewhat surprising that American sociologists have as yet given no adequate recognition to this epoch-making work. Its title, to be sure, is somewhat misleading, and to some it might suggest a work in biology. Indeed, some reviews of the book have treated it as a work in biology; and this is possible because practically the first hundred pages are devoted to a statement of the biological background. It is really, however, an inquiry into the fundamentals of man's social and cultural life. After the first four chapters, the problem of the distinctive nature of human social behavior and the laws of human social development are taken up.

These laws are found to be four in number: (1) the law of limitless increase in cultural diversity; (2) the law of limitless progress; (3) the law of limitless growth in co-operation; (4) the law of limitless individual perfectibility. The titles of these latter chapters might suggest to some that the work is one of speculative Utopianism, like Condorcet's "Sketch." This would be, however, another mistake, as the book is one of careful, scientific synthesis, based upon the work of over six hundred scientific authorities.

The central thesis of the book is that human social and cultural development is based upon man's capacity to learn freely from others. It is this capacity which is the differential factor which separates human life from the rest of animal life, and which should be used as the basis of a scientific sociology. By means of this capacity, all human beings can freely profit by the experiences of their fellows near and far, in space and time, and in this way can multiply their powers almost infinitely. In the

animal world the individual is guided by instinct and individual intelligence; in the human world individuals are able to profit by the thoughts and experiences of their myriad fellows. Animals, Dr. Spiller says, are "individuo-psychic," while man is "specio-psychic," human achievements being the result of cumulative and collective effort throughout the ages.

Dr. Spiller argues that social theory should start with this fundamental difference between man and other animals. The explanation of human culture and social behavior must be sought in those elements in human nature which are peculiar to man, and not in those which he possesses in common with the rest of the animal world. For example, any appeal to sub-human instincts must of necessity fail. Culture must be explained largely, if not entirely, in terms of culture. Biological and geographical factors can only be used as a background to explain social conditions. Especially we cannot account for the variations in cultural level in terms of in-born biological differences or variations. Even individual mental differences are primarily explicable on a non-biological basis by reference to cultural causes.

Dr. Spiller recognizes fully the work of others who have preceded him in the development of this theory, the anthropologists, cultural sociologists, and practical educators and humanitarians. He has invented the term "inter-learning" to describe the process by which human beings learn from other human beings. He prefers this term to the term "collective learning" or "group-learning" proposed by the writer of this review; and it must be admitted that his term is a better designation of the concrete process from the point of view of the individual. With Spiller the human social process becomes essentially a process of inter-learning, and the conclusion is that the factors determining social change are independent of the factors determining biological change.

Several criticisms might be made of Mr. Spiller's book other than those already suggested. It would seem that a somewhat fuller recognition of the place of instinctive tendencies in the social process is entirely compatible with his general thesis. It would also seem to the reviewer that it would not detract from the value of his theory to give more weight to individual differences in cultural and social development. These are, however, minor criticisms, and the book will long remain a monument of sociological synthesis. I believe, as I have said elsewhere, that it furnishes a basis for all sane sociology and that American sociologists cannot afford to pass it by.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Social Disorganization. By MABEL A. ELLIOTT and FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: Harper & Bros., 1934. Pp. xv+827. \$3.50.

The authors of this volume undertake to present social problems and personal maladjustments from a sociological point of view, to integrate practical considerations of social welfare into an ordered system of social thought, to understand the so-called practical problems by relating them to the social processes from which they arise. The volume opens with two chapters which define the sociological standpoint on which the subsequent analysis proceeds. The subject matter proper is organized into the three divisions of personal, family, and community disorganization. Each section, as each chapter, is prefaced by brief treatment of the "conceptual nature of the social processes involved in the particular type of disorganization under consideration." The book is exceptionally well written and abundantly documented by footnote citations to the pertinent literature. As a text for college classes, the volume is so distinctly superior as to be without a rival in its particular field.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The Pilgrims of Russian-Town. By PAULINE V. YOUNG. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. xxi+296. \$3.00.

This book is a valuable case history of the interaction between the past experiences of two cultural groups, that of Russian peasants and a heterogeneous group in an American city. It depicts the interaction between a simple rural culture and that of a complex urban environment that has always marked life in an American city. Rural Americans and all European peasants have had similar experiences, so the study is significant since it brings into high relief the adjustment process in city life. It shows, also, how completely individuals and their social heritages are inextricably related. The Molokans, a religious sect from Russia, were able to bring with them the entire subjective aspect of their Russian social heritage which was signalized by religious and pacifistic patterns of behavior.

The story of *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town* is a scholarly contribution to the growing literature on sects. It shows how sects come into existence and struggle to maintain themselves in an unfriendly situation. It is a sociological document that can be used as supplementary material in courses on immigration, urban life, social pathology, and all others that

deal with cultural conflicts. The social psychologist who is interested in changes that take place in human nature in a new cultural milieu will find this study worth while. It will provide valuable "funded knowledge" for the social worker who must deal with those of foreign cultures.

L. GUY BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The Taxi-Dance Hall. A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life. By PAUL G. CRESSEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. xxi+300. \$3.00.

A wealth of information and many well-substantiated conclusions on a subject not hitherto systematically explored are furnished in this volume. The taxi-dance hall is described from the vantage points of its natural history and ecology, the social worlds of its employees, the situations of its patrons, and the social problems it involves. The book presents the testimony of girls, patrons, and managers, excerpts from life-histories and from the records of social agencies, spot-maps, and a glossary of the argot of the dance hall. The index is sufficiently inclusive to render the abundance of cross-references in footnotes superfluous. Much new and hard ground must have been broken in developing techniques for obtaining information on the many phases considered. The most notable contributions are perhaps in the chapter on social reform, where the position is taken that the taxi-dance hall meets certain legitimate needs arising out of city life, representing "an adroit adjustment to a previously unrecognized demand" (p. 288). At the same time both potential and real elements of demoralization are clearly recognized.

It is one of the values of such a study that it provokes as many questions as it answers. Some, for example, might relate to the Filipinos, who without the taxi-dance hall have almost no social contacts with women; others to the conception of the dance as a legitimate agency for satisfying a valid human need in the form of sensual gratification. The reviewer is reluctant to accept the belief that most of the fundamental wishes of a girl are satisfied by the life of such halls (pp. 32-33). Again, to one versed in Westermarck the view that marriage is for the rearing of children (p. 252) does not seem "new" or "revolutionary." A more thorough analysis of the cultural mixture of the areas represented by girl dancers would have been of value, though the author could scarcely have included much more than he did in a readable book.

It is due the author to state that he has treated his material with a

nice delicacy and a scientific detachment not deserving of the somewhat meretricious advertising by which his book was introduced to the public.

EVELYN BUCHAN CROOK

BRADFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago. By HOMER HOYT.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xxxii + 519.
\$5.00.

This study of the history of land values in Chicago represents an outstanding contribution to land economics. It represents a most laborious gathering of materials and a conscientious analysis of them. It contains 103 charts and 103 statistical tables in which the materials are presented.

Part I presents the general historical background of Chicago's growth from 1830 to 1933 with the emphasis placed upon the general economic forces affecting land values.

Part II is analytical, presenting a study of the relationship between the growth of Chicago and the ebb and flow of land values. A thoughtful presentation of the sequence of events in land-value cycles greatly increases the value of the material presented. The Appendix contains a description of the Chicago land market and an account of the technique employed in assembling the basic land-value data.

Many of the impressions that pass current regarding the growth of land values will suffer considerably from this careful analysis by Mr. Hoyt, made in a city which is remarkable for the rapidity of its growth and where, if anywhere, the thesis that all land values tend to increase would be expected to demonstrate itself. In the words of Professor Millis, who wrote the Foreword: "The volume of data to be collected, studied, and weighed was appalling; the factors to be discovered and held in mind many, interrelated, and confusing. . . . Perhaps there will be difference of opinion as to some of the methods employed. . . . Yet it is a contribution of great value."

ERNEST M. FISHER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Art of Conference. By FRANK WALSER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1933. Pp. x + 305. \$3.00.

An interesting book, with a bibliography on conferences and a brief account of some dozen of them. These last include three which the author conducted and others in which he participated, besides some historically important ones of an international character.

The author appears to be of Polish antecedents and has had extensive contacts with the Society of Friends. He is at his best when advising about conferences organized for religious discussion to promote harmony and good-will and to integrate personality. A whole chapter is devoted to the subject of silence in the conference. He is interested in deep personal problems and the fuller religious life.

The success of a conference is held to depend on the personality of the leader, his skill in selecting the members, and their sincerity and purity of motive. The leader must have the feel of the musician. Coué and the faith healers receive sympathetic mention.

The very limitations of the book should be fruitful in stimulating investigation. It may be that the purpose of the conference should determine the method and that there are several kinds of appropriate procedure. To decide on definite action within a limited time may require very different methods than are needed when spiritual harmony and removal of prejudice is chiefly sought. There is also a third type of conference which is a search for means to carry out an agreed purpose.

The concepts of social psychology should be of assistance in formulating the needed theory of conference so that we may have a communicable technique that will not depend on the vague and indefinite. A primary group differs from a formal group. Each would seem to require different conference procedure. The writings of Miss Follett, the publications of the Inquiry, and such books as this are welcome contributions to a difficult and important subject.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Opinion and World Politics. Edited by QUINCY WRIGHT.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xiii + 237. \$3.00.

The Foreword by Professor Wright states:

The lectures here reproduced were delivered at the Tenth Institute under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, held at the University of Chicago from June 19 to June 29, 1933. The Institute was devoted to "The Formation of Public Opinion in World Politics," and the lectures discussed the problem from the practical point of view of the journalist and man-of-affairs as well as from the analytic point of view of the historian and social scientist.

The first lecture, first chapter in the book, is by John W. Dafoe, the managing editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and attempts to define public opinion and illustrate it from the rich background of political and journalistic experience of this notable supporter of liberalism in Canada.

Following this auspicious opening, we have three lectures by Jules Auguste Saurewein, former editor of *Paris-Soir*, associated for many years with French journalism, and frequent correspondent of the *New York Times*. These presentations attempt to state: (1) the extent to which material issues interfere with the formation of enlightened public opinion, (2) how political power and other forces affect public opinion, and (3) what are the contributions of culture—philosophy, religion, art—to the formation of sound opinion—and all from the standpoint of the thoughtful and successful journalist.

Succeeding these we find a series of three lectures by Edgar Stern-Rubarth, prominent in the field of European journalism for many years, author of several books, and editor-in-chief and assistant manager of the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau in Berlin. From his very wide organizational experiences he brought the conference a discussion of the methods of propaganda, centering, first, on the history and development of political propaganda; second, on the use of slogans and other symbols in the formation of public opinion; and, third, on the "holy mission" of journalism. His interpretation of Hitlerism is most illuminating.

Ralph H. Lutz, of Stanford University and chairman of the directors of the Hoover War Library—which includes a remarkable collection of war-propaganda materials—presents the eighth lecture, in which he devotes himself to certain aspects of the World War propaganda and attempts to set forth the influence of organized public opinion upon the conduct of internal and foreign affairs. He emphasizes what is all too evident to the present reviewer, namely, the pressing need for co-operative research as a prerequisite to the definitive measurement of the influence of propaganda.

The final lecture, by H. D. Lasswell, associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and author of *Propaganda Technique in the World War* and also *Psychopathology and Politics*, analyzes and compares the strategy of revolutionary leaders and war propagandists, attempts to penetrate some of the "inner tensions" of our time, and pays tribute to the "search for the rationale of the non-rational."

In reviewing this book, I found myself in rather a unique position. In the first place, I heard most of these lectures; I heard these men give public utterance to what my eyes later fell upon in print. But, more than this, I sat at a conference table for some days with these men and listened to them discuss with their fellows all sorts of matters related to the central theme. I had intimate contacts with some of them. I gained a certain slant on some of their idiosyncrasies, heard them defend themselves wit-

tily or seriously when challenged, heard them talk about matters which could not be given to the public. All of this experience made its contribution to the enthusiasm with which I read these formal and illuminating expositions.

FREDERICK E. LUMLEY

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Towards the Seizure of Power. By V. I. LENIN. English trans. New York: International Publishers, 1932. Vol. I: pp. 304; Vol. II: pp. 350. \$7.00.

These two volumes contain a selection of newspaper articles and letters written by Lenin from the July days of 1917 to the eve of the October revolution. Volume II contains a revised translation of Lenin's famous pamphlet on the *State and Revolution* which was composed during this period. To the reader unacquainted with the general scheme of historical development in Russia since the beginning of the twentieth century, these writings, dashed off on the firing line of the revolutionary struggle, and still conveying the flavor and freshness of pieces hot from the press, may be difficult to follow. Detailed references are made to the crowded calendar of events and personalities, too recent to be seen always in proper perspective; pages are given over to discussions of matters concerning which Lenin could presuppose some familiarity on the part of his readers. It would be advisable, therefore, for all but the expert to acquaint themselves with a general history of the Russian Revolution before approaching these volumes. And there are at least two good reasons why Lenin's *Towards the Seizure of Power* should be read in conjunction with Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. First, both men were working hand in hand during this period not only against the Kerensky régime, but against the waverers in the ranks of the Bolsheviks themselves; and, second, Trotsky's account, which is the most comprehensive in English, makes reference to materials and events not included by the present editors of Lenin's works, especially on the differences between Lenin and other members of the central committee of his party, including Stalin.

This collection of Lenin's writings is far more important for what it reveals about the character of Lenin's thought and revolutionary statesmanship than for the light it throws on the factional differences among his collaborators and followers. Every one of his analyses is a concrete illustration of the logic of Marxism in action. Here is no mechanical application of sacrosanct principles, no fetish of formulas behind which

political stupidity or cowardice can hide. Problems are treated in their own terms. The immediate historical situation and its possibilities are taken as points of departure. There is a patient worrying to ascertain objective facts always accompanied by an evaluation of the dynamic social and psychological context in which they are found. Lenin never forgot his Marxist principles, but he never forgot to test them in the light of the revolutionary goal—the conquest of political power—and the consequences of the daily activity in its behalf. Lenin not only had to lead the fight against those whom he regarded as the class enemy, but he had to wage a struggle for his conception of Marxism against other Marxists. Nowhere has he epitomized his philosophy with such incisiveness as in the following passage in the course of a discussion on the relation between peasants and workers:

The transfer of political power to the proletariat—that is the crux of the matter. After that, everything essential, basic, and important in the 242 instructions *will be possible of realisation*. Life will show what modifications will be necessary. This is the last thing to worry about. We are not doctrinaires. Our philosophy is not a dogma, but a guide to action.

We do not claim that Marx or the Marxists know the road to Socialism in all its completeness. That is nonsense. We know the direction of this road, we know what class forces lead along it, but concretely and practically it will be learned from the *experience of the millions* when they take up the task [I, 133].

Lenin is at his best in tackling a concrete problem. He makes his principles appear to come out of a fresh analysis of new situations. His theoretical formulations, however, although important and illuminating, have not the same power of carrying conviction to those who are not already convinced before they read them. This may be due to the fact that in his theoretical writings, especially in his *Materialism and Empirico-Criticism* and the *State and Revolution*, Lenin is more interested in establishing the historic content of the Marxist doctrines against revisionists than he is in arguing the positions from scratch.

The reviewer feels it necessary to call attention to the dangerously misleading character of the explanatory notes and supplementary material supplied by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute to these volumes of Lenin's *Collected Works*. They reflect the factional struggle between Stalin and his followers against Trotsky—a struggle which expresses itself in bold efforts to re-write history, magnify whatever differences existed between Lenin and Trotsky, and to eliminate the latter as much as possible from his rôle in the titanic struggles of the Russian Revolution. One need but compare the biographical notice of Trotsky in this volume with those which appeared in earlier volumes published when Trotsky had not yet

been banished to the lowest pits of counter-revolutionary hell. In fact, this "scientific" edition of Lenin's works describes Trotsky not in Lenin's words but in Stalin's words:

TROTSKY, L. D. (BRONSTEIN)—Social-Democrat, who within the Russian Social-Democracy headed the "centrists," which subsequently degenerated into the part "advanced detachments of counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie [II, 293]. [The last phrase is Stalin's characterization of Trotsky.—S. H.]

Nor is Stalin described in Lenin's own words but in the following:

STALIN, J. V. (DJUGASHVILI)—The most prominent continuer of Lenin's cause and his most orthodox disciple, the inspirer of all the most important measures taken by the Communist Party in its struggle for building up Socialism, the greatest theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, etc. [II, 291].

One must protest. This is not scientific history. This is a factional war. It seriously prejudices the claim of this edition to be either definitive, objective, and—on many points—even reliable.

SIDNEY HOOK

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE

Modern Germany: A Study of Conflicting Loyalties. By PAUL KOSOK.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933, Pp. xxi + 348.

In this volume—the last to be published of the Civic Training Series edited by Charles E. Merriam—Paul Kosok, assistant professor of history at Long Island University, has summarized the results of six years' study of political attitudes in the German Republic. The reader wishes at times that the summary had been less condensed and that the large masses of factual material hinted at here and there had been presented in full. But the work, in general, is invaluable for a comprehension of the background of the Third Reich. The Fascist revolution took place after the work was completed. It is mentioned only in the Preface and in a frantic closing paragraph. Between these terminal points Professor Kosok has set forth the data which are indispensable to an understanding of German politics, past and present. Without confessing himself a Marxian, the author has nevertheless built his presentation around an analysis of class attitudes and ideologies and of interclass relations.

The first seventy-five pages contain a brief but lucid treatment of the historical development in Germany of the bourgeoisie, the industrial proletariat, the middle classes, the landed aristocracy, the agricultural proletariat, and the peasantry. Part II, "The State," treats of political parties, the administrative bureaucracy, the army, and the school system.

Part III, "Non-State Organizations and Elements," discusses the civic rôle of the churches, the youth movements, particularisms, national minorities within and without the Reich, the press, the radio, and the cinema. A valuable chapter on "National Symbolism" by Isidor Ginsburg concludes the survey of civic-training agencies. The futilities of social democracy, the vanished dreams of Communism, the neglect of the emotional imponderables by the partisans of the Weimar Republic, the persisting power of reactionary militarist and aristocratic groups, the opportunism of the *haute bourgeoisie*, and the neuroses of the *Kleinbürgertum* are all set forth with admirable clarity and objectivity. Here one perceives the raw materials of the Nazi *Weltanschauung* and the fixed values and stereotypes in German culture which discredited the Republic and made possible the final triumph of national megalomania, racial intolerance, and militaristic absolutism. One can only express the hope that this work will be followed by an equally comprehensive treatment of the new techniques of political propaganda and civic education developed by the Fascist dictatorship.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Coming Struggle for Power. By JOHN STRACHEY. New York: Covici-Friede, 1933. Pp. viii+399.

This young Britisher has undergone a drastic and continuing transformation of his basic ideas in recent months, induced by the contemporary turmoil which is likewise blasting established ideologies of a surprisingly large number of us in the American intellectual group. Evelyn John St. Loe Strachey, son of the late John St. Loe Strachey, so many years illustrious editor of the *Spectator*, has loaded his thirty-odd years of existence with vigorous experiences; defeated for Parliament in 1924, he was later successful and served in the Labour plurality of 1929-31. In the fall of 1931, he resigned from the parliamentary Labour party and contested his former seat as an Independent.

The present volume, first published in England in late 1932, evidences the doubts, gropings, and study by which the author has achieved his present relative certitude in the communist position. The book may be roughly divided into three aspects. First, we have an analysis of the present capitalist system, drawing frequently on British theorists. This analysis will displease orthodox academic economists; but, it may be said, these times cry aloud for displeasing ideas! Second, the author analyzes the rôle of Social Democracy (particularly the British Labour party) with rather

devastating results for liberal-socialist "gradualism." And, third, throughout the book is interspersed a discussion of the theory of revolution; here nothing new is presented, but rather a timely emphasizing of facts long known to sociologists.

A few minor corrections may be pointed out: G. B. Shaw's Fabianism is dated "in the seventies" (p. 199); a more comprehensive and significant Index is needed; the loose use of the terms "instincts" and "instinctive" is jarring to the American reader, etc.

This work has been termed "dogmatic" by conservative British reviewers; withal, social scientists need be wary of bludgeon words such as "dogmatic." Even our much-wooed objectivity needs to be seen in the cold light of class interests; dogmatism, necessitated by space limitations, is offensive to us only when it is not our brand!

Evidently aimed at the non-academic reader, this volume is not suited as a textbook; however, it certainly merits the attention of every sociology teacher and of advanced students. Its extreme value to the sociologist is in directing seasonable attention to the fancifulness of relying upon education, liberal sentiments, harmony of interests, etc., to accomplish drastic changes—a fancifulness indulged in by extant writers of social-pathology textbooks, in their chapter-by-chapter accounts of "the way out" for specific social problems. Is it too much to expect that sociologists will soon more seriously apply to their whole field their long-discovered knowledge that ideas and institutions are determined by primary mores? Says Strachey (p. 227):

The necessity of an objective force incarnated by a specific social class in order to achieve a new type of society, the futility of supposing that sweet reasonableness can solve the iron contradiction of our extant social order, these things cannot be understood unless some cauterizing flame has passed over the mind.

S. CLAYTON NEWMAN

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Insecurity: A Challenge to America. By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN. New York: Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, 1933. Pp. xv+68o. \$4.00.

This challenge to capitalistic America is frankly and unashamed a propagandist work. But it is more than that. It is a fat compendium of facts on many aspects of the present social situation in the United States. Wages, savings, insurance, company welfare, philanthropy, sickness, old age, invalidity, and unemployment—all contribute their quota. The keynote to the whole study is sounded by Frances Perkins' brief introduction in the statement that "material distress and deterioration of human values

grow at a greater pace than the preventive measures we take." Although the author avers that he "frankly advocates social insurance as a feasible method of social security," he really does much more than that, and goes to the extreme of insisting that social insurance is the only method short of revolution for attaining social security. While rejecting the attitude that writers on economic and social problems should be objective and impartial, he tends to lean so heavily in the other direction that the great mass of facts which he has brought together lose some of their compelling effect. Most thinking people are agreed that certain forms of social insurance are not only eminently desirable but feasible. And it is quite clear in the light of recent events that savings and ordinary forms of insurance are not adequate to meet such a cataclysm as seems to have overwhelmed the business world in the last five years. Unemployment insurance appears to be a workable plan. Certain forms of health insurance adapted to American conditions might also prove effective. Old-age pensions are capturing American imagination as rapidly as mothers' pensions did a decade or two ago. But, granting these facts, they still do not prove that even the wide assortment of social insurance proposed by Mr. Epstein would either solve our social problems or provide what he hopes will be the alternative to revolution. On the whole, Mr. Epstein presents his materials in highly readable form with good humor and with abundant illustration from statistics and case studies. He occasionally seems to force his evidence. It is likewise unfortunate for an author to betray an obvious personal animosity, such as is displayed repeatedly, toward a previous President of the United States. A certain amount of repetition occurs, as was almost inevitable in such a comprehensive work based upon the conviction of a unitary remedy. The weakest part of the whole book would seem to be the chapter calling for family insurance. This seems to beg the whole question of insurance. The author ignores well-known reports and public documents adverse to family allowances. He overlooks the German rejection of this plan and French labor's suspicion of it. The best interpretation to be put upon it is that he must have been tired by the time he got to this chapter xxxiv!

In spite of these criticisms, Epstein's work is the most thoroughgoing and comprehensive monograph which has so far appeared in this field. It contains a mine of well-organized information, challenges easy-going pre-conceptions, clarifies and implements certain vague aspirations toward a more rational social order.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Caste and Credit in the Rural Area. By S. S. NEHRU. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932. Pp. xvi+174. \$1.75.

This little book is a sort of "gem in the rough." Entirely unprepossessing in appearance and with a title of a rural nature which predicates against its acceptance in an urban society, it nevertheless presents a study of the ramifications of social stratification in India which deserves careful consideration. Although it is a study of a different type, it deserves to be ranked with C. Bouglé's *Essais sur le régime des castes* (Paris, 1908). For the points which the two works have in common, Nehru's work is far more comprehensive and authoritative. It is a statistical study by one who begins with an insight into the actual conditions in India which is greater than that reached by the average non-Indian writer at the completion of his study. The author shows the advantage of good training in the social sciences and one is not surprised to find that he has a Ph.D. from Heidelberg, an advanced degree in economics from Paris, and a doctorate in jurisprudence from Brussels.

The motif of this work is the correlation between caste and economic conditions and between caste and family conditions. Thus, it is a thorough sociological study in that it deals with intercorrelations among different fields of human behavior. It is a Durkheimian type of study without the elusive metaphysics of this French school. It includes many observations made by a mind trained to look for the legal and social fictions which fill up this world. The author finds that social position is a factor in economic matters similar in some respects but different in others from conditions in our Western world. The upper castes have the advantage of prestige in economic matters but the lower ones have the compensating advantage that they are willing to work and have no inhibitions concerning the necessity for economic production. The same applies equally as well to the Mohammedan castes. There is no Christian caste in India, which is, of course, but one of the symptoms of the general inability of most branches of the present Christian church to adapt themselves to mission conditions. Practically all of the castes are agricultural in nature and in spite of their competitive character have adapted themselves to each other. Money is seldom used for the purpose for which it is borrowed. On the other hand, the ability of the peasant to return his loans is surprising. The use of jewelry as storehouses of wealth by the masses has been exaggerated in writings about India. Castes are ranked by occupation, social and religious status, financial condition, and labor value. Each has its ordinary and extraordinary functions. Each large group has its

own population processes. The fitting of these social variants into the values which constitute the economic life makes the "seamless web" of India. The economic man postulated for India by most writers on the subject is not found.

There are many ideas in the work which deserve rigid criticism but at least the author is honest. When he talks of "uplift," he does not disguise his meaning under any nonsensical term such as "progress" or "science." The general nature of the work indicates that the author is capable of finding his own weaknesses. The reviewer hopes that the author will continue to produce work of this type of originality. One closes the work feeling that it is worth careful reading.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Labor Economics and Labor Problems. By DALE YODER. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. Pp. 630. \$4.00.

This book is to be commended for two reasons: first, the author recognizes that the subject of labor economics and labor problems does not mean simply organized labor; in the second place, he attempts to work out an institutional approach.

Too often the writers of textbooks in the field of labor have thought it sufficient to write books about organized labor and consider them descriptive of labor as a whole. This is too limited a point of view as any cursory examination of the proportion of workers who are organized in the United States will suggest. Also, we have as yet had no adequate treatment of labor from a thoroughly institutional point of view.

The shortcoming of this book is that, like those who have preceded him in the attempt, Professor Yoder does not succeed in establishing wholly an institutional approach. Early in the book he introduces a chapter on "Workers as Human Personalities." Therein he gives a very excellent summary of the various views of scholars toward instinct, attitudes, and behavior. But this summary is not followed up. Nowhere in the chapter on health and hazards, for example, is there any description of the behavior of workers toward chance-taking, of reasons why they break safety rules, of how they feel toward health measures instituted by employers, of what reactions they have toward compulsory payment for sickness insurance. In other words, the folkways and mores of the factory, mill, and shop are overlooked.

A thoroughly institutional approach, moreover, would probably lead to less worry about whether or not the study of labor is scientific. I suggest that it is bad for economics to try to come in under the umbrella of the natural scientists. Particularly in the field of labor and capital we must not insist too much on the thoroughly scientific nature of the study. After all, economics is a study of the conflict of interests and, try as we may, in some way or other social beliefs and biases will enter to influence judgments and conclusions. What we can attempt to do is to avoid at least the conventional biases. But we should not insist that our method is that of the scientists, especially as long as people attribute objectivity and "truth" to that race of men.

A thoroughly institutional book, also, would probably do violence to part of Professor Yoder's description of capitalist industry and its development (chap. iv). Taylor and Brown are quoted as saying: "Our industries constitute one of our major institutions. A great mill or factory is as much an institution in a community as is a church or school." Here we find the word "institution" used in a confusing sense. The great mill or factory in the United States is one thing, and in Russia it may mean another thing. The factory itself may not be a material point. The question is: What are the attitudes toward it? To what uses is it put? In these attitudes and ways of acting we have the institutions.

It is possible to treat labor from a number of points of view. If the author is interested in control or reform, as perhaps Professors Tugwell and Berle are at the present time, it is necessary to evolve a plan or theory and to follow through with such adaptations as experience dictates. But if a person is interested, as Professor Yoder is, in learning what is happening and what is going to happen, a study of behavior is the appropriate approach. There are many possible avenues for research in behavior, and among them is the possibility of simply going around for the purpose of observing and perhaps classifying the behavior of workers in given situations. From such a series of studies one might learn much of value for the teacher and student in this field who has confidence in an institutional approach. Possibly a truly institutional book in labor must await the accumulation of such information.

WILLARD E. ATKINS

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Dnešní krise rodinného života (Present Crisis of Family Life). By IN. ARNOŠT Bláha. Brno: Published by the author, 1933. Pp. 120.

We are lately presented with numerous studies which emphasize that the family is seriously shaken in its foundations, and that it will not fulfil the functions so much needed in the present crisis. This is the general tone of the work of Keyserling and Mayreder of Germany, Bordeaux, Durkheim, and Duprat of France and Switzerland, Michels of Italy, Kádner, Adamík, and Neumann of Czechoslovakia, and Russell, Groves, and Mowrer of England and America. Bláha, a foremost Czechoslovak sociologist, now caps the past performances with a work which presents a vast store of new material and which has eliminated the superfluous. He analyzes the sexual, technical, economic, spiritual, and moral elements of modern culture, which influence the weakening of the formerly strong family organization, discusses their individual results, such as the revolt of man and woman and the fate of the child and society, and concludes by criticizing the present attempts to solve the problems of sex and the family, not forgetting to add his own proposals for a solution. Mrs. Bláha has added as an appendix several examples of family disharmony in the fiction form. Though this is a small volume, and though it is written in Czech (and thus inaccessible to most sociologists), it is an admirable and provocative study based on wide research, shot through with a disarming suavity and maturity of judgment which make the author's mildest criticism more effective than another man's invective.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

The Divorce Court. Volume II. Ohio. By L. C. MARSHALL and GEOFFREY MAY (with the statistical assistance of ELVA L. MARQUARD and RUTH RETICKER). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 438. \$3.50.

This investigation covers the 9,237 actions for divorce, annulment, and alimony, disposed of by the courts of Ohio July 1 to December 31, 1930. The data from the records of these cases are dealt with statistically under three main heads: the personnel of divorce actions, the outcome of the cases, and the time involved. With these data are incorporated a survey of the statistics of divorce in Ohio over a period of several decades, a detailed summary of the law of divorce in Ohio, an account of the procedural

tactics, and a detailed plan for a more scientific recording of divorce actions and the statistical reporting of them.

Within the limits of this review it is impossible to summarize findings. But two quotations will suggest the tone of the conclusions. "The final outcome is this: a divorce decree will be duly issued to anyone who has a certain amount of time and money—and a cooperative spouse" (page 23). "Divorce litigation, irrespective of what the forms may be, is really occupied in the main with property rights, money payments, and the custody of the children" (page 370).

To those professionally interested in the problem of divorce this is an important book. It is realistic beyond the usual skeletal realism of statistical studies. It offers no solutions, but it raises questions that call for answers.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Alcohol: Its Effects on Man. By HAVEN EMERSON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1934. Pp. x+114. \$1.00.

In this brief volume, directed to "school teachers and high school and college students," Dr. Emerson summarizes the present position of biological and sociological knowledge of the beverage use of alcohol. The approach is from the standpoint of public health with relation to both the individual and society.

The presentation of medical, physiological, and psychological data is in essential agreement with the scientific literature with the possible exception of the chapters of acute alcohol poisoning and chronic alcohol poisoning, in which some of the conclusions and inferences are debatable at present in the absence of complete evidence.

Statistics from insurance companies, public health records, and military records are given to show the relation of alcohol to mortality and the incidence of disease. In chapter xxv, Dr. Emerson presents a sensible discussion of the use of scientific knowledge in the beverage utilization of alcohol.

The book should fill a useful purpose, although it seems somewhat heavy for high-school pupils. There is no index, but the extremely short chapters make the table of contents an acceptable substitute for reference.

A. J. CARLSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Opinion and the Press: Addresses and Discussion at the Sixth Emory Institute of Citizenship and Georgia Press Institute. Edited by CULLEN BRYANT GOSNELL and RAYMOND BLALOCK NIXON. (Bulletin of Emory University, Vol. XIX, No. 2.) Atlanta: Emory University, 1933. Pp. 177.

The papers and summaries of round-table discussions that comprise this volume deal with a motley assortment of topics loosely integrated about the central theme, "Public Opinion and the Press." The subjects range over such

diverse problems as war debts, non-voting, the cost of medical care, and the future of the Democratic party. The result is less a contribution to the fundamental understanding of the press and its share in public opinion than an attempt to orient newspaper leaders, particularly those of the South, to some of the exigent social problems now confronting both press and public.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Krig Eller Fred? By ORVAR WALLENGREN. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1932. Pp. 244.

After tracing the history of past wars, the author indicates the failure of culture, religion, and morals in preventing the World War. Strong nationalism, mass suggestion, and propaganda threaten future wars. The League of Nations has failed in achieving peace and disarmament. A novel peace plan is outlined in which the nations associated retain their economic and political sovereignty but are bound through the personal oaths of the majority of their citizens not to engage in war.

ELMER L. SETTERLUND

HASTINGS COLLEGE

[The following communication has been received from Professor C. A. Ellwood. No rejoinder seems necessary. I permit myself only to explain the reference to the "second generation." This was intended as a term of honor to designate those men whose work immediately followed the founders of American sociology. Had there been any thought that the classification would have been resented it would not have been made. A. W. Small used to urge his students to make his work out of date as soon as possible. He realized that, in the long run, it is the students who sit in judgment on the work of the teachers.—E. F.]

To the Editor of the American Journal of Sociology:

I am somewhat astonished at the review of my book on *Methods in Sociology* in your March issue by my friend, Professor Ellsworth Faris. I am astonished because instead of reviewing the book he reads me a lecture on my position in the development of American sociology and alleges that I am *passe* in the matter of scientific methods. Perhaps I am; but truth is truth, and facts will not budge, and it still seems to me that science is, or ought to be, a search for truth.

My chief complaint, however, is that while my reviewer defends the natural-science point of view in sociology and contends that sociology is "a natural science," he does so not through a careful examination of the nature of social facts, but rather by means of a philosophical theory, namely, that the naturalistic point of view is inclusive and adequate for the understanding of all facts, including those of human society.

For fear, however, that I have misunderstood him, let me restate his argument in three propositions: (1) sociology is a natural science, since "all is natural"; (2) "philosophy is not science"; (3) the more recent developments in sociology, though they may be extreme, like all recent discoveries in the sciences have strong probabilities on their side.

1. Now, even if we accept the philosophical view that "all is natural," I do not see how this helps us to determine the validity of generally accepted natural-science methods in the field of the social sciences. If the facts that the social sciences deal with are unique, and not to be found in the rest of nature, then we will have to have special methods to deal with them. The distinction between the sciences of nature and the sciences of culture will remain even if we take the natural sciences most closely similar in method to sociology. For example, in geology observation is limited and experiment and measurement often not available. Yet, between geological facts and human social facts the widest possible difference exists. For geological facts are still physical facts, while human social facts are always products of culture. Even Capone is a product of culture. To include culture in nature is surely too cheap a way to settle the methodological problem involved in the handling of human social facts. This is a merely verbal solution of the problem. If the reviewer had candidly confessed that human social facts are the results of cultural values, he surely would not have used this way of disposing of the methodological problem. For the facts dealt with by the sciences of culture have no analogue in the rest of nature, and as they make the sciences of culture different, the latter require different methods. That is all that I attempted to show. We cannot evade the distinction between sciences of culture and sciences of nature by merely saying that "all is natural."

2. The reviewer tells us that "philosophy is not science," and strongly implies even that it cannot become "scientific." As proof he mentions the fact that philosophy has "schools." Did anyone ever hear of "schools" in biology, psychology, and sociology? The reviewer may say that it is because these are "tainted with philosophy." But the history of science shows that schools exist in all the sciences and have burdened the development of the sciences quite as much as they have of philosophy. Surely

philosophy seeks demonstrated conclusions not less than science. Moreover, practically all recent philosophy seeks to build itself up on the facts of experience and to become to that extent "scientific." Whether we take philosophy as a theory of evidence, or knowledge, or as a synthetic inference from the results of science concerning ultimate problems, it would seem that in either case it has very close relations to all the sciences. Moreover, the fact that there are general trends in modern philosophy would seem to indicate that agreement is possible concerning its problems. It is surely to the advantage even of the "third generation" of sociologists to know something in detail of the critical methods employed by philosophers, something, in other words, of the logic of inference.

3. My reviewer by implication endorses the idea that the latest development in a science is probably the most nearly correct. The history of the sciences again shows the fallacy of such reasoning. Fads and fashions have affected all the sciences. My plea for a broader method is simply a plea to avoid the seductive influences of fads and fashions in methods. But if we call sociology a "natural science," and our students fail to see that it is something more, then there are grave dangers of following traditions that will not work in the field of the social sciences. This is what I meant when I called the behaviorists "traditionalists." They have simply carried over the natural-science tradition into the field of the social sciences. At bottom they are not innovators, but imitators; and someone should have the courage to tell them so, even though it makes him unpopular.

In conclusion, let me also express surprise that my reviewer speaks of Professor Cooley as "irenic," although Cooley himself in his last book called pure behaviorism in the social sciences "mystification" and "pseudo-science" (*Life and the Student*, pp. 151, 154). I cannot understand why Professor Cooley is given a "halo" while I am given something else, although I profess to be his faithful follower. It is comforting to me to be able to quote in reply the words of Professor Ross who in judging this same book said: "You are so broad and fair in your outlook, you show such sympathy with the champions of natural-science methods while declining to go along with their extremism, that I think your book will have a very deep and wholesome influence upon the development of the social sciences in this country." But, then, Professor Ross also belongs to that "second generation"!

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

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THE RELATION OF HOME BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL RELATIONS TO PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT

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ABSTRACT

Two scales have been constructed to measure the home background and the social relationships of adolescents in terms of their tendency to produce well-adjusted personalities. The device for classifying children as to emotional and social adjustment was a brief personality test of the neurotic inventory type. A schedule was developed containing questions on the home and on social relationships which differentiated the well-adjusted from the maladjusted children. Values were assigned to the various possible answers to the questions and the sum of these values gave two scores for each child, one indicating the type of home background, the other the type of social relationships. The reliability and validity of the scales have been established by approved methods.

The hypothesis which underlies the study here reported is that the emotional and social adjustment of the young adolescent is not fixed at birth, but is in part, at least, determined by the experiences which he has had in his various social groups. If the child is emotionally unstable, if he is over-shy, excessively day-dreamy, fearful without cause, it is assumed that the origin of these reactions may be rightfully sought in part in the previous experiences which the child has had. Two of the very influential social groups of the child are his family and his play-group. This study is an attempt to measure objectively the home background and the social relationships in terms of their tendency to produce well-adjusted children. In the course of

the study three scales were developed: (1) a neurotic inventory or personality scale by which adolescents may be classified as to their emotional and social adjustment; (2) a scale which provides a score on the home background that correlates with the score on the personality scale; and (3) a scale which gives a score on the child's social relationships that correlates with the score on the personality scale.¹

The neurotic inventory, known as the White House Conference Personality Scale,² consists of twenty-four questions, each followed by two possible answers, *yes* and *no*, one of which is to be checked by the child as the correct answer. The first four questions in the scale are: Would you rather be with those of your own age than to be with older people? Have you always gotten a square deal out of life? Do you ever stutter or stammer? Have you always liked the nicknames you have been given? The personality scale is scored by adding the "neurotic" answers, the sum of neurotic answers being the score.³ Thus a score of 0 would indicate that the child had given no neurotic answers, and so far as this scale is concerned, was a perfectly adjusted child. A score of 24 would indicate that the child had answered every question neurotically. Actually, scores run from 0 to 20. For 997 Chicago boys, grouped into four groups, the average of the mean scores is 7.6 (sigma 3.7). For 1,223 Chicago girls, grouped into four groups, the average of the mean scores is 6.8 (sigma 3.6). The brevity of the scale reduces the reliability; it is, however, sufficiently reliable for grouping children into types on the basis of their scores. The validity of the inventory is established by comparing the scores made by public-school children with scores

¹ This study is developed from an earlier study made for the Subcommittee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child, of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Professor E. W. Burgess was chairman of this subcommittee and director of the study here reported.

² See Ruth Shonle Cavan, "The Murray Psychoneurotic Inventory and the White House Conference Inventory," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, XVIII (January, 1934), 23-27. Information on reliability and validity of the scale is given in this article and therefore is not repeated here.

³ The "neurotic" answers are those judged to be neurotic on the basis of psychological and psychiatric studies of maladjustment. A tabulation of the replies to individual questions in the scale made by public-school children showed that for twenty-three of the questions a minority of the children gave the neurotic reply. To one question the *yes* and *no* answers were about equally divided.

made by children known to be maladjusted or delinquent, and also by correlating the scores with scores on a longer standardized scale of the same general type.

For practical purposes in this study, scores of 0-5 on the personality scale are grouped together as showing good personality adjustment, scores of 6-11 as showing fair personality adjustment, and scores of 12-24 as showing poor personality adjustment. When groups of children are referred to as being well adjusted, children with scores of 0-5 on the personality scale are indicated.

The discovery of factors in the home background and in social relationships which are associated with good or with poor personality adjustment was by means of a questionnaire. Out of approximately 200 questions, the final selection included forty questions on social relationships and thirty-six questions on family relationships and home background. These questions are now contained in a four-page folder entitled *Things I Like To Do*,⁴ in which the questions on social relations are numbered 8 through 47 and the questions on home background 49 through 84. The first seven questions are to identify and classify the child as to sex, age, nativity of the father, and race; question 48, "What do you most often think about or imagine to yourself when you are all alone?" and question 85, "What three things do you wish for most?" are not included in the scales but have been retained in the questionnaire because of the additional light which they throw upon the child's personality, his ambitions, wishes, and frustrations.

The questions fall into several types. Those on the home background may be classified as follows: objective questions about the equipment of the home (concerning the possession of a telephone, furnace, bathtub, automobile, magazines, books); objective questions about the father and mother, particularly with reference to their social and economic position (schooling and occupation of the father, ownership of business, position in business, number of employees, present employment of father and of mother, club attendance of mother, number of roomers, illness of parents); objective questions about the personnel of the family (whether both parents

⁴ By E. W. Burgess and Ruth Shonle Cavan. "Human Relations Scales," No. 1 (University of Chicago Press).

are alive and living at home, number of brothers and sisters, position of the child in the family); objective questions about family régime (with whom child attends movies, child's illnesses, frequency of eating between meals and of brushing teeth, source of spending money, sleeping arrangements, punishment during the past week); and, finally, subjective questions concerning the child's attitudes toward his parents (the degree to which he tells them his joys and troubles, whether he regards his parents as nervous, how often he kisses his mother, what his father and mother do that he does not like, and whom he likes best in all the world). These are the questions, selected from a much longer list, which showed some association with the scores on the personality scale.

The questions on social relationships include both objective and subjective questions. The phases of social relationships covered are types of recreation which the child likes and the extent of his participation in social groups; his interest in groups or feeling of exclusion from them (whether he likes to play alone, how many friends he would like to have, ease with which he becomes acquainted, whether he likes to play with those his own age, and whether he feels lonesome); the extent of his interest in the opposite sex (his interest in dancing and in mixed parties); his purposes and interests (what he wants to do when he grows up, what he does when alone, what he would do with \$100); extent of leadership (offices held in clubs, whether he is a leader in his play group); questions on status (whether he is liked by other boys and girls, whether they tease or make fun of him, whether he would like to change his size); his initiative in selecting new games; the adjustment indicated by the extent of quarreling with brothers and sisters, teasing other people, getting into trouble, liking to fight; and his community adjustment as indicated by length of residence and whether or not he likes the neighborhood in which he lives.

The two scales include both objective and subjective questions. The objective questions have less relationship to the scores on the personality scale than have the subjective questions. Whether or not the home contains a telephone, magazines, books, and so forth, has relatively little relation to the personality scores as compared with the degree to which the child believes that he confides in his parents.

or regards them as nervous. The justification for including subjective questions in a scale designed to measure environment lies in the hypothesis that the child's environment is dependent less upon concrete objects (telephones, toys, and so forth) and institutions (clubs, church, and so forth) than upon the child's attitude toward these things, his subtle relationships with other people, and his conception of his own rôle in home and social groups. The child's home or social environment is quite largely his conception of his home or social contacts. Therefore, while as many factual questions have been retained as showed any relationship with the scores on the personality scale, other questions on likes and dislikes, conceptions of parents, of friends, and of the child's rôle have been included as legitimate measures of the child's true home and social environment.

In order to relate the various questions on home background and social relationships to the personality adjustment scores, the children were divided into three groups on the basis of the personality adjustment scores: well adjusted, fairly well adjusted, and poorly adjusted. The three groups of cases were then compared with reference to the replies made on the various questions. Table I shows a sample of the types of relationships found.

Contingency coefficients were computed for five divisions of personality adjustment and the home background factors. These coefficients were all very low, the highest one being between personality adjustment and lack of criticism of the father, 0.23. Nevertheless, the percentage distributions show definite relationships, true for boys and for girls. Later groups of cases have been treated in the same way, and the findings corroborate the relationships. It was therefore assumed that certain elements in the home background, such as the presence of a stepmother, failure to confide in the parents, or employment of the mother, tend to be associated with high (poor) scores on the personality scale; and other elements, such as confiding in the mother, refusal to criticize parents, belief that the parents are not nervous, and so on, tend to be associated with good personality adjustment. Similarly, certain social relationships and attitudes tend to be associated with good personality adjustment and other ones with poor personality adjustment.

The next question to be decided was whether the child who re-

TABLE I

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FACTORS IN FAMILY BACKGROUND AND PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT AND BETWEEN FACTORS IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT

	PERCENTAGE OF BOYS HAVING SPECIFIED TYPE OF PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT			TOTAL NUM- BER OF BOYS	PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS HAVING SPECIFIED TYPE OF PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT			TOTAL NUM- BER OF GIRLS
	Good	Fair	Poor		Good	Fair	Poor	
<i>Family background*</i>								
Criticism of parents:								
No criticism.....	52	44	4	275	54	40	6	332
Father criticized.....	30	58	12	137	33	53	14	141
Mother criticized.....	29	56	15	45	37	43	20	51
Both criticized.....	16	67	17	100	25	41	34	104
Broken homes:								
Both parents home.....	43	49	8	709	50	40	10	749
Mother only home.....	38	54	8	104	37	45	18	119
Father only home.....	34	52	14	29	65	31	4	23
Mother and stepfather.....	32	54	14	44	43	46	11	54
Father and stepmother.....	21	42	37	19	32	58	10	19
Employment of mother:								
Not employed.....	42	49	9	723	50	40	10	774
Employed.....	37	55	8	194	40	44	16	209
Was child punished last week:								
No.....	44	48	8	678	52	41	7	756
Yes.....	29	56	15	215	26	46	28	208
<i>Social relationships†</i>								
Kind of parties preferred:								
Only boys present.....	44	45	11	150	.....	.....	.....	1
Only girls present.....	.....	.....	.....	3	51	40	9	127
Both boys and girls.....	42	45	13	345	41	46	13	414
What do when alone:								
Read.....	37	52	11	101	49	43	8	131
Play, make things, and so on.....	45	43	12	68	29	62	9	34
Like to fight:								
Always ready.....	27	50	23	26	14	57	29	7
Sometimes.....	37	51	12	108	33	53	14	57
Never.....	65	35	0	37	53	42	5	100
Do other boys and girls like you:								
Not at all.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Only a little.....	13	47	40	15	27	73	0	11
Fairly well.....	28	52	20	110	38	52	10	81
A good bit.....	31	58	11	85	52	43	5	122
Very much.....	38	58	4	48	40	51	9	57

* White, urban children, native-born fathers.

† Chicago children, native and foreign-born fathers.

ported that he never confided in his mother *and* never confided in his father *and* never kissed his mother *and* criticized both parents, and so on, would more often tend to be maladjusted than the child with only one or two of these undesirable elements. At this point the scale was constructed. Simple values running from 0 to 14 were assigned to the various answers. Thus, if the child's mother did not work outside the home, the score on this question was 3; but if she did work outside the home the score was 0. If a boy stated he had been punished at home during the past week, the score on this question was 0, but if he had not been punished, the score was 6. The assignment of weights was originally based on the percentage distributions for a large number of children, with some consideration for contingency coefficients. Later modifications were made in the interest of the reliability and internal consistency of the scale.

Since the relationship between personality adjustment scores and the answers on social relations and on home background differed for boys and girls, the scores assigned and indeed the questions included in the scales differ for the two groups.

After each possible answer had been assigned a score, the scores were added and the resulting total gave the score for home background or social relations as the case might be. When a sufficient number of cases had been scored the 30 boys with the highest scores and the 30 boys with the lowest scores in home background were selected from a total of 265 eighth-grade boys for a test of the internal consistency of the scale. The replies of the two groups were compared on each question, in order to determine whether the replies found to be associated with poor personality adjustment scores were also associated with poor scores on home background, and whether replies associated with good personality adjustment scores were also associated with good home background scores. The process was repeated for the social relations scale, and also for the girls with reference to the two scales. On the basis of these comparisons, certain changes were made in choice of questions and in scoring.

In contrast to the personality scale, the high scores on the home background scale and on the social relations scale indicate desirable scores, the low ones poor scores. On a total of 997 boys the home background scores ranged from 47 to 147. When divided into four

groups, the average of the mean scores for the four groups was 102.8 (sigma 17.9). Among 1,292 girls, the home background score ranged from 42 to 149. When divided into four groups, the average of the mean scores for the four groups was 112.7 (sigma 17.9).

On the social relations scale, for three groups of boys totaling 720 boys, the lowest score was 32, the highest 90. The average of the mean scores for the three groups was 59.7 (sigma 9.0). For three groups of girls, totaling 827 girls, the scores ranged from 22 to 79. The average of the mean scores for the three groups was 52.4 (sigma 10.0).

The reliability⁵ of the home background scale and of the social relations scale was determined by correlating scores on the odd questions with scores on the even questions and correcting by the Spearman-Brown formula. For four groups, totaling 298 children, the coefficients of reliability for the home background scale were $.75 \pm .038$, $.66 \pm .048$, $.68 \pm .042$, and $.71 \pm .034$. For two groups of 75 and 100 each, the coefficients of reliability for the social relations scale were $.66 \pm .044$ and $.61 \pm .042$. It was possible to repeat the home background scale with 123 children, who were retested after a week's interval. The correlation coefficient between scores on the two sets of scales was $.81 \pm .030$ for the boys and $.81 \pm .030$ for the girls.

These coefficients which indicate the reliability of the scales are comparable to the coefficients of reliability secured on other tests which involved subjective attitudes and which are used with adolescents. Thus Symonds, after a thorough study of various attitude and adjustment questionnaires, concluded:

One thing seems evident from these figures: the consistency of the questionnaire is greater for persons of maturity than for children. It seems reasonable to expect reliability coefficients of .50 to .60 from children twelve to fifteen years of age; of .70 to .80 from college students; and above .80 from still more mature individuals.⁶

⁵ The reliability of each question in the two scales was determined also by three methods: replies were compared for 123 children who filled in duplicate forms of the scale with a week's interval; the replies of 62 pairs of siblings were compared; for a limited number of factual questions the replies of 29 children were compared with the replies of their mothers. For a complete report of this procedure see Ruth Shonle Cavan, "The Questionnaire in a Sociological Research Project," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (March, 1933), 721-27.

⁶ Percival M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (Century, 1931), p. 185.

The validity of the scales has been tested by correlating the scores received on the scales with various measures of personality adjustment and also by comparing the mean scores secured by problem and non-problem children. The correlations with the scores on the White House Conference personality scale, which was the original criterion for the selection of the questions to be used and the basis for assigning scores, are only moderately high. The correlation coefficients are minus, because the "good" scores on the personality scale are at the low end of the scale and the "good" scores on the home background scale are at the high end of the scale. A minus r therefore means that there is a positive correlation of the degree indicated between the two scales. For four groups of boys, totaling 997 boys, the average of the correlation coefficients between the home background scale and the personality scale was $-.38 \pm .041$. For four groups of girls, totaling 1,287 girls, the average of the correlation coefficients between the home background scale and the personality scale was $-.41 \pm .034$.

The scores were also correlated with scores made on the Murray Psychoneurotic Inventory.⁷ The correlation coefficient for scores on home background and scores on the Murray inventory was $-.33 \pm .037$ for 266 boys and $-.40 \pm .034$ for 277 girls. The Murray inventory is scored in the same manner as the White House Conference personality scale. The minus r 's therefore indicate a positive correlation between the two scales.

For certain of the children, a rating had been secured from their teachers on a graphic rating scale adapted from the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale (published by the World Book Company). A rating was secured from only one teacher. The following contingency coefficients were obtained between the scores on home background and ratings by the teachers on individual traits, for 123 boys and 122 girls: rating on honesty, boys .37, girls .23; courtesy, boys .35, girls .33; child's acceptance of authority, boys .37, girls .34; classroom behavior, boys .41, girls .20; conduct in the community, boys .20, girls .32.

The validity of the home background scale was further tested by securing the scale from boys in the Montefiore school, a special

⁷ Murray, "Validity of Items of the Psychoneurotic Inventory," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, XVI (July, 1932), 213-30.

school for boys who do not adjust in the regular public schools. Two groups of Montefiore boys were used. For one group of 158 boys the range in home background scores was from 34 to 122, with a mean score of 85.2; and for another group of 92 Montefiore boys the range was from 40 to 120, with a mean score of 84.7. These scores must be compared with those already given for public-school boys: range of 47 to 147, average mean score of 102.8.

The social relations scale was correlated with the White House Conference personality scale. For three groups of boys the average of the coefficients was $-.47 \pm .036$, and for three groups of girls $-.50 \pm .032$. When correlated with the Murray Psychoneurotic Inventory, the scores for one group of boys gave a correlation of $-.36 \pm .036$, and the scores for one group of girls a correlation of $-.33 \pm .036$. The Montefiore boys received almost the same mean score on social relations as did the public-school group.

It is apparent from these figures that both the home background scale and the social relations scale have low but fairly constant correlations with various measures of personality adjustment. It must be remembered that neither scale attempts to measure all of the factors which enter into personality adjustment; therefore the correlations cannot be expected to be very high.

In this connection it seemed desirable to know to what extent the home background scale and the social relations scale overlapped and to what extent they measured different phases of the child's experiences. The correlation coefficients between the home background scale and the social relations scale for two groups of boys were .22 and .33, and for two groups of girls .34 and .31. When, by partial correlations, the scores on the White House Conference personality scale were held constant, so that the personality factor common to the establishment of both scales was eliminated, the coefficients became, respectively, .06, .24, .19, and .12.

As a final step in the process, percentage tables were constructed to show the relation between scores on home background and personality adjustment scores and between scores on social relations and personality adjustment scores. (See Tables II and III.) If we care to assume a causal relationship from environment to personality adjustment these tables may be thought of as probability tables

which show the probability that a home with a certain score will produce well-adjusted children, or that social relations of a certain type will produce well-adjusted children. Thus, if a girl comes from a home which scores under 63, the chances are 0 to 100 that she will be very well adjusted, but if her home has a score of 135 or more, the

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIED SOCIAL RELATIONS SCORES WHO RANK AS HAVING GOOD, FAIR, OR POOR PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT, ACCORDING TO THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PERSONALITY SCALE

SCORES ON SOCIAL RELATIONS SCALE	SCORES ON WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PERSONALITY SCALE					TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES
	0-3 Very Good	4-7 Good	8-11 Fair	12-15 Poor	16 and Over Very Poor	
Girls						
19-30.....	0	14.3	42.8	28.6	14.3	7
31-42.....	6.2	30.9	33.7	24.8	4.4	113
43-54.....	10.9	48.3	28.9	10.0	1.9	329
55-66.....	34.7	41.1	21.3	2.9	0	309
67-78.....	61.4	32.9	5.7	0	0	70
79-90.....	(1 case)	0	0	0	0	1
Boys						
19-30.....	0	0	(2 cases)	0	0	2
31-42.....	0	4.2	29.3	58.3	8.3	24
43-54.....	6.3	29.7	39.4	21.2	3.4	175
55-66.....	13.5	45.2	29.9	9.8	1.6	358
67-78.....	32.2	46.8	18.2	2.8	0	143
79-90.....	52.6	36.9	10.5	0	0	19

chances are 63 to 37 that she will be very well adjusted and 0 to 100 that she will be poorly adjusted.

These scales must be thought of as an initial attempt to measure the relationship of certain significant phases of environment to personality adjustment. Much work needs to be done before a perfected set of scales is available. The measure of personality adjustment at present is rather crude. Also, it gives only a general score on maladjustment. A more refined technique might make it possible to select children with different types of personality—the shut-in type, the extravert type, and so on. Also, the scales should be revised in the interest of higher reliability. This revision could be accomplished

by lengthening the scales, provided they could also be simplified so that the time required to fill them out would not be materially lengthened. Further study is needed of cases which contradict the expected relationship. In a typical distribution the cases fall roughly into the expected form of a correlation table. But there are always a

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIED HOME BACKGROUND SCORES WHO RANK AS HAVING GOOD, FAIR, OR POOR PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT, ACCORDING TO THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PERSONALITY SCALE

SCORES ON HOME BACKGROUND SCALE	SCORES ON WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PERSONALITY SCALE					TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES
	0-3 Very Good	4-7 Good	8-11 Fair	12-15 Poor	16 and Over Very Poor	
Girls						
39- 62.....	0	10.5	47.4	31.6	10.5	19
63- 86.....	11.5	26.1	40.0	17.0	5.4	165
87-110.....	18.6	41.2	27.7	10.8	1.7	517
111- 134.....	32.8	44.0	20.3	2.9	0	527
135- 158.....	62.7	30.5	6.8	0	0	59
Boys						
35- 58.....	4.5 (1 case)	18.2	50.0	18.2	9.1	22
59- 82.....	4.0	16.7	44.9	20.4	4.0	176
83-106.....	14.8	41.9	30.0	11.3	2.0	460
107- 130.....	25.1	47.0	21.2	6.4	0.3	311
131- 154.....	57.1	39.3	3.6	0	0	28

few children with "good" personality scores and "poor" home background scores or "poor" social relations scores, and vice versa. If a series of these contradictory cases could be investigated by means of intensive individual case studies, new light would undoubtedly be thrown upon the problem of the relation of social and emotional adjustment to environmental factors.

CULTURAL ISOLATION AND THE SCHIZOPHRENIC PERSONALITY

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ABSTRACT

Data from various sources appear to support the hypothesis that the "shut-in" or "seclusive" personality, which is generally considered to be the basis of schizophrenia, may be the result of an extended period of "cultural isolation," that is, separation from intimate and sympathetic social contacts. A large number of the cases in the hospital records show some history of this isolation, and many even show evidence that the patient had once been normally sociable and developed the seclusiveness only after a long period of isolation. Descriptions of prisoners in solitary confinement, and other spatially isolated peoples, show that in time many develop the typical schizoid symptoms. An examination of the early social situation indicates that the large number of schizophrenics came from communities in which the social disorganization was very marked and an intimate social life was difficult to achieve. Where social contacts are adequate, the schizoid personality type is rare or completely lacking. Finally, treatment by re-establishing social contacts has shown some degree of success.

A great forward stride in the advance of the understanding of human behavior was made when the study of mental disorders began to be undertaken from the medical approach. Many remarkable successes were achieved. When the physician found that he could explain some forms of insanity by locating injuries, glandular abnormalities, or germs, the result was the substitution of the more merciful and hopeful medical treatment for the exorcisms or punishments of the priests. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of the medical researches on abnormal behavior. And yet it is an interesting fact that the one form of mental disorder that is most common in the hospitals of this country is still largely a mystery to the physician. Although a large number of studies have been made, this disorder, schizophrenia, seems to keep its secrets from those who use the medical approach. It is possible that the causes of schizophrenia are not to be sought primarily in the physiological mechanism but in the nature of the social relations of the person. If that is the case, the solution of the problem can never be reached through intensive study of the physiology and pathology of the individual alone. In this paper are presented the results of a study of schizophrenia from the sociological approach. It may be that

through this type of study a number of the unsolved problems in the field of insanity will be cleared up.

In the books and articles that deal with this disorder, schizophrenia is not clearly defined. There is so much confusion in the literature that one may well doubt that the different authors are writing about the same phenomenon. Yet, it is possible to get something which is common to most of the accounts, and to describe the type of behavior which is the object of this inquiry. It must be borne in mind that schizophrenic patients have at least as much individuality as normal persons; and any statement about them must refer to essential characteristics of the mental disorder or the problem will be even more complicated.

The schizophrenic shows a marked divergence from the normal person in the way he thinks, acts, and feels. The actions are markedly eccentric, the habits of thought appear to lack logic, or to have a special logic of their own. The emotions of the schizophrenic frequently appear to be entirely inappropriate to the situation. Traditionally these forms of abnormal behavior have been described by such words as "hallucinations," "delusions," "impulsiveness," "inappropriate emotional states," etc., but all show some marked deviation from conventional or normal ways of acting, or thinking, or feeling. Another characteristic said to be common to all or nearly all schizophrenics (with the exception of the catatonic type) is the seclusive, or the "shut-in," personality. The schizophrenic appears to prefer to be alone, to shun companionship, to lack sociability. Both of these characteristics, the eccentric behavior, and the seclusiveness, are so striking as to make it appear that there must be something lacking in the constitutional makeup of the individual. Much of the study of this condition has been a search for the defect or the missing part, the discovery of which seemed necessary to explain the disorder.

The study of the causes of schizophrenia has been made from various points of view. Causes have been sought in heredity, germ diseases, glandular disorders, blood chemistry, brain defects, and other constitutional traits. It is safe to state that no conclusive findings have resulted from any of these approaches. In each case the findings have been enough to encourage the student to feel that further

investigation might be desirable, but the net result of these studies is not impressive.

The hypothesis offered in this paper differs from the others in that the cause of schizophrenia is sought in the social experiences of the individual. It may be that in the nature of these experiences, and the type of social relations or the lack of social relations, the explanation lies. Briefly, the hypothesis is that the cause of schizophrenia is isolation of the person. Any form of isolation which cuts the person off from intimate social relations for an extended period of time may possibly lead to this form of mental disorder. The eccentric behavior is the result of the seclusiveness of the person, and the seclusiveness is the result of the long period of isolation. The isolation may not be voluntary, and indeed seems to be rarely, if ever, of the individual's own choice, but rather due to circumstances beyond his control. Typically, the isolated person makes a struggle to establish intimate social relations, and feels lonely when he fails. In the beginning of the process the "seclusiveness" or "shut-in" trait is not the cause, but the result, of the isolation. The other eccentricities follow from this seclusiveness.

Before presenting the evidence supporting this hypothesis it is appropriate to examine the process by which the seclusiveness causes the extreme forms of eccentric behavior, thought, and feeling. Perhaps the most common explanation at the present time is that for the schizophrenia patient the world of "reality" is too unpleasant and painful to face. The "disease" is a protective device into which the patient can flee. Schizophrenia is frequently characterized as a "flight from reality."

The unconventional and eccentric behavior may be thought of as a form of "indifference to communication." Our actions are conventional because of our participation in the primary group life of our communities. What order we can detect in human minds is principally the result of the necessity to communicate with those friends and neighbors. As long as a person wishes to appear sensible, and fears gossip, ridicule, and the sneers of his fellows, he must accept the rôles defined for him by his community, and must think and feel in harmony with the attitudes and sentiments of his neighbors. To most normal people this conformity is second nature. It is so much a

part of their habits that they do not sense the social control that has molded them and continues to enforce conformity to the patterns. When anything interferes with these forms of social control, there is nothing to keep the actions of the person conventional. When there is no longer any necessity or desire to communicate with others, or to appear reasonable to them, there is nothing to preserve the order in the mental life of the person. "Indifference to communication" allows "mental disorder" merely because only the necessity to communicate with, and appear sensible to, other persons preserves the "order" of a normal mind. It should be pointed out here that intensive study of schizophrenic patients indicates that "mental disorder" is not always an accurate description of the condition. The minds appear disordered, but there may be an organization there. The appearance of disorder is due to the fact that the patient makes no attempt to communicate that organization, and the normal mind is unable to discover it from casual external observation. Perhaps "mental eccentricity" or "mental unconventionality" would be a more appropriate concept than "mental disorder."

The eccentricity of the patient, then, might be considered as one result of his freedom from the informal social control of the community. The seclusiveness of his personality is enough to break down this control, for the unwillingness to communicate and appear sensible, or the feeling that it is impossible, will make a person unresponsive to this control.

"Illogical thought" is the result of the same condition of isolation. This term also is probably not an accurate description, in that it implies that the patient has lost the ability to use logic. The real truth is that he is indifferent to logic because he has no need for it. Most normal people have dreams and daydreams and indulge in thinking which has little or no logic. What logic they do use is made necessary by the desire to be understood. When there is no desire to be understood, or no hope of being understood, there is no need for the use of logic. Again, it must be remembered that this does not imply that there is no order in the mental life of the schizophrenic. It might be said that the patient has a special logic of his own, but that it is difficult to discover.

Similarly the false beliefs, or delusions, of schizophrenia are better

understood if considered as mere unconventional behavior. What persons do not have false beliefs? It is not the fact that his beliefs are false that makes the schizophrenic conspicuous; it is the fact that he is alone in his belief. If three hundred people at a camp meeting see and hear the devil, they are not called schizophrenic. But if a person is certain that he is being pursued by a devil which no one else can see, he is said to have a delusion. Further intensive inquiry into these delusions usually shows that, although the person is in error, he is usually not without some basis for his belief. If he feels that he is being persecuted, it is frequently true that he suffers repeated failures, but his view of his situation is likely to be distorted. If he feels electricity going through his body, it may be true that he feels something but is mistaken in thinking that it is electricity. If he hears voices calling him names, he is sometimes able to distinguish them from voices calling out loud; they are often, in fact, a sort of "silent whisper." His interpretation may be false, but the basis for the abnormality is not its falseness but its unconventionality.

The so-called "inappropriate emotional states" which are also common among the schizophrenics are also merely forms of unconventionality. In the mind of the patient events have a significance different from the conventional. The emotions are inappropriate to the surroundings as viewed by his observers, but not to his surroundings as interpreted in his own mental organization. This and all the other forms of eccentricity characteristic of the schizophrenic may be due merely to the fact that his seclusiveness has cut him off from the social control which enforces conformity with the patterns of thought and action and feeling which are conventional and therefore normal.

The seclusiveness or the "shut-in" trait is frequently considered to be due to some innate personality defect or to some constitutional defect. It can be shown, however, that many schizophrenics were at one time sociable and fond of companionship. The seclusiveness is frequently the last stage of a process that began with exclusion or isolation which was not the choice of the patient. In the early stages the patient disliked the isolation and fought against it. He felt lonely and sought to re-establish intimate social contacts. Only after an extended period of this enforced isolation did the patient give up the

struggle and become adjusted to the condition. It is typical that at this time he began to prefer his solitude and became genuinely seclusive.

Some good examples of this process can be found in the cases of prisoners who have been held in solitary confinement for long periods of time. From the data available it appears that the results of this experience are strikingly similar. Maurice Small writes that the long-term prisoners show little joy when their sentences expire. Frequently they desire to return to their cells.¹ Viera Figner tells of her long imprisonment during which she finally lost her desire to have visitors, even her mother. She no longer wanted to talk; she had to summon all her strength of will to speak when she received the infrequent visits from her mother.² Hobhouse and Brockway state that the effect of the separation of prisoners and the silence rule was to bring about a high rate of insanity.³ Ives reports the same results at the Pentonville prison when the solitude treatment was tried about the middle of the last century.⁴ The eccentricities the prisoners developed were of various sorts, but they were nearly all described as "thoughtful, subdued, and languid."

Sheep-herders and other isolated persons are said to develop similar traits after a long period of enforced solitude. Gettys states that the typical herder in Texas avoids companionship and does not like to converse with others, and is generally cross and irritable.⁵

The schizophrenics, however, are for the most part neither prisoners nor sheep-herders. It is not necessary that there be spatial separation. Cultural isolation, that is, lack of intimate social contacts, may also cause the same type of seclusiveness. The interference with social contacts may be due to various factors, but similar effects are widely observed wherever the isolation is continued for a long time. Krueger and Reckless present a case of a boy who was told that he had an ugly mouth.⁶ He hadn't noticed it before, but he looked in a

¹ Maurice Small, "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, VII, No. 2 (April, 1900), 42.

² Viera N. Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York, 1927), p. 29.

³ S. Hobhouse and A. F. Brockway, *English Prisons Today* (London, 1922), p. 583.

⁴ George Ives, *History of Penal Methods* (New York, 1914), pp. 186-87.

⁵ C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1929), p. 625.

⁶ E. T. Krueger and W. C. Reckless, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1931), p. 340.

mirror, decided it must be true, and became sensitive, touchy, unsure of himself. When anybody looked at him, he wanted to run. He didn't believe anybody could really like him. It is typically this sort of experience which defines the rôle of a person—a casual remark, an adjustment in the inner life, events likely to pass unnoticed even by his most intimate associates. It is not remarkable that these associates are able to see no explanation for the personality change in the situation and experience of their friend, and are disposed to believe that there must have been some constitutional breakdown.

Kimball Young presents a case of a boy who became sensitive about his appearance because of acne on his face.⁷ He became despondent, afraid of ridicule, convinced that he was regarded as disfigured and inferior. He avoided making friends and distrusted those who approached him, for he felt that it must be impossible for anyone to like him for himself and that they must have some ulterior motives. In high school he gained the reputation for being snobbish and aloof, although he always longed to be intimate with his schoolmates. Ordinarily, however, such cases as these do not become serious enough to develop into real "shut-in" types. They make friends in time, perhaps much more slowly than most persons, but ordinarily will be able to gain sufficient social contacts. But if they happen to be in a situation in which it is much more difficult to establish social contacts, even for a very sociable person, this type may never succeed. In the mobile rooming-house districts and hobo areas in the large cities, and in the slums, it might be so difficult that a person who once develops a little sensitivity, or becomes uncertain of his status, may never re-establish intimate social contacts, and thus be as isolated as the prisoner in his solitary confinement cell, and with a similar result.

Some cases gathered from the records of a hospital in Chicago illustrate the relationship between the community life and the isolation of the person. A Jewish boy was brought up in a region which was invaded by the Negro population. His mother operated a store, in which they lived; so they were not able to move. Although he went to school, the boy did not care to play with the colored boys, and so had no friends or playmates. He became interested in reading, music, and daydreaming. All his experiences with people con-

⁷ Kimball Young, *Source Book for Social Psychology* (New York, 1927), pp. 360-61.

spired to shut him further within himself. Eventually he was brought to the hospital, where he was diagnosed as a schizophrenic.

A young woman immigrant from Czechoslovakia worked as a waitress and lived in a slum district in Chicago. She married a man from her own country and soon grew fat and bore several children. She did not learn English and consequently could not talk with her neighbors, and did not like to visit with the friends of her husband because they teased her for being fat. She became increasingly seclusive and eccentric, until finally it became necessary to send her to the hospital.

A chubby, pink-cheeked boy with reddish hair worn in long curls was teased as a "sissy" on the first day of school. He went home crying. He lived in a slum neighborhood, and the boys were of the type that do not tolerate effeminacy. The more he was teased the more he withdrew from them, and was as a consequence further excluded by them. When he left school and found a position with a large firm, he sought to establish friendships with the young men of his own age who had not known him in school. But he did not know how to approach them, and clumsily offered to treat them to refreshments and entertainment. He came to be regarded as "queer" and was avoided. He tried even more desperately by spending larger sums of money. Embezzlements for this purpose led to his arrest; and because he could not explain his actions, he was taken to the hospital and diagnosed as a case of schizophrenia.

These are typical cases. The sensitivity, according to this hypothesis, is the result of a particular experience or of several experiences, usually so trivial that they pass unnoticed by others. The rest of the process is a vicious circle—an interaction between a person already unsure of himself, and a social situation in which it is unusually difficult to establish friendships. It is in this sort of community that most cases of schizophrenia develop. In Chicago, the high rates for this disorder are sharply concentrated in the hobo, rooming-house, and most deteriorated slum areas.⁸ The heterogeneity

⁸ A number of checks on this point have been made. A full discussion is made in a manuscript by H. W. Dunham and the writer. Although there is always the possibility of revision, it seems that the interpretation of the concentration of cases is that it is because of the nature of the social situation in these areas that schizophrenia develops. One of the most interesting checks is the distribution of the catatonic schizophrenia cases. The catatonic type is not characteristically "shut-in" or seclusive. If the hypoth-

ity and the high mobility of the population greatly increase the cultural isolation of the person, and in this manner produce breeding-grounds for schizophrenia. The process appears to operate about equally on all races and nationalities that inhabit these areas. The Negroes inhabit a district which extends from the center of the city all the way to the outlying residential areas. In the central part, which is a slum district, the schizophrenia rate is extremely high. In each successive district farther from the center the rate is lower, and in the residential district it is as low as the rate for the white races in the surrounding residential districts.

If it is true that schizophrenia only develops where the social situation allows it, a check on this hypothesis can be made by examining cultures in which isolation of this sort would be impossible. Some of the preliterate societies fit this description. In those societies which have little or no contact with other peoples, in which the membership is homogeneous and the social life very intimate, there could hardly exist eccentric individuals. Ellsworth Faris observed that among some of the Bantu peoples in central Africa there is no disobedience, no violation of the folkways and mores, no punishment, and the children do not even make mistakes in grammar. The informal social control is so strong that a withered old woman can give orders to the strong young men of the village. In such a situation the "shut-in" personality type would not be expected to be found. On his expedition to this country in 1932-33 Ellsworth Faris made a careful inquiry on this point. The result was that he failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a personality type.⁹ Data on other primitive communities is scarce, but there is some evidence that among the Papuans of British New Guinea there are no disorders of the schizoid type.¹⁰ The natives of the Brazilian in-

esis is correct, there would be no reason to expect that the catatonic rates would be concentrated in the same areas as the rest of the schizophrenic cases. As a matter of fact, they are not; and instead of being concentrated in the central slum and rooming-house districts, they are concentrated in those areas which are frontiers between the immigrant settlements and the residential districts of the native-born. There is some evidence that these catatonic cases represent the American-born children of foreign parents, and are in transition from the old-world culture to the American culture.

⁹ "Culture and Personality among the Forest Bantu," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXVIII (1934), 10.

¹⁰ C. G. Seligman, "Temperament, Conflict and Psychosis in a Stone-age Population," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, IX (1929), pp. 187-202.

terior are said to have disorders of the extraverted type, but rarely of the schizoid type.¹¹ It is interesting that in her study of the Samoans Margaret Mead observed a few cases of assorted disorders, including one which resembled catatonic dementia praecox, but none of the "shut-in" type.¹² It should be mentioned, however, that schizoid types may be found among some primitive peoples, where the social situation is of the sort that would favor isolation.

Some evidence from still another source should be included here. If isolation is the cause of schizophrenia, the re-establishment of intimate social contacts might be expected to improve the patient. Such attempts have been made by H. S. Sullivan and also by L. C. Marsh. Sullivan encouraged comraideships between his attendants and their patients and discovered that as the genuine friendships sprung up the alleged apathy of the schizophrenic faded and the recovery rate became high.¹³ Marsh used a slightly different method. He arranged a series of meetings of the patients, at which certain activities and programs were devised for the purpose of obtaining their interest and building up a social life among them. He also reports an encouraging degree of success.¹⁴

It cannot be said that any of the foregoing proof is conclusive. On each of the points mentioned in the discussion more data are needed. The case histories in hospital records are seldom adequate for this purpose. Good descriptions of the behavior of prisoners in solitary confinement are rare. The study of the distribution of mental disorders in Chicago needs to be repeated in other cities. More data on preliterate societies are needed. Experiments with methods of treatment might also furnish valuable evidence. Yet, the fact that all these data point to the same conclusion is, it seems, sufficiently impressive to make it worth while to continue investigations in the hope of resolving one of our most difficult problems.

¹¹ C. Lopes, "Ethnographische Betrachtungen über Schizophrenie," *Zeitschrift f. d. ges. Neur. und Psychiat.*, CXLII (1932), pp. 706-11.

¹² Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928), pp. 278-81.

¹³ H. S. Sullivan, "Schizophrenia Individuals as a Source of Data for Comparative Investigation of Personality," *Second Colloquium on Personality Investigation* (New York, 1930).

¹⁴ L. C. Marsh, "Group Treatment of the Psychoses by the Psychological Equivalent of the Revival," *Mental Hygiene*, XV (April, 1931), pp. 328-49.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

Of the several half-caste groups in Asia, the largest and most self-conscious is the Anglo-Indian Community. It numbers perhaps two hundred thousand persons who maintain themselves precariously on the outskirts of British-Indian officialdom, employed for the most part in clerical and other minor positions under the government. The life of the Anglo-Indian is one protracted struggle for status, occupational and social, and in that struggle he seems to be losing ground. Despised by both British and Indians, he may well be submerged in the turmoil of the present, trampled under by the march of India's millions toward nationalism.

With the discovery of a sea route to eastern Asia in the last decade of the fifteenth century there began a new era of intimate and extensive trade relationships between the nations of Europe and those of the Far East. The first European traders belonged to a world in many respects more tolerant than the present one, a world in which race prejudice was almost unknown. Consequently, more often than not they entered into more or less permanent marriage relationships with native women, a custom which resulted, after a few generations of trade and political expansion, in the presence of considerable numbers of half-castes. Such half-castes were in a special position and tended to form self-conscious communities, the largest, the best organized, and the most interesting of which is that community in India variously known as East Indian, Eurasian, or Anglo-Indian.

Some fifteen hundred years before Christ, India was conquered by a people speaking an Aryan language and allied to the present Europeans in blood. Later there were invasions of Greeks, Parthians, and Arabs. As a consequence, there was a not inconsiderable intermixture of invaders' blood with that of the already hybrid population they found, fought with, and often ruled. But these mixtures took place so long ago that it is not easy to tell what proportion of white and what proportion of dark blood there is in any native of India. Furthermore, it has been and is customary for Europeans to think of all Indians as "colored" without regard to their possible

degree of whiteness, so that the social problems involved are exactly the same as those found in other Asiatic countries where there had been no appreciable intermixture of white blood before the coming of modern Europeans.

There are, however, a considerable number of mixed-bloods in India whose male ancestors were modern Europeans but who are not classified as Anglo-Indians. These are the descendants of the early Portuguese traders and administrators, who preceded the British in southern and eastern Asia and were their chief competitors for a time. Since Portugal's Indian adventure ended early, this source of racial intermixture was cut off, but not before a large group of Portuguese half-castes had been formed. These half-castes intermarried freely with the pure-blooded natives, but their descendants, while entirely Indian in appearance, still cling to their Portuguese names and the tradition of "a drop or two of white." They are known as Goanese and are scattered all over India, being often employed in minor clerical positions.

The mixed-bloods, mainly of British origin, were first known as East Indians, but the term was superseded by the term "Eurasians" early in the nineteenth century. This was, however, the period of most active discrimination against people of mixed blood, so that the word "Eurasian" came to have a certain stigma attached to it. Recently, at their own request, the British half-castes have been designated "Anglo-Indians."

The history of the Anglo-Indian Community falls naturally into two sections. The first section includes the period from the founding of the pioneer English factories in India in the early 1600's to about 1750. During this period intermarriage between British residents and native women was encouraged, and the offspring of such marriages were treated as in all respects English. The males among them almost invariably entered the service of the East India Company as soon as they reached maturity, and were greatly in demand for Company positions because of their special knowledge and efficiency. That East India Company officials at home were far from averse to having their English employees marry Indian women is made clear by the following extract from a dispatch addressed by the Court of Directors to the President of Madras, and dated April 8, 1687:

The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity, that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, on the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.¹

But by 1750 this period of encouragement of mixed marriages was drawing to a close. The Eurasians were becoming numerous and threatening shortly to outnumber the Europeans in the Company's employ, while the demand for positions under the Company by Englishmen of good family was becoming pronounced, the first English pioneers in India having had time to retire to England and there display their very considerable fortunes. In addition to this competition for employment, English women had begun to come out to India, and their coming was quickly followed by the establishment of a color line, the attachment of a decided stigma to marital or extramarital relations with Indian women, and strong social discrimination against the children born of such unions. The changed economic and social situation was not long in being reflected in official communications, first decrying the employment of Eurasians, next barring them from going to England to qualify for Company positions, finally forbidding the employment of Eurasians altogether. The Eurasians, denied the right to follow their fathers' professions, began to take service with native princes; but when some of these princes became involved in a war with the Company, the mixed-bloods were commanded to return to the British side on pain of being "treated as traitors." Most of them did return, but when the war was over another proclamation was issued barring them again from the Company's service and also prohibiting the native princes from employing them. Their position thereafter was certainly far from enviable, and was not improved until the occasion of the granting of a new charter to the Company in 1833.

This date marks the beginning of the modern phase of Anglo-Indian history, for in connection with the granting of the charter it was provided that they should be readmitted to employment un-

¹ *India Office Records*, Letter Book No. 8, pp. 290, 493.

der the Company. But they were no longer permitted to fill the more desirable posts; these were filled directly from England. The Eurasians were enabled to survive and to be affiliated with the English group, but with an inferior economic status and the social status of being outcaste, the English refusing to have any dealings with them except in the relationship of superior to inferior in a common employment. During the period of their debarment from their accustomed work they had in many cases been reduced to poverty and degradation; these facts were now used against them to prove that they were inherently degenerate and shiftless, unfit for the society of English women and the pursuits of English gentlemen. The same general situation still obtains, such improvements in the condition of the Anglo-Indians as have come about being of a minor nature. This improvement will be dealt with in detail in connection with the account of the present mixed-race complex in India which follows.

The more obvious aspects of this complex are fairly well summed up in the following extract from a recent book on India:

The most pathetic of India's minority groups are the mixed-bloods. They were formerly called Eurasians; but they coveted the name Anglo-Indian. . . . They number 113,000 and, call them what you will, there is little chance of mistaking the mixed blood for the pure. Some of the women are almost blond and very pretty. Most of them have an anaemic look. They speak in a metallic falsetto with a curious sing-song accent. They always wear European clothes. . . . They are ostracized by both English and Indians. They in turn look down on the Indian with a scorn that is acid with hatred. . . . They always speak of England as "home" though they may never have been there.²

There is some dispute about the number of Anglo-Indians. In the census of 1921, 113,090 were counted, as compared with 100,420 in the census of 1911, an increase of nearly 13 per cent for the ten years. During the same period the total population of India increased only about 1 per cent. From the foregoing it appears that the Anglo-Indians are increasing in numbers at a rather high rate in the midst of a native population which is practically stationary, and such is probably the case. But the correctness of the census returns with regard to the total number of Anglo-Indians is certainly open to question; in fact, the census officials themselves admit that there is a possibility of error:

² Gertrude Marvin Williams, *Understanding India*, p. 167.

The actual figure of Europeans and of the Anglo-Indian "Domiciled Community" are always somewhat doubtful, owing to the tendency of the latter to return themselves as Europeans and of Indian Christians to claim to be Anglo-Indians.³

Just how much difference these tendencies on the parts of Anglo-Indians and of Indian Christians to return themselves as members of groups with higher status than their own has affected the figures is not known; although Colonel Gidney, who represented the Anglo-Indians at a hearing before the Simon Commission, said:

I do not accept those figures. With all respect I tell you that those figures do not include the full strength of the Anglo-Indian Community. I make no hesitation in saying that to that figure should be added at least 40,000 more of those Anglo-Indians who for purposes of electoral rolls were classified as Europeans.⁴

But whatever errors there may be in the census with regard to the total number of Anglo-Indians, there is no reason for doubting the accuracy of its findings as to their age, sex, and geographical distribution. The numbers of men and of women are about equal, not only for India as a whole but also for nearly all the localities in which Anglo-Indians are found in considerable gatherings. No figures are available as to their civil condition for the country as a whole, but in Calcutta in March, 1921, of those forty years old and over 763 men and 500 women were married. Marriage seems to come late, especially for men. There are 74,613 dependents as compared with 38,283 workers, a ratio more than twice as large as the corresponding ratio between dependents and workers for all the province of Bengal. Of the 113,090 Anglo-Indians enumerated in the census of 1921, 42,258 were under fifteen years of age, indicating that the increase in the community's numbers of 13 per cent between 1911 and 1921, which is shown by the official figures, is not an exaggerated one.⁵

With regard to the geographical distribution of Anglo-Indians, it may be said that most of them live in the provinces under direct British rule, especially Bengal, Bombay Presidency, Burma, and Madras. There are about 15,000 in the state and agencies, most of

³ *Census of India, 1921*, I, Part I, 231.

⁴ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 313.

⁵ *Census of India, 1921*, I, Part II, 196-98.

whom are residents of Cochin, Hyderabad, and Mysore, although Travancore is the only native state where their numbers increased substantially between 1911 and 1921. In so far as migration is indicated by the census figures, it is away from the native states and toward the British provinces, a trend which is easy to understand when one considers that they seek employment chiefly under the government.⁶

They are largely an urban population, although the comparative figures for 1911 and 1921 show a slight decrease in their numbers in some of the largest cities. Nevertheless, nearly 48,000 of them live in groups of 1,000 or more in the chief cities and military stations, and most of the remainder are located in railroad centers of some importance.⁷ Half of the Anglo-Indians in Burma are gathered in one city, Rangoon. Of all Indian cities, they are most numerous in Calcutta, where they tend to congregate in a few wards, avoiding wards that are predominantly Hindu.⁸ It is significant that they are thickest in Wards 10 and 14, where the population per acre is respectively 184 and 160 persons. The average population per acre of the entire city, exclusive of the area of the Hooghly River, is 29; and Wards 10 and 14 are among the most densely populated in Calcutta, a city notorious for deficient housing facilities and overcrowding.

In view of the poverty prevailing among Anglo-Indians, which has already been suggested and which will be brought out more clearly in connection with employment, it is surprising to find that they are practically all literate and that many of them are fairly well educated according to the standards of the Indian schools. These schools are of two types: those designed for the native population, and those which serve the needs of European and Anglo-Indians. The latter provide education from the primary to the collegiate stage, and Anglo-Indian parents make desperate efforts to send their children through as many grades as possible. This applies to girls as well as boys and is an index of the struggle to maintain status, a measure of education being, in India, an absolute prerequisite to obtaining employment sufficiently remunerative to maintain even the semblance of European living standards. And the Anglo-Indian fears above all things the loss of his present position on the fringe of the British

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, Part I, 235.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, Part II, 342-43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, Part I, 74, 75.

community, precarious and humiliating as that position undoubtedly is.⁹

The same struggle for status is indicated by the fact that almost every Anglo-Indian is recorded as a member of one or other of the Christian sects, religious affiliation being one more way of identification with the dominant race and distinction from the subject race. Furthermore, it is worthy of notice that the great majority of Anglo-Indians are members of the two most powerful and conservative Christian sects in India, 300 of every 1,000 being Anglicans, and 509 of every 1,000 being Roman Catholics.¹⁰ The fact that more of them are Roman Catholics than Protestants when the ruling group is mainly Protestant is explained by the more liberal attitude of the Roman Catholic orders toward people of mixed blood.¹¹

The official status of Anglo-Indians is somewhat vague, being summed up as follows by the Undersecretary of State for India in 1925.

For purposes of employment under the Government, and inclusion in schemes of Indianization, members of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community are statutory natives of India. For purposes of education and internal security, their status in so far as it admits of definition approximates that of European British subjects.¹²

With regard to electoral representation, it may be added that in Bengal, Madras, and Burma, Anglo-Indians are represented politically through election by a separate constituency which is apart from the European constituency. Here we have the reason for the alleged practice of Anglo-Indians returning themselves as Europeans in the census, Europeans having more political influence per voter. This practice is, of course, confined to the lightest colored Anglo-Indians¹³ and is similar to the process of very light-colored mulattos "passing" into the white group in the United States.

The statistics available on infirmities and delinquency among Anglo-Indians are for the city of Calcutta only, but may be considered as representative of India in general. In 1921 the Anglo-Indians of

⁹ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 291-92.

¹⁰ *Census of India*, 1921, I, Part I, 125.

¹¹ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 295.

¹² *Ibid.*, XVII, 527. ¹³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 462.

Calcutta had about the same proportion of insane, deaf-mutes, blind, and leper members as the total population of the city—6 males and 2 females of 14,886 Anglo-Indians being insane. The jail population of the city on the census date showed a relatively large number of Anglo-Indians as compared with Europeans and with Indian Christians. The offenses for which they were imprisoned were not stated.¹⁴

It has already been suggested in connection with housing and with education that the Anglo-Indian Community is a poor one, its poverty being accentuated by the efforts of its members to maintain European living standards. The extent of their poverty may be gathered from the following excerpt from an Anglo-Indian communication to the Simon Commission in 1928:

The Poverty Commission appointed by the government of Bengal in 1891-92 to investigate European and Anglo-Indian poverty in Calcutta reported that 19 per cent of these people were in utter destitution and living on public or private charity. The Pickford Committee of 1918-19 estimated the percentage at 17. This is a trustworthy account of the average economic condition of the white man and his descendants in India before and during the war. But their post-war condition is considerably worse. And yet they are bearing 65 per cent of the cost of their schools, leaving Government to meet only 35 per cent. . . . To some, higher education is a luxury; to others it is an advantage; to Anglo-Indians it is life itself.¹⁵

We may now begin an analysis of Anglo-Indian employment. According to the census of 1921, the total number of their workers was 38,283—29,777 males and 8,506 females. Of these, 2,026 males and 500 females were in pasture and agriculture, 3,199 males and 1,007 females were in industry, 9,022 males and 644 females were in transport, 1,672 males and 379 females were in trade, 1,715 males and 7 females were in the public force (army, police, etc.), 2,607 males and 236 females were in public administration, 370 males and 250 females were in religious pursuits, 2,325 males and 3,251 females were in other professions and liberal arts, and 1,518 males and 778 females were living on income.¹⁶ The large number of women in the professions is accounted for by the fact that Anglo-Indian women find employment chiefly as nurses and teachers. It will be noted that

¹⁴ *Census of India, 1921*, VI, Part II, 208.

¹⁵ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 291.

¹⁶ *Census of India, 1921*, I, Part II, 244-45.

more men were employed in transport than in any other three occupations, and agencies of transport in India are almost entirely operated by the government. Nearly all Anglo-Indian workers, whether employed by the government or by private firms, are in what would be described in this country as the lower white-collar class. In the census reports which classify workers according to salary, Anglo-Indians and Europeans are grouped together so that it is impossible to determine the average salary received by employed Anglo-Indians, but these salary reports will serve as a basis for rough calculation. In 1921 there were 17,790 Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the Railway Department,¹⁷ of whom 1,315 were officers, 12,056 were subordinates drawing more than 75 rupees per month, 3,678 were subordinates drawing from 20 to 75 rupees per month, and 741 were subordinates drawing less than 20 rupees per month. Now, it is known that the most responsible and remunerative positions on the railways are held by Englishmen, and it is therefore safe to assume that the Anglo-Indians are more likely to be found in the lower subordinate posts than in the higher. When we consider that 4,419 of these lower subordinates draw salaries of 75 rupees per month or less and that there are about three rupees to the dollar at normal exchange rates, it will be seen that Anglo-Indians are not highly paid according to American standards, even when employed in preferred occupations, in which they fight bitterly to hold their places.

That their fight has tended to be a losing one in recent years is indicated by the very fact that so many of them are employed in the Railway Department. Previous to 1918 they were to a large extent workers in other government departments, such as the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Audits and Accounts Department, in higher positions than they now hold on the railways and at larger salaries. But in 1919 the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms went into effect, providing for a proportionately larger number of Indians in the higher posts and providing, further, that to be eligible for such posts a candidate must have a university degree. The program of Indianization of government services displaced a good many Anglo-Indians, and the new educational requirement displaced still more, for while nearly all Anglo-Indians have some education, very few of them are able

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, Part I, 288-91.

to afford university training. Therefore, since the reforms went into effect, there has been a decided tendency for the mixed-bloods to seek subordinate positions in the Railway Department where the requirements are less exacting.¹⁸ They claim that they are being pushed out of these positions also, but nothing of the kind is indicated by the figures on railway employment, which list 9,666 Anglo-Indians in all branches of transport in 1921 and 14,007 in the Railway Department alone in 1926-27.¹⁹ But there is no doubt that they have succeeded in gaining some 5,000 additional positions in that department only by dint of the bitterest competition with Indians, and that they have during the same period lost a considerable number of more desirable posts in other departments. Moreover, it must be remembered that their numbers are rapidly increasing. The Anglo-Indians claim also that many Goanese and Indian Christians pass themselves off as Anglo-Indians for purposes of employment, but probably the loss by this source in actual number of positions held is fully balanced by Anglo-Indians passing as Europeans.²⁰

The economic relationships between mixed-bloods and Indians is well brought out in the records of the hearings before the Simon Commission in 1928. A few excerpts from these records follow:

Mr. Kikabhai Premchand: "On page 300 [of the *Anglo-Indian Memorandum to the Commission*], under the head of 'Nature of Our Demand,' you say that the teeming millions of India have in the past shown a marked hostility toward your community. What, in your opinion, are the reasons of this hostility?"

"The reasons for this hostility are endogenous and exogenous. They are partly due to us and partly due to the Indians."

"You have said somewhere that it is more due to your supporting the Government. Is that so?"

"Very largely, for we are often placed in open hostility to the Indians."

"Is there any opinion commonly held and expressed that the alleged hostility is due to the supercilious attitude of the members of your community toward Indians in general?"

"Had you said that ten years ago you would have been quite right. Today it is practically dead."²¹

The witness' answer to the last question to the effect that superciliousness of mixed-bloods toward Indians is practically dead does

¹⁸ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 275.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 279.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII, 465.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 312.

not agree with the report of disinterested observers.²² Nevertheless, although Anglo-Indians certainly have harbored a feeling toward Indians which has amounted to hatred, and perhaps still harbor that feeling, it seems clear that their outward superciliousness is being replaced by a more conciliatory attitude. It is significant that the witness just quoted uses the phrase, "ten years ago." Ten years was about the length of time that had elapsed since the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms went into effect, with their granting of more power to Indians and their suggestions of the further relinquishment of rule by the British. The Anglo-Indians have maintained for so long their position as servile hangers-on of officialdom that there is little doubt of their attempting to curry favor with Hindus or Moslems or both if there seems to be a prospect of complete native rule in India.

But there is one phase of the economic competition between Indians and mixed-bloods which has not received attention. In the *Anglo-Indian Memorandum* to the Simon Commission the writer makes the claim that for the preceding two years his group has been losing ground in the railway service, and goes on to say:

This would be a poor reward to a community on which Government relies whenever Indians go on strike, as evidenced by the 1923 East Indian Railway strike, when even Anglo-Indian school children cleaned the railway carriages and our lads left their schools to work this railway to enable H.R.H., the Prince of Wales, to travel in comfort and safety when he visited India.²³

In view of this introduction of the race element into Indian labor troubles, the fact that the mixed bloods are not popular with Indians is not to be wondered at. And when one remembers that the British official class in India makes as much of class distinctions as any other group on earth, having little to do with even their own countrymen if those countrymen happen to be in trade instead of official life, there is no occasion for surprise in the knowledge that they also despise the mixed-blood, despise him all the more because he is partly of English origin. The race antagonism that hardly seems to have existed in the early days of the East India Company is now an article of faith.

²² Williams, *op. cit.*, 167-72.

²³ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 278.

We have in India some 320,000,000 "dark" natives of many races and faiths, including sub-groups that exemplify every existing stage of culture from the most simple to the most complex. But the vast majority of these people have some share in the mores, traditions, and usages, of one or both of two powerful and highly ritualized faiths, each with its priestly hierarchy, its divine sanctions, and its pride in self—Hinduism and Mohammedanism. So the "dark" native of India, whatever his caste, however much he may cringe before his conquerors, does not lightly give up his customs and adopt those of an alien people, even when encouraged to do so. And he is rarely so encouraged. Nor does he look with favor on those partly of his blood who renounce the heritage of that blood utterly and adopt the alien's creed and customs.

Ruling this vast Indian population we have a small and very closely knit group of British, secure in their tradition of dominance over and superiority to all dark-skinned peoples, and numbering among their mores a concept of caste as inflexible as that of any Brahmin. The mixed-blood may share with the British, if he will, their claim of superiority to pure-blood Indians, but he may not pretend to equality with the European-born Englishman. He may profess to be English and ape the English, but if he attempts to enter English society or compete with the English he is quickly put in his place.

What is that place? At present it is that of a parasite whose hold on its host is none too secure. The Anglo-Indian lives his separate life on the border of the official community, which supplies him with sufficient employment to keep up his shabby and pathetic Britishness. This it does partly because of a grudging sense of responsibility for his existence and partly because he is sometimes useful. In time of stress he may be called upon to serve as a strike breaker or a policeman; he is grateful for any employment, and he is safe. For he cannot, like the mulatto in the United States, ally himself with the dark race and in its ranks be the more eligible to high status and opportunities for leadership because of his whiter skin. The darker race envies him, despises him, and distrusts him. It may assimilate his blood in the end, but it will never assimilate his culture, his British mores and standard of living. And the dread of that process

of relinquishment of all he has tried to be is always with him; that recession from whiteness to him is the abyss.

Before attempting to portray the possible future rôles of the Anglo-Indian in his native society, it seems desirable to quote two or three more passages from the community's *Memorandum* to the Simon Commission and from the oral evidence heard by that body. The first quotation has to do with the general position of the mixed-blood in Indian life and his prospects for the coming years:

Chairman: "From the point of view of one body, the body which calls itself thoroughly and completely Indian, the Anglo-Indian is treated as not being inside that body. From the point of view of the other body, which is called European, the Anglo-Indian is not treated as if he were of that body; and therefore, when you come to consider how the different communities should get their share, and none of them should be unduly excluded, there is very grave risk that your community will be repudiated by each in turn?"

Colonel Gidney: "That is right."²⁴

It must be understood in regard to the foregoing that one of the chief problems which the Simon Commission was trying to solve was the problem of ensuring to each of the many diverse religious, racial, and economic groups in India a measure of security of employment and an adequate political representation. The two excerpts that follow throw some light on the nature of the Anglo-Indian petition and also on the decision arrived at by the Commission in the matter of their economic difficulties:

"I suppose the opening for clerks in commercial business, when all is said and done, cannot be very numerous?"

"No."

"So that really leaves your position in the central services still more important?"

"Yes. And we cannot emigrate because we are prevented."²⁵

"Would you be content if your community was treated in all respects as Indians?"

"Yes, with certain safeguards for a limited period."²⁶

As a matter of fact, the recommendation of the Simon Commission in so far as it concerned the mixed-bloods was that they should receive preference over Indians in employment under the govern-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, 311.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 312.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, 313.

ment and also some preference in the matter of franchise and political representation. It will be noted that the witness says they are prevented from emigrating, a very significant point if it is true. Certainly there is little doubt of their being prevented from emigrating to the United States, either by the non-stop-voyage clause in our immigration law or by the Supreme Court ruling against admitting persons of mixed white and Asiatic blood. Quite probably they would be barred from the British Dominions as well on one pretext or another, although I am unable to find any cases. But there are other countries which they might enter, so far as the laws of the countries in question are concerned; and the implication is that Anglo-Indians are denied the right to leave India through some extra-legal process, possibly by being refused passports or consular visas.

With the increasing probability of some form of self-government for India being granted in the near future, the position of the Anglo-Indian becomes more precarious each year. That they are aware of their insecurity is indicated by the vigor with which they are agitating for special protection in employment for a term of years and also by their more conciliatory attitude toward pure-blood Indians. In view of the extremely complex social situation in India and the uncertainty with respect to future political conditions there, it would be rash to prophesy as to the destiny of the Anglo-Indian community. It may be that they will remain indefinitely in much the same position as they occupy now. It may be that, if the British continue to rule India, they will gradually lose their sense of inferiority and function as intermediaries between the white and the dark races. There is some evidence of a tendency among them to develop a race pride of their own, to respect themselves and demand respect from others, not as near-English men and women but as a group apart, a distinct racial stock with physical and social excellences peculiar to themselves.²⁷

But to the writer, another eventuality seems more probable, by reference to recent trends in Indian affairs and by analogy with another mixed-blood group in the same country. If India is left to

²⁷ See *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, XVI, 273, and XVII, 465; also Cedric Dover, *Cimmeria*, *passim*.

govern herself British protection of the Anglo-Indian will cease and, as a numerically inconsequent minority group, it is difficult to see how they can succeed in maintaining even the small measure of governmental privilege they now possess. They may then be compelled to lower their living standards to the same level as those of the general population, such a process carrying with it the likelihood of their group consciousness being impaired to the extent of permitting them to intermarry with Indians. Their numbers are so small in comparison with those of pure-blood Indians that such intermarriage would soon result in their disappearance as a special type. This has been the case with the Goanese, and with them the process has gone far toward completion.

NATIONALISM IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

All significant social movements are associated with a few outstanding individuals who function in the capacity of leaders. A study of the leadership of a given group over a period of time may be expected to illuminate the more important trends and movements within the group concerned. Among American Negroes the growth of a militant sentiment of racial pride and solidarity constitutes one of the significant developments of their racial history. As such, it differs in degree, but not in kind, from so-called nationalistic movements elsewhere. A study of some of the more outstanding American Negroes reveals three or four "schools" of leadership, corresponding to changing social situations and to successive stages in the development of the nationalistic complex.

The conception of leadership now generally held by social students differs considerably from that which prevailed when Carlyle wrote his *Heroes and Hero Worship*. The leader is no longer considered an independent factor in the chain of social causation. He is regarded rather as a medium, or product, of social influences quite as much as the source of them. From this point of view it is possible to gain some valuable insight into the nature of particular social movements through an analysis of the attitudes and activities of the more important individuals associated with them in the capacity of leaders.

One of the most interesting recent developments among American Negroes has been the growth of a militant sentiment of racial solidarity and race pride. It is this movement which is here referred to as Negro nationalism. To date its overt expressions have been less obvious than is the case with other more widely recognized nationalistic movements, but its essential nature appears to be similar. Most Negro leaders have been more or less associated with this nationalistic trend. But, when a study of Negro leadership is made in terms of the various historic periods during which the race has been resident in America, striking differences are revealed in the types of persons coming into prominence.

The slave régime offered little opportunity for the emergence of an independent type of Negro leadership. Most of the very few Negroes who achieved prominence during the slavery period were

free residents of the North who were active in the anti-slavery agitation. Frederick Douglass was the most aggressive and conspicuous of this group. Yet, in spite of his militancy, Douglass can scarcely be characterized as a Negro nationalist. He was primarily an abolitionist and, as such, his appeal was not so much to his own racial group as to the white society which he hoped to influence. He did not, as some of his more recent and radical successors, preach a gospel of racial self-sufficiency and anti-Nordicism.

The importance of Frederick Douglass to the nationalistic movement lies in the fact that since his death he has come to be regarded as a racial hero. He has become one of the most prominent figures in a growing list of Negro patriots, and his picture, along with that of Booker Washington, is displayed in countless Negro homes and schoolrooms.

Aside from Douglass, there were few Negro leaders of any consequence prior to the Civil War. A few preachers of the period attained some local reputation, but they were for the most part ignorant persons, and their message one of emotional exhortation in the practice of the Christian virtues of meekness and resignation. There were a few slave insurrections during the pre-war period, but their leaders were also local characters remembered chiefly because of the advertising given them in the current abolitionist press.

The brief period of Negro enfranchisement following the Civil War brought into state offices a number of local Negro politicians and resulted in the election of a few more competent individuals to the national congress. Yet Frederick Douglass remained the only really outstanding colored man outside of the Negro clergy. The latter began to come into their own during this period, and they have ever since constituted the most generally recognized group of leaders within the race. Yet whatever contribution the clergy has made to the growth of a nationalistic sentiment has been incidental to their religious function. On the whole, their influence has been conservative and calculated to further personal, rather than racial, interests. The Negro church, however, has undoubtedly contributed greatly to the development of a separate and self-sufficient Negro society and has thus indirectly helped to prepare the way for a more distinctly nationalistic movement.

In spite of a paucity of leaders, the period of American history following the close of the Civil War was a highly significant one for the Negro. The war brought no sudden and general changes in racial attitudes but, as the years passed, certain significant tendencies began to make their appearance. The Negro population gradually became somewhat more mobile, and increasing numbers of freedmen availed themselves of opportunities for acquiring property and an education. There slowly developed a small minority whose dissatisfaction with the inferior status assigned them in the social order found expression in vehement appeals to the whites for justice and the restoration of political rights. With the appearance of Booker Washington this characteristic Negro demand for white sympathy was for the first time combined with an equally strong appeal to members of the minority race to do something in a practical way for their own advancement.

Without doubt Booker Washington was the ablest leader the American Negro has yet produced. His success appears to have been due to a liberal endowment of common sense plus a sincere devotion to the interests of his racial group. He had the happy faculty of being able to face reality, a particularly difficult achievement for any member of an oppressed minority. Washington was willing to accept, for the time being, less than the Negro's theoretical rights, believing that these were impossible of attainment without the prior acquisition by the group of a large measure of economic independence.

I believe it is the duty of the Negro—as the greater part of the race is already doing—to deport himself modestly in regard to political claims, depending upon the slow but sure influences that proceed from the possession of property, intelligence, and high character for the full recognition of his political rights.¹

Washington's policies and activities in behalf of his race are too well known to require detailed rehearsal here. It is not difficult to detect the relationship between his eminently practical philosophy and the general characteristics of the period and section in which he lived. His program of racial progress through industrial and agricultural training was the only one that stood a chance of enlisting the co-operation of the white South. It was not inconsistent with popu-

¹ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 235.

lar demands for a differential treatment of the two races, and it did not threaten an immediate disturbance of the rigid caste lines of southern society. Neither was there anything in Washington's program to prevent the continued exploitation of northern sentiment for the Negro. It thus achieved the difficult task of securing the co-operation of both North and South in the cause of Negro advancement.

From the nature of his philosophy and policies it is evident that Washington does not fit into the category of a typically nationalistic leader. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that he gave a strong stimulus to the nationalistic movement. During his lifetime he did much to arouse a sentiment of group consciousness and racial pride among the Negro proletariat. Unlike Douglass, whose primary concern was to get something done *for* the Negro, Washington's message was largely directed to his own people and was calculated to inspire them to do something for themselves. He made no apologies for being a Negro and was doubtless sincere in his assertion that if he could be born again with the privilege of choosing his race he would choose to be a Negro. Utterances of this sort addressed to colored audiences throughout the country could hardly have failed to stimulate a racial pride and self-respect that had hitherto been lacking. The spectacle of a man of their own race speaking fluently and without embarrassment to colored and white audiences alike, respected in both North and South as a man of distinctive capacity, was a source of inspiration to the members of a racial group hitherto schooled to regard themselves as qualified for a menial status only.

Washington's influence on the developing nationalistic sentiment has greatly increased since his death. Like Frederick Douglass, he has come to be regarded as a race patriot, and his name is everywhere symbolic of Negro achievement. His example is constantly held before Negro youth as a stimulus to individual effort.

At the present time there are a number of Negro leaders who may be designated as followers of Washington's program of racial advancement. Among these might be mentioned Robert Russa Moton, his successor as principal of Tuskegee Institute; Charles S. Johnson, director of the Department of Social Science at Fisk University; and Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban

League. In their attitudes on the race problem most of these individuals are somewhat more uncompromising than was Washington, but their general policies are the same. Their greater militancy reflects a current trend of Negro thought, and this in turn is a product of the changed social and economic conditions in which increasing numbers of modern Negroes find themselves. This militant trend is most pronounced in the small minority of educated members of the race whose ambitions and wishes demand a wider field of social participation than is permitted within the traditional Negro status.² It is particularly conspicuous in that group of critics of Washington and his philosophy of racial advancement through economic efficiency that developed under the aggressive leadership of William E. Burkhardt DuBois.

DuBois is an educated and cultured Negro, a graduate of Harvard, and a writer and speaker of ability. He is best known to the public as the editor of *The Crisis*, one of the most militant of Negro periodicals, and as the author of a number of essays and works of fiction, all dealing with various phases of the race problem. Unlike Washington, DuBois is a propagandist for complete equality of treatment of Negroes and whites, and he is intolerant of any program of racial advancement not based on this formula. He objected bitterly to Washington's emphasis on industrial training for Negroes, insisting that such a program would serve only to perpetuate the inferior status of the race by training the black man to work with his hands instead of with his brain. DuBois is not so much concerned with the education of the Negro masses as with the development of an intelligent minority which, through its superior achievements, will tend to elevate the race as a whole.

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes, must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the best of their race that they may guide the mass away from the contamination and death of the worst. . . .

If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. . . .³

² For a discussion of the growth of this cultured Negro minority see Moton, *What the Negro Thinks*, pp. 29 ff.

³ W. E. B. DuBois in *The Negro Problem* (by representative Negroes), p. 34.

Associated with the DuBois point of view is a group of somewhat less widely known individuals which, with the exception of the Washington group, includes most of those commonly recognized as race leaders. Of these, James Weldon Johnson is perhaps nearest to DuBois in ability and spirit. Both have for many years been closely identified with the militant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—DuBois as editor of its official organ, *The Crisis*, and Johnson as secretary. Johnson is the author of what has come to be known as "The Negro National Anthem," *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, which is frequently heard in Negro gatherings throughout the United States. Alain LeRoy Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, should be included in this group, as also should Walter White, assistant executive secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Kelly Miller, dean of Howard University, is one of the most competent and objectively minded of the DuBois school. There are other Negro writers, particularly among the younger poets, who might properly be classified in the group under discussion. Of these, Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes are among the more outstanding.

The opposition of the members of the DuBois school to the conciliatory policies of Booker Washington, and their emphatic emphasis on the necessary leadership of "The Talented Tenth," is in large degree a rationalization of their own social position. Their general interests, tastes, and ambitions are such as would identify them with the most cultured society. But to full participation in the life of the inclusive society their color is an effectual barrier. It is an acute awareness of this fact that has tended to embitter them and has induced a somewhat reluctant identification with the socially inferior group. Naturally, they are most concerned with the development of a cultured minority which will serve as a substitute for the larger society from which they are excluded. Yet, while the members of this group are working for the creation of an intelligent and distinctive Negro society, they are bitterly attacking the shortcomings of a democracy which makes such a course psychologically desirable. Their race consciousness and extreme sensitivity to the slightest suggestion of differential treatment on the basis of color

leads them into some curious inconsistencies. Their demands for flat-footed equality imply the acceptance of universal, rather than racial, norms, yet they are constantly thinking and writing in terms of race. They object to newspaper accounts that call attention to the race of the Negro criminal, but if a Negro achieves favorable distinction in any field they are the first to advertise to the world the fact of his racial identity.

It is significant that most of the members of the DuBois school are mixed-blood residents of the North. Many have received at least some of their education in northern unsegregated schools, and a few have studied abroad.⁴ Outside of the South wider opportunities have tended to enlarge the social horizons of Negroes, but, at the same time, these wider contacts have brought a more acute awareness of the disabilities confronting the Negro everywhere.

The reluctance of these militant leaders to identify themselves closely with any of their own racial group save the cultured and usually light-skinned minority has resulted in a large amount of criticism and jealousy within the race. The Negro press contains abundant evidence of these intraracial jealousies. The following comments are typical.

The Professor [DuBois] knows less men and women of his race than any prominent person in America, by reason of his aloofness and exclusiveness. He elects to know no one and to serve his people at forty feet range.⁵

The upper class that has developed in the Race in the last twenty-five years has been a class whose aims are to exploit and drain the masses for all they are worth, then draw apart from them physically and socially and in many cases to build up a light skinned world of its own and ape the white man. . . . This class is of no importance . . . they are of no value to our masses, and the best interests of the Race demand that they refashion or be cast off.⁶

Although the members of the DuBois school constitute at present but a small minority of the total colored population, they are an extremely significant factor in the social situation. Their militant attitudes represent a developing nationalistic psychosis which is affect-

⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, J. W. and Charles S. Johnson, Alain Locke, Walter White, and Kelly Miller have all received substantial parts of their education in northern colleges and universities.

⁵ Excerpt from an editorial in the *Atlanta Independent*, February 21, 1929.

⁶ From an article by Allison Davis (an instructor at Hampton Institute) in the *Twin City Herald*, January 5, 1929.

ing educated Negroes in all sections of the country. The militant trend has permeated the Washington group as well as the DuBois school, so that at the present time the distinctions between the two factions are much less pronounced than formerly. It is conceivable that, with a continued increase in Negro education, the nationalistic sentiment may gain the ascendancy over the masses as it has over the intelligentsia. It is already possible to differentiate a fourth group of Negro leaders in which the nationalistic motive has been combined with a strikingly successful mass appeal.

THE NEWER RADICALS

This school of Negro leadership was, to a considerable extent, the product of conditions brought about by the World War. Although there is wide variation among its members in regard to specific policies advocated, there is less inconsistency in the attitudes of this group than is the case with the followers of DuBois.

Two general divisions of the radical group may be recognized. One demands unconditional equality with the whites and seeks this end through alliance with the communist movement, or such other similar organizations as welcome Negro support. The present depression has greatly stimulated the growth of communism among American Negroes, particularly in the larger urban centers. The second division of the radical group has no patience with futile demands for racial equality, but advocates the frank repudiation of white standards and the substitution, wherever possible, of black ones. This latter group represents the most thoroughgoing type of Negro nationalism that has appeared to date.

Prominent representatives of the former type of radicalism are Chandler Owen and A. Phillips Randolph. During the war these men edited a radical publication, *The Messenger*, which was characterized by a congressional committee investigating Negro radicalism as "by far the most dangerous of all Negro publications."⁷ The general attitudes of these men may be inferred from a few excerpts from their editorials appearing in *The Messenger* during the war period.

⁷ For a detailed report of this committee's investigation of Negro radicalism see *Report of the Department of Justice, 66th Congress, First Session*, Document 153, Senate Documents, Vol. XII, Exhibit No. 10, pp. 161-87.

Civil liberty in the United States is dead. . . . Civil liberty for the Negro, however, was dead even before the War, killed by the combination of a hypocritical North and an unregenerate South who colluded to sweep from the Negro his last vestige of liberty. . . . We do not accept the doctrine of old, reactionary Negroes that the Negro is satisfied to be himself. We desire as much contact and intercourse—social, economic, and political—as is possible between the races.

George S. Schuyler is another Negro of some prominence whose general attitudes are similar to those of Randolph and Owen.

As suggested above, the most thoroughly nationalistic type of Negro leadership is that "left wing" of the radical school which advocates the repudiation of white standards and the development of a culturally distinct Negro society. Some suggestion of such a desire is evident in the case of the DuBois school, but its members lack the frankness and thoroughgoing consistency of the radicals. The latter are willing to appropriate European culture values, not as means for gaining social equality, but as aids in the development of a distinctive and independent Negro nationality. A Negro student in a northern university once remarked to the writer that after the university had granted their degrees it could "go jump in the river" as far as the colored students were concerned. This is suggestive of the general attitude of the members of this group toward the white man.

It is understandable that this most extreme phase of the nationalistic sentiment has developed for the most part under the leadership of full-blooded Negroes rather than mixed-bloods. There is, as we have seen, a considerable amount of jealousy and social distinction on the basis of color within the Negro group. Everywhere the light-skinned members have tended to draw apart and constitute themselves an aristocracy of color midway between the white and black.⁸ The blacks are thus victims of a double discrimination. So long as color is made the basis for the determination of status they cannot hope to rise in the social scale except through the uncertain procedure of marriage into the light-skinned aristocracy. The most obvious method by which they may attain recognition and a higher

⁸ See Eslanda Goode Robeson, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, p. 63, for a frank discussion of this problem by a Negro writer. See also "Color Lines among Colored People," *Literary Digest*, LXXIII (1922), 41.

status and increased self-respect is that of renouncing completely every assumption of white superiority and building up an independent Negro society.

Marcus Garvey is by far the most outstanding and colorful representative of this movement for racial self-sufficiency. Although the "Garvey movement," which he headed, has practically collapsed and Garvey himself is at present generally discredited, the temporary success and widespread interest in his organization was a striking indication of the potential strength of the nationalistic appeal among the Negro masses.

Garvey is a native of Jamaica, a full-blooded black of some education and remarkable ability as a crowd orator. Influenced by his early contacts in Jamaica, he became fired with an ambition to be the Moses who should lead his people out of bondage. With this end in view he developed an organization known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. This organization was introduced into the United States during the early war period, and from an initial membership of about thirty it grew rapidly until at one time its adherents were numbered by the million.

As a medium for expressing his ideas and extending his organization, Garvey published *The Negro World*, a weekly newspaper with headquarters in New York. Various other subsidiary organizations were planned, including chains of Negro grocery stores and restaurants, a body of "Black Cross Nurses," and, most famous of all, "The Black Star Steamship Line." It was in connection with his activities in selling stock in his steamship enterprise that Garvey was arrested on a charge of employing the mails to defraud. He was convicted and sent to the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, where he served two years of a five-year sentence. In 1927 he was released and deported to Jamaica, where he has succeeded in keeping his organization alive. At the present writing he is reported to have taken up residence in London.

Garvey held that it was altogether futile for the Negro to expect justice in America. His only hope lay in the establishment of an independent Negro nation, the logical location for which was in Africa, where the bulk of the race still lives and white political con-

trol is not yet completely established. Through the Universal Negro Improvement Association Garvey was elected "Provisional President of Africa." In this capacity he sent a petition to the League of Nations Assembly of 1922, requesting that the former German African colonies be turned over to the administration of his organization. In 1928 he presented in person a similar petition in which he attacked the rule of the various European nations in Africa and bitterly denounced President King of Liberia and the Firestone Rubber Corporation.⁹ The idea of securing the redemption of Africa as a sanctuary for the black peoples of the world seems to have been constantly in the back of Garvey's mind.

I asked, Where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassadors, his army, his navy and his men of big affairs? I could not find them and then I declared, I will help make them. My young and ambitious mind led me into great flights of imagination. I saw before me then, even as I do now, a new world of black men, not peons, serfs, dogs, and slaves, but a nation of sturdy men making their impress upon civilization and causing a new light to dawn upon the human race.¹⁰

While the burden of Garvey's message was "Africa for the Africans," his nationalistic appeal was not limited to this theme. In various other ways he stimulated a sentiment of racial pride and sought to create a solidarity of feeling among American Negroes and black peoples the world over. He capitalized on the thing that had hitherto been the Negro's greatest liability, namely, his color. The racial uniform was exalted as a mark of natural superiority, acquired in the course of evolutionary development. His followers were told that, contrary to popular assumption, the black race had played a major part in world-history, many of the earliest civilizations having been of Negro origin. Garvey even sought to popularize the concepts of a black God and a black Christ. At one of the largest mass meetings sponsored by his organization, held in New York City in 1924, it was reported that a large gold-framed picture of a black Madonna was conspicuously displayed in front of the speaker's platform.¹¹ This incident gave an excuse for the open hostility of the Negro clergy. In addition, his glorification of the black standard and

⁹ From a report in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 27, 1928.

¹⁰ Anne Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, p. 126.

¹¹ Reported in the *New York Times*, August 6, 1924.

his depreciatory remarks concerning the mulattoes of the country aroused against Garvey the bitter opposition of most of the other recognized Negro leaders.

Garvey's success in winning over the Negro masses was in striking contrast with his failure to attract the clergy and the intelligentsia. Popular enthusiasm for his movement was enhanced by such typically demagogic devices as elaborate ceremonials and other provisions for the satisfaction of hitherto unrealized wishes. The Universal Negro Improvement Association appealed to the desire of the ignorant blacks for recognition and new experience through participation in a magnificent collective undertaking.

The Garvey movement was very largely under the leadership of one man. This was due in part to Garvey's jealousy of possible rivals and in part to the fantastic character of his program, which failed to attract individuals of more practical intelligence. Aside from Garvey, one of the most capable men in the movement was another full-blooded black by the name of Hubert H. Harrison, who was for a time associate editor of Garvey's newspaper, *The Negro World*. Harrison is particularly militant in his appeal to members of his race to demand "an eye for an eye" in their struggles against discrimination and mob violence in America.

If white men are to kill unoffending Negroes, Negroes must kill white men in defence of their lives and property. . . .¹²

Let Negroes determine that their lives shall no longer be cheap, but that they will exact for them as high a price as any other element in the community under similar circumstances would exact. . . . Then we will see the cracker stopping to take council with himself and to think twice before he joins a mob in whose gruesome holiday sport he himself is likely to furnish one of the casualties.¹³

Like Garvey, Harrison takes the position that only those individuals who are undeniably black are fully qualified as race leaders.

Every Negro who has respect for himself and his race will feel, when contemplating such examples as Toussaint Louverture, Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Laurence Dunbar and Samuel Ringgold Ward, the thrill of pride that differs in quality and intensity from the feeling which he experiences when contemplating other examples of great Negroes who are not entirely black. . . . It is a legitimate thrill of pride, for it gives us a hope nobler than the hope of amalgamation whereby, in order to become men, we must lose our racial identity.¹⁴

¹² Hubert H. Harison, *When Africa Awakes*, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

It is significant that, while the Garvey movement was not without adherents in the rural sections of the South, it was most successful in the large urban centers of the North. During the war period various forces were at work which tended to create in the Negro urban population a state of social unrest peculiarly favorable to such mass phenomena. The demands of industry had accentuated the urban movement of population and brought thousands of Negroes from the cotton fields of the South to the industrial centers of the North and East. This change necessarily involved a considerable degree of conflict and maladjustment. For the migrant from the rural sections the break with old traditions brought an unfamiliar freedom for which he was ill prepared. His satisfaction with the wider opportunities of urban life was to some extent offset by the uncertainty of his status in northern communities, where race relationships were not clearly defined by tradition.

The World War disturbed the American Negro in more significant ways than those involved in the cityward migration. Colored soldiers fought in France, and there demonstrated their fitness for military discipline. Those that remained at home followed the press reports of the colored regiments with keen interest. They were impressed by the idealistic statements of the war aims of the Allies and made the mistake of taking these declarations at their face value. The current jargon concerning "democracy," "the rights of minorities," and "the self-determination of peoples" aroused in many American Negroes the confident hope that as a result of the war their own private wrongs would somehow be righted. It was, to a considerable extent at least, a recognition of the futility of this hope that was responsible for the post-war development of Negro radicalism.

While the early extremism of the radical group has been modified during the period since 1920, its influence is still at work. The militant attitudes which it evoked and of which it was in some measure the expression are being diffused throughout an increasingly large proportion of the colored population. It remains to be seen whether this development of Negro radicalism will continue as a distinctive racial movement or whether it will eventually be absorbed in some sort of a general proletarian revolt.

A STUDY IN PRESTIGE

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ABSTRACT

In order to throw additional light upon factors involved in prestige, especially suggestibility and emotionality, eight statements purported to be solutions offered by respective professional and civic groups to the problem of the metallic base of our currency were presented to 800 junior-high, 640 senior-high, and 400 college students. The statements were substantially the same in thought content. The educators were ranked first by the junior-high males, the senior-high and college females, and the total of each group, also by the total females as well as the grand total of all groups. Business men were ranked first by all males combined and by males in senior high and college. Leading citizens were ranked first by the junior-high females. Prestige of the educators increased with increased school level. There was greater change in suggestibility from senior high to college than from junior to senior high. Factors promoting suggestibility were authority, insight, a clearer definition of the situation, and sympathy. The females were more suggestible than the males, and the difference was greater on the more mature levels. The mature students were influenced relatively more by the prestige of the professional and civic groups, the less mature by emotional elements involved in the statements.

The purpose of this study is to throw additional light upon some of the factors involved in prestige, especially suggestibility and emotionality. Specifically the following questions suggest the objectives: (a) What is the relative prestige of certain professional and civic groups with individuals on various levels of maturity and of different sex; and (b) How do emotionality and suggestibility vary with sex and age?

The procedure of the investigation may be outlined as follows:

1. Eight professional and civic groups were selected, namely: lawyers; physicians; ministers, priests and clergymen; professors and educators; engineers; business men; public officials; and leading citizens.

2. Eight statements were written which purported to be solutions to the problem of the metallic base of our currency. These were reputed to be solutions offered by the respective professional or civic groups. There was a definite attempt to make the basic meanings of all statements as nearly identical as possible but to camouflage the

identity by using long involved sentences and a rather difficult and technical vocabulary. Following is Form I of the check sheet as it was presented to the students, except that the statements have been numbered to facilitate reference in the discussion which follows.

FORM I OF THE CHECK SHEET

What is your age? Sex? If in school, what grade or class?

A group of 50 most outstanding individuals in each of several occupations or professions recently stated their opinions as to the best solution for the present money problem. Their statements appear below. Please read them as rapidly as you can (in order to save time) and make up your mind as to which group offers the best solution. Record your answer on the last page in the space provided for the purpose.

50 Lawyers:

1. The country is now in the throes of an economic chaos practically unprecedented in our financial history and is suffering from morbidity of its wheels of industry, a non-fluidity of its credit, and a greatly depreciated purchasing power, as most of us realize. Inflation of the currency is dangerous procedure and there seems no better solution of the perplexing problem than the adoption by all nations of a common monetary structure built upon an agreed ratio of gold to silver.

50 Physicians:

2. Faced with problems of the dole, unemployment insurance, and financial planning, to loosen the economic functioning of industry and agriculture as well as other phases of our financial organization, we must turn our attention to a more systematic organization of our credit mechanism and effect a solution of the problem of money by establishing a universal bimetallic standard to insure against a periodic upheaval of world-economic affairs involving a mitigation of trade, commerce, and international intercourse, and causing much national and international unrest and disharmony.

50 Ministers, Priests, and Clergymen:

3. The bankers have succumbed to the fear psychology which pervades economic activity in general, and all of this despite plentiful supplies of most of our stable products which, for lack of distributed purchasing power, cannot reach all who are in need. The world-wide existence of this condition argues for the co-operation of all nations in setting up a dual monetary mechanism according to some satisfactory basis agreed upon in advance in an international assembly of some sort.

50 Professors and Educators:

4. On every side we find destitute families whose children are poorly fed and inadequately clothed, men willing to work but unable to find employment,

farmers with products to sell but no buyers who have the money, and manufacturers forced to turn off workers. The problem involves questions of money, credit, distribution of wealth, purchasing power, adjustment of taxes, and many others. The first of these can best be solved by an international agreement and a general acceptance of a double metallic foundation to a world money economy.

50 Engineers:

5. We have reached a point in our economic development when a national breakdown of the financial structure seems inevitable. In order to avoid utter chaos it becomes necessary to revise our monetary standards and adopt one which requires the selection of two forms of specie currency to form at the same time, in fixed combination, the standard of value. This will in a large measure overcome the tremendous losses that are being incurred through property and labor idleness.

50 Business Men:

6. The economic history of our nation calls attention to some serious flaws which exist in our financial system. There is little doubt but that we need a dual standard of exchange which would have in fixed combination a definite standard of value. Under the present system no provision is made for a rapid and efficient readjustment to ever changing world-conditions. The fact that many of the foreign countries are now on the silver standard tends to aggravate the condition.

50 Public Officials:

7. The series of financial and economic depressions which the United States has suffered since its birth as a nation points the way to a need for a reorganization of our whole financial system. This reorganization should provide for the free coinage of more than one metal; it should give the debtor the chance of using the cheaper metal, and at the same time protect the creditor by keeping both metals in concurrent or in alternating use.

50 Leading Citizens:

8. The country is experiencing one of the most severe depressions that it ever has been called upon to endure. This has resulted in an extreme loss of confidence on the part of the people and a vast amount of unemployment. These conditions necessitate a provision for the free coinage to either of the two basic metals with the right of debtors to discharge their debts at their option in either of the two metals at a ratio fixed by law.

LAWYERS—PHYSICIANS—MINISTERS, PRIESTS, AND
CLERGYMEN—EDUCATORS—ENGINEERS—BUSINESS
MEN—PUBLIC OFFICIALS—LEADING CITIZENS

State your reasons for the selection you have made.....

3. Sixteen different forms of the check-sheet were prepared in order to rotate the name of the professional and civic groups as well as the several statements and their orders on the check-sheet. Thus, in successive forms a given statement would be presented as the solution offered by a different group so that in the course of the sixteen forms each statement would in turn have been made by each of the eight groups.

It will be noted by this scheme, first, that any differences that exist between the statements are brought under control; second, that any possible effect of position in the list is also controlled; and third, that any quantitative differences in the prestige of the respective groups will be apparent and subject to some degree of measurement.

4. These sixteen forms were distributed to junior high schools, senior high schools, and colleges ranging from Florida to California, and were administered by instructors in charge.

5. The school population included 800 junior-high-school pupils, 640 senior-high-school pupils, and 400 college students.

6. The sampling, which was geographically representative, was controlled as to the forms used, i.e., an approximately equal number of each form was given to each school system and to each classroom. This was done in order to prevent possible bias due to a teacher's failure to follow directions carefully, or allowing students to discuss the issues.

It will be noted that the problem is limited to a question in economics, and the results, therefore, will not warrant broad generalizations. While, in this study, educators and business men evidently hold more prestige than the other groups, there is a possibility that the educators and business men are expected to know more about *economic* problems. Perhaps on a question involving *ethics* the ministers might hold more relative prestige. Furthermore, the fact that teachers administered the check-list might have given rise to a factor of propinquity resulting in a higher prestige rating for the educators than would otherwise be attained.

On the check-sheet that the students were given and on which they were asked to encircle the professional group offering the best solution to the problem, there were a number of rather obvious in-

consistencies which relatively very few students noted. This would seem to indicate that suggestion entered in and dulled to a considerable extent the critical abilities of the students. The fact that the students were not required to place their names on the papers and were given an opportunity for self-expression as to the reasons for their conclusions seems to provide a further basis for this argument. The first statement in the directions, "a group of 50 most outstanding individuals in each of several occupations or professions recently stated their opinions as to the best solution for the present money problem," is one the reasonableness of which can readily be questioned. However, there was only one student (and he of the university group) who reacted negatively or indicated that he "saw through" the statement. He said, "I have selected the lawyers because if you can get a group of 50 lawyers to agree on anything it must be right." Although all of the solutions were substantially the same in thought content, there were only 31, or 1.7 per cent, of the total group of 1,840 cases who noted the similarity.

As has been previously noted, the statements and professions were rotated for purposes of control. That is, when the influence of the professional and civic groups is considered as a variable, the factors of position in the lists and the differences in the statements may be considered as constants. Conversely, when the influence of the statements is considered as a variable the professional and civic groups and order in the list may be considered as constants. Hence, when tabulating results by professions chosen, it is possible to secure a profession differential, and when tabulating the selections by statements it is possible to obtain a statement differential.

Table I shows the percentage of each group of subjects selecting each of the eight professional and civic groups as well as the ranks of the eight groups. It will be noted that the educators were given first place by the junior-high males, the senior-high and college females, and the total of each group. The educators also received a larger percentage of the choices of the total females as well as of the grand total of all groups. Business men were given first rank by all males combined and by males in senior high school and college. Leading citizens were given first rank by the junior-high-school female group. Considerable variation will be noted, but there is a

tendency for the educators to be ranked highest by the females, while the business men tend to be ranked highest by the males. Ministers received the lowest rank in every case.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF CHOICES FOR EACH PROFESSIONAL OR CIVIC GROUP
(Figures in Parentheses Are Ranks)

	JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL			SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL			COLLEGE			TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
Lawyers.....	{ 12.6 (4½)	13.3 (3½)	13.0 (4)	13.3 (4)	10.8 (5)	11.0 (4½)	11.5 (5)	11.9 (4)	11.7 (4)	12.6 (4)	12.1 (4)	12.3 (4)
Physicians.....	{ 10.7 (7)	12.5 (5)	11.6 (5)	12.6 (5)	9.9 (6½)	11.1 (6)	6.1 (7)	8.2 (6)	7.3 (7)	10.4 (7)	10.6 (6)	10.5 (7)
Ministers.....	{ 6.7 (8)	6.7 (8)	6.7 (8)	6.8 (8)	8.8 (8)	7.9 (8)	4.9 (8)	4.6 (8)	4.7 (8)	6.3 (8)	7.0 (8)	6.7 (8)
Educators.....	{ 16.9 (1)	17.1 (2)	17.0 (1)	15.1 (3)	20.5 (1)	18.1 (1)	17.6 (2)	21.9 (1)	20.1 (1)	16.5 (2)	19.5 (1)	18.1 (1)
Engineers.....	{ 13.5 (3)	8.0 (7)	10.8 (7)	10.1 (6½)	13.4 (3)	11.0 (4½)	12.1 (4)	7.8 (7)	9.6 (6)	12.1 (5)	9.9 (7)	11.0 (5)
Business men.....	{ 15.7 (2)	13.3 (3½)	14.6 (3)	16.2 (1)	13.7 (2)	14.8 (2)	22.4 (1)	16.0 (3)	18.8 (2)	17.2 (1)	14.1 (3)	15.5 (2)
Public officials.....	{ 11.4 (6)	11.2 (6)	11.3 (6)	10.1 (6½)	9.9 (6½)	10.0 (7)	10.3 (6)	11.0 (5)	10.7 (5)	10.8 (6)	10.7 (5)	10.7 (6)
Leading citizens.....	{ 12.6 (4½)	17.0 (1)	15.1 (2)	15.8 (2)	13.1 (4)	14.3 (3)	15.2 (3)	18.8 (2)	17.2 (3)	14.1 (3)	16.3 (2)	15.3 (3)
Total cases.....	420	375	795	278	352	630	165	219	384	863	946	1,809

However, an accurate picture cannot be secured from the rankings alone. There is a decided tendency for those on the higher school levels to concentrate their selections. For example, there is a close relationship between school level and the percentage selecting the educators. The educators received 17.0 per cent, 18.1 per cent, and 20.1 per cent of the selections of junior-high, senior-high, and college students respectively. This lends support to the conclusion that the mature students were influenced more strongly by the prestige of the professional and civic groups. Later, it will be shown that

the less mature individuals were influenced relatively more by an emotional factor involved in the statements.

It may be that the more mature students have placed more definite values upon the several professions than have the younger groups. If we assumed that all the professional and civic groups held an equal status in the eyes of the subjects, then we should expect each group to receive 12.5 per cent of the choices. The degree to which the respondents diverge from this level is a measure of their suggestibility to the prestige of the professional and civic groups chosen. In order to express this in quantitative terms an index of divergence was computed according to the formula¹

$$I_d = \frac{\Sigma D}{2N}.$$

The results are shown in Table II. The table reveals that the college group was considerably more divergent with respect to professions

TABLE II
INDEXES OF DIVERGENCE OF CHOICES FROM CHANCE EXPECTANCY
(From the Standpoint of Groups Chosen)

	Junior High School	Senior High School	College	Total
Males.....	0.087	0.105	0.177	0.104
Females.....	0.116	0.105	0.191	0.118
Total.....	0.096	0.097	0.185	0.113

¹ Where I_d = Index of divergence from chance expectancy;

D = Difference between the number of choices received by a given group and the number chance alone would allow that group;

ΣD = The sum of all differences, D , ignoring signs;

N = Number of subjects making selections.

The soundness of this formula has been determined empirically. If, for example, there are 3 candidates running for an office and 150 electors voting, chance alone would allow 50 votes to each candidate, other things being equal. If the 3 candidates actually receive 25, 50, and 75 votes respectively, one gains 25 votes at the expense of another, and, whereas the total number of departures from a chance situation is 50 in reality there is a divergence of 16½ per cent ($\frac{50}{2N} = \frac{50}{300} = .167$), which we may call the index of divergence from chance expectancy. In like manner the formula may be shown to operate for any number of candidates and any number of voters.

selected than the other groups. Junior and senior high school students were about equal in this respect. A study by E. B. Hurlock ("Suggestibility of Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, XXXVII [1930], 59-74), reports similar results in that there is apparently no consistent change in suggestibility between ages 10 to 17 inclusive. Most other studies, however, have shown a progressive change. The present study cannot be said to support strongly the findings of Hurlock since the problem is limited to an economic question and to a limited number of professional and civic groups.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF CHOICES FOR EACH STATEMENT

STATE- MENT No.	JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL			SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL			COLLEGE			TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	Males	Fe- males	To- tal	Males	Fe- males	To- tal	Males	Fe- males	To- tal	Males	Fe- males	
1.....	7.1	4.8	6.0	9.7	7.4	8.4	21.8	13.7	17.2	10.8	7.8	9.2
2.....	7.4	6.4	6.9	8.6	10.8	9.8	12.1	14.6	13.5	8.7	9.9	9.3
3.....	6.0	7.2	6.5	9.0	10.5	9.8	17.6	15.1	16.2	9.2	10.3	9.7
4.....	41.7	42.9	42.1	35.6	39.2	37.6	22.4	31.1	27.3	36.0	38.7	37.4
5.....	5.0	8.3	6.5	5.4	5.7	5.6	3.0	3.2	3.1	4.8	6.1	5.5
6.....	6.0	5.6	5.8	9.0	7.7	8.2	10.3	7.8	8.9	7.8	6.9	7.3
7.....	14.3	15.5	14.8	15.8	10.8	13.0	7.3	7.8	7.6	13.4	11.9	12.7
8.....	12.6	9.6	11.2	6.8	8.0	7.5	5.5	6.7	6.3	9.4	8.4	8.8
Total cases.	420	375	795	278	352	630	165	219	384	863	946	1,809

By tabulating the number of choices according to statement selected, some interesting differences become apparent. Table III indicates the percentage of choices received for each statement. Statement No. 4 is by a wide margin the most appealing of the eight. The difference, as previously suggested, doubtless lies in its particular emotional appeal rather than in any superiority of solution offered. This favorite statement attracted a higher percentage of choices than any of the professional and civic groups. Close analysis of the statement suggests some probable explanations: first, the widespread consciousness of the effects of the depression and the daily contacts of the students with people who are suffering made this statement appear to be the best definition of the situation, and therefore it

carried the suggestion of greater authority and understanding of the problem; and second, the subjects may have been attracted not so much by a suggestion of authority as by sympathy or perhaps by some other emotional stimulus.

A survey of the "reasons" offered for the students' selections throws considerable light upon this question. A young man, who was a Junior in high school, justified his choice of statement No. 4 by the following: "This statement describes the so-called 'depression' exactly." A young lady in the tenth grade remarked: "I made this selection because everything it says is true." Other typical reactions follow.

I made this selection because it is happening in our community.

Because it tells the truth about the conditions of the people.

The reason I chose this one is because I know more about it. I have come in contact with the sort of people that are mentioned in this paragraph.

I am a member of a large family, experiencing a situation similar to the one mentioned and have often thought this.

It is very much like our town; we haven't purchasing power, no credit, heavily taxed, and the cutting out of music and such things from our school is just about to ruin all of us.

Interesting comparisons of the force of the two variables are shown in Tables I and III, where the highest and lowest ranking professional groups and the highest and lowest ranking statements may be compared. There is a progressive decline from the junior-high to the college levels in percentages choosing the favorite statement or solution. The indexes of divergence are shown in Table IV with respect to the statements. When statement No. 4 is considered, the females are somewhat more suggestible than the males to each of the factors, and the difference is greater on the more mature levels, the males growing relatively less suggestible with maturity. Going from the younger to the more mature students the prestige of the educators appears to increase relatively more with the females than with the males, while the influence of the emotional element tends to decrease.

The following typical "reasons" offered for selections indicate the reliance of even the more mature minds upon "authority."

"They all advocate the same thing—my choice is mainly a matter of authority" (20-year old male; twelfth grade, chose public officials).

"It is probable that the professors and educators are the most far-seeing men of the day, so that it is only natural that students should applaud their intellect" (17-year old female; eleventh grade; chose educators).

"Because business men would be more closely related to such a subject and probably would have given previous study to the problem and its solution" (19-year old female; twelfth grade; chose business men).

TABLE IV

INDEXES OF DIVERGENCE OF CHOICES FROM CHANCE EXPECTANCY
(From Standpoint of Statement Chosen)

	Junior High School	Senior High School	College	Total
Males.....	0.311	0.264	0.255	0.245
Females.....	0.332	0.267	0.244	0.262
Total.....	0.320	0.256	0.245	0.252

"They have made a study of such things" (45-year old woman; college; chose lawyers).

"I have selected this because I think business men would probably have the clearest insight into existing conditions and be more capable of deciding the solution to the problem" (26-year old female; college; chose business men).

"The educators should be capable of judging people in their lack of confidence" (21-year old female; college; chose educators).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study the educators were given first rank by the junior-high-school males, senior-high and college females, and junior- and senior-high-school and college totals. The educators also received a larger percentage of the choices of the total females as well as of the grand total of all groups.

Business men were given first rank by all males combined and by males in senior high school and college.

Leading citizens were given first rank by the junior-high-school females.

There was a tendency for the educators to be ranked highest by the females while the business men tended to be ranked highest by the males.

Ministers received the lowest rank in every case.

There is a close relationship between school level and the percentage selecting the educators. The educators received 17.0 per cent, 18.1 per cent, and 20.1 per cent of the selections of junior-high, senior-high, and college students respectively. These percentages indicate that the prestige of the educators increases as progress is made up the educational ladder.

There is some evidence that there was no consistent change in suggestibility from the junior-high to the senior-high-school level. There is some change to be noted, however, from senior high school to college. Factors in this study which promote the effectiveness of suggestion are authority, some degree of insight or understanding, a clearer definition of the situation, and sympathy.

The females were more suggestible than the males, and the difference between the sexes is greater on the more mature levels.

The mature students were influenced relatively more by the prestige of the professional and civic groups, while the less mature individuals were influenced relatively more by emotional elements involved in the statements.

MULTIPLE GROUPINGS AND LOYALTY PATTERNS

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ABSTRACT

The fields of modern knowledge and association are so complex and specialized that the older doctrine of universals has become obsolete. Separate sciences and interest groups have taken the place of the former unity. This is illustrated by the great variety of bodies in the United States which maintain their own periodicals and organizations. Classification of social groups is less important than that of group-making forces. Free multiple grouping is a means of individual self-expression and is socially useful because it develops values that would otherwise remain latent. Vocational specialization instead of promoting may hamper individual growth. The state, standing for established interests, is less flexible than volunteer groups. But multiple loyalties may lead to social disintegration, and the present trend is apparently toward a reintegration of the solidarity pattern.

It is the fashion nowadays for people to wear badges of the various orders or societies to which they belong. Good taste usually restricts the wearer to one or two at the same time, although the number that he might wear would in many cases run up to a dozen. The badge is an emblem of loyalty to the special group, just as the flag is a symbol of devotion to the state. The modern person is accustomed to associate himself with several discrete groups, each with its more or less definite organization and each designed to perform a special function or to satisfy a particular need of his nature.

Scholars of the older generation aspired, following Bacon, to "take all knowledge for their province," for until a relatively recent period knowledge was computed to be a unit like a single organism and thus to come within the mastery of the single individual. Likewise, the whole body of psycho-social interests was assumed to have unity and to fall within the scope of each member of society. There was first of all and over all the tribe or state which comprehended all other interests and of which the others were integral parts. But the development of separate sciences has now divided the realm of learning into specialized fields, just as the multiplication and elaboration of social interests has created groupings among which there is no longer any pretense of unity.

The flat-plane concept has in both cases given place to perspective, nor do men now attempt to think, as they once did, in terms of

universals. Where once there was a single world there are now many coexisting "worlds," the world of religion, of scholarship, of science, of literature, of philanthropy, of reform, of politics, of banking, of agriculture, of merchandising, of sport. None of these is supreme, and each has its own technique. Each has worked out its own mechanisms to meet the particular needs of its inhabitants, although individuals may and do live coincidentally in more than one of these worlds. Where human interests are so varied, a man, in order to attain self-realization, must attach himself to whatever groups will express his varied desires, frankly leaving others alone.

The extent and complexity of this wilderness of interests may be roughly illustrated by a study of such specialized bodies in the United States as have achieved sufficient consistency to establish and maintain periodical organs. Professor Schlesinger tells us that even in the relatively primitive period before the Civil War there were more than seventy-five labor weeklies and more than thirty temperance weeklies or monthlies. Over fifty "female" magazines can be traced, and an indefinitely large number of children's periodicals. Every religious body of any standing had "a battery of periodicals representing its different activities and contending theologies."¹

Coming to the immediate present and taking 1929 as a normal year, we find that the total number of periodicals listed in Ayer's *Newspaper Annual and Directory* as trade, technical, and class publications was 4,712. According to purpose they may be roughly classified in the following general groups:

Business.....	1921
Professional (including labor).....	900
Recreation and Sociability.....	384
Government and Administration.....	274
Scientific.....	272
Racial-National Groups.....	250
Educational.....	230
Welfare.....	170
Aesthetic.....	149
Religious.....	143
Protest and Reform.....	105
Exhibitions.....	14

¹ A. M. Schlesinger in *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*, ed. Norman Foerster, p. 174.

Seventeen individual groups have fifty or more organs; those which have more than one but less than ten number one hundred; and only thirty-two are limited to a single publication. Among the last are explosives, game breeding, folk lore, character reading, birth control, anti-tobacco, boy rangers, vegetarianism, phrenology, prisons, and psychical research. Besides having organs of publication, most of these interests are organized into national bodies that hold annual conventions; perhaps a majority have state and district organizations; and many have local community organizations. In a number of cases this system of organization involves codes and controls similar to those of political government.

So varied and complex are the types of interest represented by these groups that it is impossible to find common characteristics, unless we take as such their functional character and their insistent will to self-assertion and self-government. The purpose may be acquisition or mutual protection or co-operation or proselytism or propaganda or philanthropy or efficiency or patriotism or science or protest or amusement. In any case the organization is definitely limited to its own function, and membership involves only that part of the individual's interest which is connected with such function.

In addition to this general list of periodicals there are special ones for particular fields. Agricultural publications number 431, divided into fourteen classes:

Farm Bureau.....	95
General.....	64
Poultry.....	56
Agricultural College Publications.....	35
Live Stock.....	33
Breed Publications.....	28
Dairying.....	27
Specialized Farming.....	22
Horticulture.....	22
Farm Newspapers.....	19
Pigeons and Pet Stock.....	9
Scientific Agriculture.....	9
Bee-Keeping.....	8
Power-Farming.....	4

There are 1,048 collegiate publications and 775 religious publications. Including those published in Canada and the West Indies, the

number of foreign language publications is 1,463, and for fraternal orders the number is 215. Public Affairs Information Service in 1928 referred to 536 publications as follows:

Business.....	243
Professional.....	74
Scientific.....	46
Political Reform.....	35
Social Reform.....	33
Welfare.....	33
Educational.....	32
Group Protection.....	12
Literary.....	9
Racial Groups.....	7
Religion and Ethics.....	6
Vocational Groups.....	6

If, instead of considering periodical organs, we look at the nature of the organizations themselves, we form an even clearer conception of their complexity and minute division of function. The American Association for the Advancement of Science claims 119 officially affiliated societies of national scope, with a combined membership of several hundred thousand. Each separate society has its clearly delimited field within the general field of science. A list of scientific and technical societies prepared for the National Research Council in 1928 showed a total of 711, grouped as follows:²

Professional.....	215
Technical.....	204
Particular Sciences.....	138
General Science.....	83
Nature Study, etc.....	48
Social Reform.....	16
Liberal Arts.....	7

A census of religious bodies in 1926 showed a total of 79 major denominations. To this should be added, however, 146 sub-sects within some of the larger bodies. One of these larger bodies has 19 such divisions, 2 have 18, and 6 others have 5 or more.

If we take the less specialized list of societies and associations that were sufficiently important to appear in the *World Almanac* list in

² Prepared by Clarence J. West and Callie Hull, *Bulletin of the National Research Council*, May, 1927.

1926, the number runs up to 814, which may be roughly grouped into 16 classes:³

Religious.....	109
Business.....	101
Professional.....	100
Scientific.....	69
Social-Fraternal.....	64
Welfare.....	61
Patriotic.....	53
Educational.....	45
Social Reform.....	35
Political.....	30
Recreational.....	29
Benevolent.....	28
Racial-National.....	28
Intellectual.....	26
Aesthetic.....	24
Protective.....	18

These lists are, of course, only typical ones. Other groupings which have no such formal organization but which nevertheless embody important interests are found in every community and play a part in the life of every individual. Athletics, amusement, recreation, literary interest, self-improvement, non-academic education, neighborhood improvement, minor conflict groupings, and the howling jungle of reform movements do not necessarily require large-scale organization. By joining any one of these groups a man does not merge his whole life into it; he merely brings to it that part of himself which is attracted by its particular purpose and which finds outlet through its activities. He may take either a vital or a casual interest in this purpose, he may belong to many other entirely distinct groups, he may freely abandon one and take up with another, he may even reverse his interest and pass from one conflict group to its opposite; but in any case he will seek, through his affiliations, to find outlets for his varied interests.

Associational life, then, can no longer be thought of as a universe, but, to revert to a term made familiar by William James, must be accounted a "multiverse." Many attempts have been made to work

³ For an analysis of these groups see a paper by the present writer on "Habitation Areas and Interest Areas," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 5.

out a general classification of psycho-social groupings. Taine distinguished two. First, artificial associations such as religious associations, commercial and industrial associations, and philanthropic associations, where the engagement is not anterior or innate but wholly arbitrary, and into which one enters by express act of will. Second, natural associations like the family, state, or church, where there is an anterior or innate engagement which is binding and, in the case of the family, indestructible, and wherein there is both disposition and duty to remain by reason of a debt contracted and benefits received.

MacIver also discovers two types: communities, where the members live a common life and have complex social relations; and associations, made up of individuals who have established organizations or institutions to serve particular ends. Unlike communities, the association rests on a specific covenant either expressed or implied. Inasmuch as the underlying interest is wider than the association itself, it follows that associations are merely "foci" for the expression of interests, parts of which remain unorganized and free within the communal life; and they should, therefore, be regarded as "organs of the community no less than organizations within it."⁴

From the point of view of group purpose, Bentley finds two types: discussion groups and organization groups.⁵ Simmel places special emphasis on "purposive associations" as distinguished from more general forms of associations. In the purposive association, says Simmel, the individual does not co-operate with the whole of his personality but merely co-operates with definite factual contributions conducive to the specific factual purpose.⁶ English political theorists who have adopted the pluralistic concept generally speak of interest groupings as voluntary associations.

But classification of group types is significant only as a means of more clearly imaging the underlying forces which motivate the grouping, or of making clear the modes of choice. It is true that selection is not always free, as in genetic groups or inherited social

⁴ MacIver, *Community*, chap. ii and Appendix A. See also the same author's *Elements of Social Science*, pp. 8-11.

⁵ *The Process of Government*, p. 434.

⁶ See Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, p. 181.

arrangements. But where freedom of choice does exist, the selection will be determined by the personality traits of the individual, always, however, conditioned by the exigencies of his environment and experience. Classifications of these traits vary with each particular analyst, but a general list would probably include such elements as the instinctive, the temperamental, the vocational, and the environmental. Some groupings appear to be merely fortuitous without expressing any conscious interest. Locality and family groupings, while apparently of this type, may perhaps more properly be classed under environment and experience. The fact that sons are prone to adopt the political party affiliation of fathers is balanced by the rather notable trend toward vocational variation on the part of these same sons. There is also a wide variation within fraternal groups both in vocational and in general interest groupings. With the weakening of the traditional blood-bond in the family has come an emancipation of individuality that makes the will of the single person rather than that of the kinship group predominant.

This is largely due to the fact that the family is a single unit with only limited and elemental interests. Free multiple groupings on the other hand allow the individual a large freedom in the expression of personality. They arouse and satisfy the urge of adventure, they open the way to prestige and domination, and they may permit the achieving of status otherwise unattainable. Whereas membership in a single group conditioned by a fixed environment tends to hamper self-expression and to make the individual narrowly fanatical, multiple association makes for balance and breeds that kind of self-criticism which gives the individual a better sense of values than the single-interest type allows. The ideal citizen is one who is free to express "all thoughts, all passions, all delights, whatever fills this mortal frame."

Even ambition and vanity are normal human traits possessing social value when properly balanced. Among more primitive peoples these traits are often the outstanding factors in social life. Malinowski has shown that it is vanity and the desire to outshine rivals which is the motive underlying that Melanesian system of gift-exchange that he has so interestingly described. Boas has analyzed a somewhat similar system among the Indians of western Canada, and

Livingston Jones finds that vanity—"saving face"—is one of the chief social forces among the Thlingits of Alaska.⁷

Durkheim maintains that division of labor with accompanying vocational grouping is the central fact of pluralistic social organization. No one will question the importance of vocational specialization in modern society, but it is easy to show that this specialization affects the outward forms of organization far more than it affects the vital interests of the individual man. It may in fact be contended that vocation, under present economic conditions, may even drive men more than ever to seek real life elsewhere, because, by organizing workers into ever narrower groups and by smothering the creative sense, it forces them to seek other channels for their psycho-social interests. When real craftsmanship prevailed in industry the worker could and did put most of himself into his work; under the division of labor system a higher degree of expertness is often more than balanced by rebellious emptiness in larger and larger areas of the mind. More and more "interest alcoves" either remain void or must be occupied by activities unconnected with the vocation.

Differentiation of interests develops the spirit of adventure which has a zest equivalent to that of creation. The frontier is a paradise for creative spirits, whether this frontier be geographical or cultural. Whatever may be the future trend, the creative pioneer has hitherto generally arisen outside of the existing order and has had to rebel against what was established and institutionalized. This does not imply that innovation must necessarily occur in isolation. It is more likely to be a branching off from fixed forms, and it may even take place within these forms by a process of filiation, but it usually involves a new grouping. Sociology, since its primary interest has come to lie in social process instead of structure, now finds itself concerned with these mobile and plastic elements rather than rigid forms. For this reason the loyalty patterns in which it is interested are likely to be more dynamic than those of traditional bodies like the state.

⁷ Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, pp. 26-30, and *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp. 95-98, 161-71, and 173-76; Jones, *The Thlingits of Alaska*, chap. x and pp. 141 ff.; Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, National Museum Report, 1895.

The state pattern is an institutional one because the political order is concerned primarily with the administration and control of what has already become fixed. Modern political states are essentially lawyer states. The lawyer is not much interested in anything until it is formally organized and ready for legal control. Even a casual glance at the mass of autonomous groups within the modern state will show how large a part of life remains outside of the purely political order.⁸ It is true that interest groups do, as they mature, tend to become institutionalized and to be taken over by the state, but this is no longer the mere authoritarian state. It is rather the organ of a larger, more efficient co-operation, and it thus becomes a service state. The interest group, which had hitherto had its own standards and codes, does not so much surrender itself to the state as enlarge its constituency.⁹

In proportion as the state pattern has declined in relative importance there has emerged a conception of society as involving a balance of loyalties, each having its own proper area and sanction. Interest groups therefore are not a hierarchy but a co-ordinate series.¹⁰ Membership in an interest group may be distributed among many political states; one man may belong to several groups; and a man may change his groupings according to his fluctuating interests. Even politics, which is generally deemed among the most static of interests, has begun to follow the general trend toward flexibility. The two-party system is no longer adequate to express the manifold political ideas of a large state, as is shown by the constant demand for new parties, the growth of special blocs, and the complexity and compromises of party platforms. Sidney and Beatrice Webb insist that England is ready for two parliaments, a social parliament to represent individuals as members of the social democracy and a political parliament to represent them as citizens of the political democracy.¹¹ But even with the most complete reorganization of the

⁸ See especially Figgis, *Churches and the Modern State*.

⁹ Miss Follett holds that in a free society men do not *surrender* their individual wills, as the contract theory of the state implies, but *contribute* their individual wills to the collective will. *The Modern State*, p. 274 n.

¹⁰ MacIver, *Community* (2d ed.), p. 257.

¹¹ Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth, pp. xvii and 110 ff. The demand for a system of functional representation is especially strong in England. See, for example, Cole, *Social Theory*, p. 115.

political system, large areas of interest would remain outside of it, for, as Cole remarks, the state even if it includes everybody cannot include the whole of everybody.¹²

It is easily possible that the trend toward unrestrained interest grouping, which the more radical pluralist welcomes so rhapsodically, may have swung too far, and that a reintegration of the solidarity pattern is due to follow. Revolt from the patriarchal-authoritarian order and the lush growth of unco-ordinated special interests may be strangling the more primitive and general interests out of which society grew. Reaction against untrammeled freedom of association is one of the most conspicuous features of those recent social revolutions in Russia, Italy, and Germany which have sought to set up the centralized control pattern in place of distributive interests and to substitute mass movement for particularistic movements. These revolutions are conceivably the harbingers of a cyclic trend back to centrality. Human nature, despite its apparent flexibility, may not be adapted to uncontrolled liberty of choice. But, supposing such a centripetal trend to be actually starting, the balance that must ultimately result, since balance always follows the clash of extremes, will undoubtedly preserve most of the real values of free association, particularly in the non-political field.

¹² *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, XV, 154.

FECUNDITY OF FAMILIES DEPENDENT ON PUBLIC CHARITY

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ABSTRACT

A study of 504 families who had been dependent for years on public relief in Los Angeles County shows that they have been producing children steadily at public expense. The completed family averages five living children, and one-third of these are born after the family has become dependent. Three or more social welfare agencies were aiding each of these families, in 80 per cent of the cases. The mean Mexican family is half again as large as the mean American family. Most of the wives are still young enough to bear more children at public expense. The longer a family is dependent on charity, the more children it produces.

That dependent families tend to be large is a matter of common observation. This is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that a large family is more in need of assistance. Parents who might support a child or two by their own exertions are unable to support four or five children and therefore turn to the public funds for assistance. Beyond this, it is often alleged that fecundity is positively correlated with ignorance, inefficiency, lack of self-control, disregard of consequences, and unwillingness or inability to use contraceptive methods, so that the type of person who is likely to apply for public charity is also the type of person who is likely to have a large family. Finally, it has been alleged by eugenists that the administration of public relief is sometimes a means of subsidizing the production of children, so that a family "on the county" tends to have more offspring, not merely because it costs nothing when the public pays the bills, but because the family may actually derive pecuniary benefit from every increase in its size.

Conceivably each of these explanations, and others, may be valid in part. Extensive study of the actual results of charitable relief in the United States, with statistical analysis of the factors involved, has rarely been made. As a small contribution to this much needed

investigation, we present the following details concerning 504 families in receipt of public assistance in Los Angeles County.

The data were extracted in the summer of 1932, with the cordial co-operation of the County Welfare Department. Families were taken in the order of their occurrence in the files, the only selection practiced being that the family must have been first admitted to relief at least five years previously. This took the record back prior

TABLE I
LENGTH OF TIME DURING WHICH DEPENDENT FAMILIES HAD BEEN ON THE BOOKS OF THE COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Length of Time	No. of Families	Percentage
5 years.....	72	14
6 ".....	123	24
7 "	96	19
8 "	70	15
9 "	40	8
10 "	29	6
11 "	18	3
12 "	14	3
13 "	10	2
14 "	12	2
15 " or more.....	20	4
Total.....	504	100

to the beginning of the depression of 1929. Since then, almost any family might be in receipt of relief. But if a family was getting public funds at the height of the "boom" period, it may be considered a more typical dependent family. As these were all "open" cases at the time of our study, they had all been receiving relief for at least five years, since 1927, and for varying periods prior to that, one-fifth of them having been on the records for at least ten years, when the study was made. Of course, such a family may not be receiving help continually; often the aid is intermittent, depending on the father's ability to get employment. The average case had been reopened 2.30 times. In length of time known to the county charities, these 504 families were distributed as shown in Table I.

Only three-fifths of the heads of families were citizens. Most of the remainder were Mexicans (184 families), with 29 Italians, 9

British, 5 Russian, and 41 of all other nationalities put together. Mexicans showed a very slightly longer period of dependency than Americans, 8.04 years average in these records as against 7.66 for the native-born.

Direct support from county funds was by no means the only expense to taxpayers and citizens involved in these cases. Most of them had records with a number of agencies. The average number of agencies involved in each case was four (the differences between the various racial and national groups being insignificant); 80 per cent were known to three or more agencies, and one-fifth of the total were on the books of seven or more agencies each. While the Social Service Exchange prevents most of the actual overlapping and duplication that formerly occurred, the multiplicity of agencies that has to be supported to take care of these dependents is not the least part of the burden which they entail. In the 504 families, there were but 21 who had contact with no other agency than the county welfare department.

There is only a small association ($r = .30$) between length of time known to the county welfare department and number of other agencies involved. The correlation (.26) between duration of marriage and number of agencies involved is also low. The peculiarities of the case that may lead to the involvement of a large number of social agencies are largely independent of the length of dependency and of the age of the parents, as well as of the number of children ($r = .06$ for the variable last named).

The mean family consists of 4.29 living children. Tabulation of the size of family by the length of marriage simply proved how unreliable the data are on that particular point. The mean family for marriages of 2.5 years' duration turned out to consist of 2.92 children. Obviously most of these children must have been born in previous marriages, not accounted for in the histories, or "without benefit of clergy." The frequency of divorce and remarriage, and of illegitimacy, in this stratum of society is so well known that it is not necessary to examine it further in this connection.

If the social basis of measurement of fertility, by length of marriage, is unusable, the biological basis, by age of mother, is equally unusable. Ordinarily the number of children borne by a married

woman varies directly with her age. In any ordinary population, the number of children born to women who have passed the menopause would at least average greater than the number borne by women still in their twenties. Not so in this case, however. Examination of Table II (which, however, includes only women born in the United States) shows that those in the age-group of 25-29 actually have larger families than the women 20 years older, whose families are certainly complete. Evidently the whole population here studied is selected on at least two different bases: Some young couples are

TABLE II
SIZE OF FAMILY AMONG AMERICAN MOTHERS OF
DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age of Mother	Number of Mothers	Mean No. of Children per Mother
Up to 24.....	6	1.0
25-29.....	16	3.6
30-34.....	36	3.3
35-39.....	46	3.6
40-44.....	39	3.9
45-49.....	23	3.2
50-54.....	10	2.4
55 and over.....	17	1.6
Total.....	193	.....

given charity because of their large families; some old couples are given charity because of their age, rather than because of the size of family. It is therefore remarkably difficult to reach any definite conclusions as to the ultimate fertility of these couples.

The mean age of husbands is 44.40 years, that of wives, 39.95. If it be assumed that a woman has not passed the age of child-bearing until she has reached 45, then more than three-fourths of the wives in these 504 families are capable of bearing further children for the community to support. In other words, the story is not yet finished. An inspection of the figures suggests that the average completed family in this group will consist of at least five living children.

The mean American family in this series consists of 3.53 children;

the mean Mexican family has 5.20. This difference is not wholly due to differences in ages of the mothers, for the mean American mother was 40 years old, the mean Mexican, 38.35. The mean family which established citizenship consists of 3.56 children (some of the Mexican families have taken out naturalization papers and are therefore included in this group); the mean family of a non-citizen comprises 4.83 children.

Of particular interest is an inquiry as to the continuance of child-bearing after beginning to receive public aid. One way of describing the facts is illustrated in Table III. Most of the larger families have been subsidized by the public for the production of at least a part of their children.

TABLE III

Number of Living Children in the Family	Proportion of Families of This Size Which Have Produced Children Since First Receipt of County Aid (Per Cent)	Number of Living Children in the Family	Proportion of Families of This Size Which Have Produced Children Since First Receipt of County Aid (Per Cent)
1.....	4	6.....	63
2.....	22	7.....	70
3.....	31	8.....	66
4.....	58	9 or more.....	41
5.....	68	.....	.....

If a conservative limit be drawn, taking any woman now under 40 as likely to have additional children, then there are 219 wives who fall in the group. Table IV shows that this group of 219 produced an average of 2.72 children each, before first receipt of charitable aid, and an average of 1.58 children each, since the first receipt of charitable aid.

Since the natural reproductive capacity of these mothers is declining from year to year with advancing age, it appears that their fecundity—the actual production of children—is at least not diminished by the fact of becoming a recipient of public charity. This is brought out in another way in Table V, which shows the production of children compared with the total number of years during which the family has been known to the county welfare department.

The conclusion is plain. The longer a family is in receipt of charity, the more children it produces. To follow the story a step farther, one may well believe that the more children it produces, the

TABLE IV

FECUNDITY OF WOMEN UNDER 40 BEFORE FIRST RECEIPT OF CHARITABLE AID		FECUNDITY OF THE SAME WOMEN AFTER FIRST RECEIPT OF CHARITABLE AID	
No. of Children	No. of Mothers	No. of Children	No. of Mothers
0.....	12	0.....	61
1.....	36	1.....	59
2.....	55	2.....	42
3.....	50	3.....	33
4.....	30	4.....	16
5+.....	36	5+.....	8
Total.....	219	Total.....	219

TABLE V
PRODUCTION OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES RECEIVING CHARITY

YEARS ON CHARITY	NUMBER OF CHILDREN					
	None	1	2	3	4	5
5.....	45	16	4	2	0	0
6.....	76	24	13	6	1	0
7.....	44	16	14	16	1	3
8.....	34	12	9	9	2	1
9.....	21	6	8	3	0	1
10.....	13	2	4	3	5	2
11.....	8	2	3	2	1	1
12.....	6	2	3	1	1	1
13.....	4	1	3	1	0	1
14.....	2	3	4	1	1	1
15.....	5	1	4	2	3	4
Totals...	258	85	69	46	15	15

more it needs charitable aid. So the vicious circle is kept complete, and the taxpayers foot the bills, while the mounting burden of care of dependents raises the tax rates and imposes new burdens on the efficient, self-supporting part of the population, thereby leading it to reduce the number of its own children still further.

In some cases these families may be producing children of superior quality, so that society is justified in subsidizing their reproduction. But it would require a hardy optimist to believe that this is the general condition. No data are available in this study as to the intellectual level, emotional normality, or physical health of the subjects; but studies on comparable populations elsewhere leave no doubt that they are below par in a large proportion of cases. The median I.Q. for 451 representative children under the care of the Charity Organization Society, New York, was 86; that of 821 children admitted for free medical treatment to the Riley Hospital in Indianapolis was the same.¹ Of 1500 women admitted to the obstetrical ward of Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, as charitable patients, 39 per cent of the whites and 70 per cent of the Negroes were found to be feeble-minded, as judged by a mental age of 11 years or less.² Similar conditions would probably be found in any part of the United States.

Present methods of administering charitable relief, it appears, are encouraging, and paying for, the reproduction of a class of persons many of whom are eugenically inferior.

From any point of view, it would seem to be only common sense that every new family admitted to charitable relief should also be given contraceptive instruction and materials, unless it is clear that no children are likely to be produced while the family is dependent. Beyond this, sterilization at public expense should be provided for selected patients who desire it.

¹ R. Clyde White, "The Intelligence of Children in Dependent Families," *Social Forces* (September, 1928), 7(1), 61-68.

² Grace Baker, "The Mental and Social Status of 1500 Patients in the Obstetrical Clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* (April, 1933), 52(4), 275-314.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

REPORT OF RESEARCH CENSUS OF 1934

The returns of the American Sociological Society census of social research for 1934 appear below. In arranging the material, the categories employed by the "Abstracts of Recent Literature" of the *American Journal of Sociology* have been used. As far as possible, the author's own description and classification of his project is allowed to determine its classification in this report. The cross references at the head of various sections refer to the serial number of individual projects. The items are arranged alphabetically in each section by names of the authors.

It is unfortunately necessary to omit a number of items each year from this published report for one or more of the following reasons:

1. Illegibility. Unless the title of the project and the name and address of the person reporting can be deciphered, the report is omitted.
2. Omission of the name and/or address of the person reporting.
3. Late returns. While all reports on hand at the time this manuscript is prepared are usually included, the committee cannot be responsible for reports received after April 15, which is the date indicated on the census blank.
4. Failure to submit report in the form provided on the census blank. Mimeographed lists of research projects, published bibliographies, tables of contents of books, or more than one project reported on each blank will not be considered for inclusion in this report.

In general reply to considerable correspondence accompanying the reports of research the following points may be emphasized:

1. The census blank sent out by the Society each year is not an exhortation to do research and consequently no apology, explanation, or other reply is required from those who have nothing to report or who prefer not to report.
2. As stated in the circular letter accompanying the census blank, "the information may be submitted on plain sheets of paper 8½ by 11 inches in size, provided that the headings on the census blank are followed." It is not necessary, therefore, to write for additional blanks.
3. Likewise, it is not necessary to answer all the questions on the blank. The title of the project and the name and address of the person reporting is all that is necessary to have the project included in the published report of the census. It is desirable, of course, to give further information for the benefit of the chairmen of the various sections who use these reports in formulating the program for the annual meeting.
4. The categories given on the blank for classification of the project do not purport to be scientific or mutually exclusive divisions of the field of sociology. These categories merely correspond to the divisions into which the Society is at present organized, and the sole purpose of this inquiry, as stated on the blank, is to determine the

author's preference as to the section before which he would prefer to report. The duplicate copy of the report is invariably sent to the chairman of the section designated by the author as his first choice.

5. Unless reports are submitted in duplicate, the chairman of the section in which the topic is classified by its author will not receive a copy for consideration.
6. This committee or its chairman has no special influence in determining the programs for the annual meeting. The program of only one section, namely, that of the section on Current Research is determined by this committee. The topics and speakers for this section are selected by a process of combined preferences in which every member of the committee has equal influence.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Chairman, Committee on Social Research

HUMAN NATURE AND PERSONALITY

(See also 114, 175, 180, 210, 212, 216, 217, 221, 272)

1. The self-words of a child. Read Bain, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Language habits of first two years of a female, with emphasis on the emergence of social consciousness as revealed in the acquisition of personal pronouns.

2. A study of changing social attitudes toward social problems as indicated by successful plays. Hugh Carter, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This study is based upon an examination of the texts of plays that have had unusual success on Broadway since 1920. It also involves an analysis of the business of the theater in its relation to social change and an interpretation of such statistics as are available on this subject.

3. The New Haven Negro. John Dollard, Institute of Human Relations, 333 Cedar Street, New Haven, Connecticut. A study of a more or less segregated group of 5,500 Negroes in New Haven to determine characteristic differences in the inner life of Negroes.

4. The attitude of college students toward ten professions. H. G. Duncan, 1037 Pine Street, Boulder, Colorado. Students were requested to list ten professions in order of preference and to state clearly and concisely the reasons for their preferences.

5. Beliefs or opinions regarding social policies. (Preliminary studies of a science of "Credology"). Frieda Fligelman, 5 Washington Place, Helena, Montana. Subjects begin on: depression; national self-sufficiency; popular heroes; preparedness for war; education; crime; marriage; democracy and dictatorship; what the radio should give the audience; food and drugs control; etc.

6. A scale for measuring developmental age in girls. Paul Hanly Furley and Sister Celestine Sullivan, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. This is a scale for measuring social maturity in girls by objective methods. It is parallel to the test for measuring developmental age in boys published in *Child Development*, June, 1931.

7. The attitudes of rural mountain people. Wayne T. Gray, 420 College Street, Barbourville, Kentucky.

8. Construction of a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism and its standardization with respect to reliability and validity. Clifford Kirkpatrick, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The scale is being applied to an investigation of attitude resemblances between parents and children, and to other research problems. Two forms of the scale have been prepared according to a procedure calculated to combine objectivity and numerical condensation with the possibility of a configurational analysis. The test given to several hundred students shows a high reliability. Following checks for validity through application to radical and conservative groups, scores will be obtained from several hundred families having student children in the University of Minnesota.

9. The adolescent girl—An analysis of her attitudes, ideals, and problems from the viewpoint of the girl herself. Sister M. Mildred Knoebber O.S.B., Mt. St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kansas. An analysis of the responses of 3,000 adolescent girls of high-school age to a questionnaire, covering the attitudes, ideals, and problems of girls in the home, the school, and in their social life. The questionnaire was presented to groups in twenty different states.

10. The social status of Chinese-Hawaiian Hybrids. Doris M. Lorden, 215 North Austin Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. The study is concerned with Chinese-Hawaiian hybrids in Hawaii at the present time. It is based on life-history documents, statistical data, and journalistic material.

11. The Negro woman and public opinion—A study of the nature and origin of opinions concerning the Negro woman. Jessie W. Parkhurst, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Data collected from literature written by and concerning the Negro from the introduction of slavery into the United States in 1619 up to the present time and from expressions of opinion which daily confront the Negro woman.

12. A study of the social attitudes of high-school seniors in the Tennessee Valley. D. G. Stout, State Teachers College, Johnson City, Tennessee.

13. A controlled study of development in the Albino rat. Mary Elizabeth Walsh and Paul Hanly Furley, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. This is an attempt to study the physical and social causes of the development of the behavior in the white rat.

14. Trends in cultural participation as bases for social planning. Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. A study of degree of participation as measured by various social factors which may be utilized as indices for social planning.

15. A scout study on consistency of belief and observance in religion. H. Woolston, University of Washington, Seattle. Fifty-five student questionnaires—Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. To determine relations between social conditioning and religious conduct.

16. The complex of race and class in the south: A study in social attitudes. M. N. Work, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. The purpose of the study is to furnish a more significant and intimate understanding of the nature and problems of the symbiotic relations of race and class in the South.

THE FAMILY

(See also 67, 73, 112, 120, 123, 124, 211, 259)

17. The influence of severe and apparently lasting decrease in income from accustomed sources on family life. Robert C. Angell, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Fifty detailed case histories have been secured from university students whose families meet the requirements.

18. Marriage and population movements. James H. S. Bossard, 311 Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1930. Based on marriage license data.

19. Prediction of adjustment in marriage. E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Based on 526 couples married from two to six years living in Illinois. Questionnaire and case studies.

20. A study of standards of living among 562 farm families in the north central winter wheat area of Oklahoma. O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Schedules from 562 families for the farm business year June 1, 1932—July 1, 1933.

21. Early marriage adjustments. Robert G. Foster, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. A study of fifty couples who have agreed to submit to investigation over the first three years of married life. These individuals will communicate with the Advisory Service for College Women at the Merrill-Palmer School three times a year and discuss what has taken place in their actual marriage relationships since the last interview, on topics such as religious activity, sex life, continuing education, work program, culture

and social interests, recreational life, household management and activities in relation to parental families, relation to chums prior to marriage, and personality adjustments.

22. **The Negro family in the United States.** E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Original census data for 1910 and 1920 on families in three rural counties of the South, and three southern cities, as well as statistical data on northern cities; family history documents from these areas; questionnaires from selected classes in different parts of the United States, and 1930 census data.

23. **The discontinuity and continuity of some New England families, 1630-1930.** Leo A. Haak, 43 Museum Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A study of approximately 2,000 of the New England families which have disappeared during the past 300 years. A family is considered to disappear (discontinue) when a married pair does not produce at least one member of the succeeding married generation. Each discontinuing family is compared with three biologically related continuing families.

24. **Family functions.** C. Horace Hamilton, State College Station, Raleigh, North Carolina. Four hundred rural families of Iredell County, North Carolina, in 1931. School children of these families were also studied. Personal interviews with parents, using a schedule (7 pages) for recording answers to questions. Eight-page schedule used in group interviews with school children.

25. **Happiness in relation to age at marriage.** Hornell Hart, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut. A statistical synthesis of the results of five previous studies: (1) based on 100 divorce applications in Cincinnati in 1918; (2) 500 domestic court relations cases in Philadelphia, with 600 control cases, 1927; (3) Katharine B. Davis' study of 1,000 married women; (4) Hamilton's study of 200 married people in New York, 1928; (5) census figures of divorce and early marriage by states, 1930.

26. **The germinal factor in intelligence test scores as seen in some Pittsburgh families.** Roswell H. Johnson, 1039 Murrayhill Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

27. **International eugenics.** *Idem.* The ethnologic method. Determination in advance of the items that would be significant and then going to the significant places to observe or the significant people to interview them.

28. **Customs and practices of mountaineer families as revealed in modes of travel, recreation, and education.** Lois Kirtland, University of Chicago, Gates Hall, Chicago, Illinois. The 200 families included in this study are living in the southwest corner of DeKalb County on Sand Mountain in the state of Alabama and are typical of the mountaineers of the section.

29. **A study of the "Sub-Head" in a family.** Richard O. Lang, 5725 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Southeastern section of the City of Chicago the population of which is approximately 325,000. Data collected in census of the City of Chicago as of January 9, 1934. The study will be of some 7,000 "Sub-Heads."

30. **An analysis of selected factors in the family life of Louisiana State University students.** E. H. Lott, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Selection to include only families resident in Louisiana and homes not "broken." Statistical analysis of selected factors in the background of parents, the social activities within and outside of homes, and husband-wife and parent-child relationship. Schedules from about 600 students attending the University 1933-34.

31. **Impact of the depression on white-collar families of \$6,000-\$10,000 income group in 1929.** Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University, New York City. Study of 150 families in Montclair, N.J., by combined scheduled interviews for objective indices of changed behavior during depression, followed by psychiatric interviews by Dr. John Levy, psychiatrist and co-director of study. Interviews supplemented by social data on entire community.

32. **Is legal marriage losing ground?** C. W. Margold, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Volume I of a study of the changing trends in marriage during the past fifty to seventy-five years and more, covering the per cent distributions in well over a billion and a half marriages in fifty-four countries and republics—in addition to the forty-eight American states and the District of Columbia—in ninety-two leading cities, and in twenty-eight urban and rural sections of countries.

33. Statements made by plaintiffs and defendants in divorce actions. L. C. Marshall, 722 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C. Four thousand statements collected from various counties in Ohio on divorce actions disposed of in Ohio between July 1 and December 31, 1930. Types of data collected are (a) personal data concerning parties, (b) data concerning present marriage relationship, (c) data concerning previous marriages, (d) data concerning immediate relatives, and (e) home surroundings.
34. A statistical analysis of family relations based on students' autobiographies. William G. Mather, Jr., Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. Autobiographical studies of college students' families, written during the last three years, will be used as source materials.
35. The ecology of family disorganization in Chicago. Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. All divorce court and court of domestic relations records for the years 1919 and 1929 in Chicago; also number of divorce complaints each year from 1890 to present; rates of social organization and disorganization calculated from Census data.
36. International and interracial marriages in Los Angeles (California) County, 1925-34. Constantine Panunzio, University of California, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
37. Depression Families. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. An analysis of several hundred families on relief during the depression 1931-34. Case summaries of causal factors and major results.
38. An analysis of reasons for closing found in 659 major care cases closed in 1929 in the Jewish Social Service of New York City. Ruth Rosenbaum, 2609 Collingwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. Seventy per cent of the cases closed in 1929 form the basis of this study. The material found in the closing entry of each major case was analyzed.
39. Social Causes for Divorce. Clarence W. Schroeder, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Illinois. Study of divorces granted in Peoria County, Illinois, for twenty-five month period—March, 1930 through March, 1932—by questionnaire method. Questionnaires are taken by selected senior students to those on list and their answers to questions solicited.
40. An analysis of 510 case records with special reference to family disorganization. Mervin Shafer, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Factors of age, previous marriages, race, nationality, religion, health, and number of children as recorded in 510 current and recently closed cases of Philadelphia and Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, welfare agencies.
41. A study of life insurance adjustments in 275 St. Louis relief families. Flora Slocum, 416 South Kingshighway, St. Louis, Missouri. Social, economic, and insurance data from family case records of 275 relief families known to the St. Louis Provident Association. A sampling of cases in which life insurance problems were adjusted on a case-work basis during 1932.
42. The genesis of endogamous marriage. T. Lynn Smith and Mary Byrd, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Case and historical studies will be made of four or five Louisiana communities. Case studies describing the type of situation prevailing and the emergence of an endogamous marriage pattern.
43. The pattern of marriage among the French-speaking people of Louisiana. T. Lynn Smith and Maratha Ray, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. One "French" parish in Louisiana, 1912-34; records of 1,000 marriages. Statistical studies of the 1,000 cases supplemented by case studies of resulting types.
44. A study of marriage annulments in Douglas County. T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. This study covers a period of ten years. The court records furnish the main source of data. Some 300 cases will be carefully studied. Effort is made to determine ages, length of marriage, reasons for asking for annulment, by whom, parents' part, time before decision is handed down, previous marriages, etc.
45. Standard of living. Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts.

46. Subsistence farming. *Idem.* Analysis of relief and non-relief cases to see: (1) How subsistence differentiates families, (2) how subsistence could help others, and (3) where they can find subsistence.

PEOPLES AND CULTURAL GROUPS

(See also 3, 10, 28, 36, 92, 93, 130, 131, 138, 169, 278, 285, 286)

47. Rural-urban migration in North Carolina. C. Horace Hamilton, State College Station, Raleigh, North Carolina.

48. Immigration and assimilation in Brazil. S. H. Lowrie, Escola de Sociologia e Politica, Largo Sao Francisco, Sao Paulo, Brazil. Amalgamation will be studied through records of intermarriage available for the past fifteen years by nationalities, 20,000 to 30,000 cases annually. Similar data for birth supply material as to replacement. Church records and a few questionnaires will be utilized as a supplement to official statistics.

49. Migration of Louisiana Negroes. T. Lynn Smith and Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

50. A study of ethnic assimilation in Omaha. T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. This study includes the analysis of over 6,000 immigrant families in Omaha, studied according to nationality, number in family, school, housing, religion, delinquency, geographical distribution in the city, method of making a living, attitude toward other races and national groups, etc.

51. Urban influences on the American Negro. *Idem.*

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

(See also 127, 125, 142-45, 187, 291, 292, 298)

52. Biographies of workers as a basis for a Sociology of the worker. Arnost Blaha, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechoslovakia.

53. The material and moral life of the unemployed. *Idem.*

54. Relation of the depression to the behavior problems of Negro adolescent girls in Chicago. Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. This study is of Negro girls of lower economic status in Chicago, for the years 1928-33. Use of interviews, life histories, diaries, letters, group conversations, records of schools, courts, and agencies.

55. Survey of the Negro boy in Atlanta. Sarah Ginsberg, Research Department, Atlanta School of Social Work, 247 Henry Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

56. The second generation oriental in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast. William C. Smith, William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri.

POPULATION AND TERRITORIAL GROUPS

Demography and Population

(See also 23, 26, 27, 48, 49, 51, 222)

57. The mobility of rural families in Genesee County, New York, 1930. Walfred A. Anderson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.

58. The mobility of sons and daughters in 2,500 rural families of Genesee County, New York. *Idem.*

59. The movement of population to and from New York State. *Idem.*

60. Population movement in the Buffalo area. Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo, New York. House-to-house canvass of approximately 1,000 families.

61. The population problem in modern Egypt. Wendell Cleland, American University at Cairo, Egypt.

62. The effects of depressions on the birth-rate. H. G. Duncan, 1037 Pine Street, Boulder, Colorado. Four serious depressions have been selected. The birth-rate during the depression periods are compared with normal and prosperous periods.

63. The condition of the sixth-year molar of children in various economic areas. Howard Whipple Green, 1900 Euclid Building, Cleveland, Ohio. Nine hundred thousand examinations of sixth-year molars of children in Cleveland.
64. Movements of population in the Cleveland metropolitan district. *Idem*. The 90,000 families moving in the Cleveland metropolitan district during 1933; where they came from and where they went.
65. Real property inventory of the Cleveland metropolitan district, Report No. 2. *Idem*.
66. Factors affecting the farm birth-rate in North Carolina. C. Horace Hamilton, State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.
67. Recent changes in the social and economic status of North Carolina farm families. *Idem*.
68. Differential fertility and mortality in Chicago. P. M. Hauser, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Data include: 330,000 cases of births and 220,000 cases of deaths. The 1930 United States Census and the 1934 City Census of Chicago (if completed in time) are to be used.
69. Medical history of contraception. Norman E. Himes, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. All the chief cultures since the earliest stages of social development (i.e., from primitive societies).
70. Dynamics of population change: social and eugenic aspects of differential fertility with reference to an American population policy. Frank Lorimer, 2100 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
71. Population problems in Nashville, Tennessee. J. Paul McConnell, Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tennessee.
72. Population and population trends in Arkansas. T. C. McCormick, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
73. Relation of density and aggregation of population to the family. Dwight Sander-son, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.
74. Mortality trends in Minnesota: 1910-33. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Mainly a study of mortality changes in the state of Minnesota from 1910 to 1933 according to principal causes, age, sex, race, etc.
75. The adequacy of birth registration in the United States. T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
76. The population of Louisiana: its composition and changes. *Idem*.
77. Eighty years of population changes in the state of Oregon, 1850-1930. Edna Curtis Spenger, Box 662, Pendleton, Oregon.

Ecology

(See also 35, 64)

78. The identification of social areas in Philadelphia. James H. S. Bossard, 311 Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
79. Genesis and development of certain "depression" co-operatives on the Pacific coast. Wallace J. Campbell, 1590 High Street, Eugene, Oregon.
80. Ethnic distribution in the Chicago metropolitan region. Horace R. Cayton, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
81. An ecological study of venereal diseases in Chicago. Cynthia Cohen, 5407 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
82. Observation on changes in Chicago for the last five years. *Idem*.
83. World distribution and origins of alcoholic beverages. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
84. Social studies of a metropolitan area. (Bowery and 4th Avenue to East River and Schiff Parkway to 23rd Street, New York City). Last specific study: land and building utilization. C. G. Dittmer, New York University, Washington Square East, New York City. Intensive study by blocks of the character, type, and use or uses of

every building and plot in the area. To be used mainly as a background for other studies.

85. Depression effects on fertility and mortality in Chicago. P. M. Hauser, Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

86. The ecology of fertility and mortality in Chicago. *Idem*.

87. Segregation of population types in areas of different land uses, productivity, and values in Illinois: a study of adaptive behavior versus planned organization. E. T. Hiller, 328 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana.

88. The proportional representation of English and French in various occupations in bi-lingual communities in Canada. Everett C. Hughes, McGill University, Montreal.

89. Population mobility in rural Connecticut. J. L. Hypes, Storrs, Connecticut.

90. The Mexican in Chicago. Robert C. Jones, 5229 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

91. Trends of country neighborhoods. Professor J. H. Kolb, 318 Agricultural Hall, College of Agriculture, Madison, Wisconsin.

92. The Negro miner in West Virginia. James T. Laing, Holbrook College, Lebanon, Ohio.

93. Cultural change in three Mesabi Iron Range towns. Paul H. Landis, South Dakota State College, Brookings.

94. Blighted areas in Baltimore: a study in human ecology. Ivan E. McDougle, Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland. Six of the older residential areas of Baltimore, averaging 30 gross acres each, selected for study by the Joint Committee on Housing appointed by the Advisory Committee of the Maryland Public Works Administration. House-to-house data collected on an elaborate census sheet by 48 men, all college graduates, employed by the Civil Works Administration from November 20, 1933, to March 31, 1934.

95. The Chicago Stock Exchange: an ecological study of an urban institution. Francis E. Merrill, Central Y.M.C.A. College, 19 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. This study will be largely concerned with the ecological concept of dominance, as it concerns the relationship of the Chicago Stock Exchange to the New York Stock Exchange. Other ecological phases of the relationship of the Exchange to the urban community will be considered.

96. An ecological study of St. Louis with special reference to evidence and processes of social disorganization. Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

97. The recreational uses of land in Connecticut. Victor A. Rapport (co-author with N. L. Whetten), Storrs, Connecticut. Data secured from tax lists, supplemented by inquiry among town officials. Questionnaires sent to some organizations.

98. Ecological aspects of major social problems in Nashville. Walter C. Reckless, Vanderbilt University.

99. Wandering women. Ben L. Reitman, 32 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois. A study of female hoboes. There will be a short historical sketch. Will deal largely with the unemployed, unattached migratory female.

100. A study of rural community areas in New York State. Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.

101. Census tract maps of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

102. Population trends in the three major cities of Minnesota. *Idem*.

103. Regional factors in the production and place of residence of prominent Americans. Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Computation of per capita production and residence of persons listed in *Who's Who in America*, 1924-25 and 1930-31 by states, and correlation with twenty climatic, racial, intellectual, educational, religious, economic, and other indexes, and various combination measures of these facts.

104. An ecological analysis of a selected area in Omaha. T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

105. Social survey of the economic and educational status of Illinois on a regional basis, from published statistical sources. W. Russell Tylor, 314 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana.

106. Social aspects of Indian slavery. Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. Analytical study of original documents.

107. Mobility of American leaders. Sanford Winston and Ellen Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. Cross-classification of birth and residence data to give a more precise picture of geographical mobility than the usual classifications make possible.

108. Social trends in the metropolitan region of Chicago. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. The city of Chicago and the fifteen counties in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana which roughly constitute the metropolitan region. Trends in population, land utilization, social organization, and problems of social control and collective behavior with special reference to the last thirty years.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

(See also 47, 57)

109. A comparative analysis of rural families receiving relief in October, 1930, and neighboring rural non-relief families in two selected counties of New York State. Walfrid A. Anderson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.

110. Membership in rural organizations in New York State. *Idem.*

111. The interests and activities of rural young men and young women, 15-29 years of age. Walfrid A. Anderson, Mildred B. Thurow, and Willis Kerns, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. Three hundred unmarried young women in the above age group living in Genesee County, New York, have been interviewed as to their interests and activities.

112. Interaction patterns in normal families. Howard W. Beers, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.

113. A study of farming and non-farming sons and daughters of cotton farmers of Mississippi, 19 through 33 years of age. Dorothy Dickins, State College, Mississippi.

114. The Ozark highlander: a type. W. E. Frampton, 185 Bay State Road, Boston.

115. Annual estimate of changes in farm population. C. J. Galpin, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

116. The organization and functioning of rural local government in Kentucky and possible adjustments therein, as related to farm taxes and to the continuance of effective governmental services. *Idem.*

117. Rural industries as factors affecting the standard of living of farm families. *Idem.*

118. Growth and decline of trade centers in Oklahoma. O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

119. Rural relief census. *Idem.*

120. Social and economic census of farm families, 1934. O. D. Duncan, P. H. Stephens, and J. T. Sanders, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

121. A study of village-centered rural communities. Roy H. Holmes, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

122. The pure milk association—a study of collective action in the dairy industry of the Chicago region. Carl R. Hutchinson, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

123. Effect of depression on farm family living. E. L. Kirkpatrick, 315 Agricultural Hall, Madison, Wisconsin.

124. The life cycle or stages of family development in relation to standards of living and ability to provide. *Idem.*

125. Cultural homogeneity as a factor in land settlement and social organization in South Dakota. Paul H. Landis, South Dakota State College, Brookings.
126. Some town-country relations in Ward County, North Dakota. L. O. Lantis, State Teachers College, Minot, North Dakota.
127. Forces affecting rural social organization. D. E. Lindstrom, 220 New Agricultural Building, Urbana, Illinois.
128. A study of the influence of 4-H Club work on boys and girls in selected areas of the state of Illinois. D. E. Lindstrom and Associates, 220 New Agricultural Building, University of Illinois, Urbana. All of the boys and girls who had had any 4-H club work in the past five years were assembled together with an equal number of those who had no 4-H club work in each of 60 counties and a series of tests and rating scales administered to get from them data as to their environmental conditions.
129. Rural social organization in south-central Arkansas. T. C. McCormick, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
130. Land tenure by Japanese for agricultural purposes in the Puget Sound region (of the state of Washington). John A. Rademaker, 820 North 13th Street, Tacoma, Washington.
131. A study of the Japanese in the Puget Sound region: the social organization of the Japanese in the Puget Sound region. *Idem*.
132. The social and economic importance of the Belgische Boerenbond. (Belgian Peasant Farmers' Co-operative League). Eva J. Ross, 2900 Meramec Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

(See also 107, 122, 132, 152, 154, 226)

133. The sociology of the Vermont town meeting. Paul F. Douglass, Green Mountain Junior College, Poultney, Vermont.
134. The effects of the size of the group on behavior. H. G. Duncan, 1037 Pine Street, Boulder, Colorado. A questionnaire was submitted requiring rather detailed answers.
135. The continuing influence of Adin Ballou's Hopedale Community in the present-day life of Hopedale, Massachusetts. Massachusetts State College, Amherst.
136. The national recovery act in relation to organized shoe workers (in Brockton, Massachusetts). *Idem*.
137. The possibility of maintaining a high standard of living amid difficult conditions (in East Boston, Massachusetts). *Idem*.
138. Social forces and conflicts in the Balkan Peninsula. Joseph S. Roucek, 10 South Liberal Arts Building, State College, Pennsylvania.
139. Sociology of political behavior. Joseph Slabey, 10 South Liberal Arts Building, State College, Pennsylvania.
140. A functional classification of contemporary reform movements. F. M. Vreeland, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

The Newspaper

141. The social significance of the newspaper. Carroll D. Clark, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence. The development of the newspaper in western society; its assimilation of the functions of advertising and editorial opinion; differentiation of news functions. Data from historical sources, present-day newspapers, files of certain papers, etc.
142. The rôle of the Negro newspaper in Negro life. Ralph N. Davis, P.O. Box 331, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. A study of the Negro newspapers published in Chicago, 1878-1934, and of Negro newspapers published in the United States, 1827-1934.
143. Trends in the American Daily Newspaper Industry. Alfred McClung Lee, 565 Orange Street, New Haven, Connecticut. An attempt to describe how the American

daily newspaper, as a social instrument, has adjusted to changing social conditions and to changing conditions within the industry—mechanical, economic, and social. Newspaper trade journals and histories are used to supplement statistical sources.

144. The human interest story. Helen Gregory MacGill, Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. American metropolitan papers, particularly of Chicago and New York; emphasis on current forms of news story, with some historical survey. Data, clippings over period of years, newspaper files, newspaper histories. Some attention to German papers since 1930 in Berlin.

145. A statistical analysis of the country weekly newspaper in the United States: 1900-1930. Malcolm M. Willey and William Weinfeld, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The emergence of "one-newspaper places." Changes in the numbers of newspaper for the United States as a whole and by states. Trends in political affiliation: the growth of the "independent" newspaper and the decline of the regular "party" paper.

Recreation, Celebrations, Festivals

(See also 97, 111)

146. Leisure activities of high-school pupils. F. J. Brown, School of Education, New York University, New York City.

147. A survey of recreational facilities in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Stewart G. Cole, Crozer Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania.

148. Methods of control of commercialized entertainment with special reference to the motion picture. Robert B. Fletcher and Frederick Morse Cutler, Amherst, Massachusetts.

149. Recreation in a metropolitan area—prefaced by short history and philosophy of the recreation movement. Harold M. Kamsler, 867 Hunts Point Avenue, Bronx, New York City.

150. One week's study of the leisure time situation in Reading, Pennsylvania. Eugene T. Lies, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

151. The uniformity of leisure behavior patterns. George A. Lundberg, Columbia University, New York City. Statistical analysis of detailed time-diaries of activities for 4,460 days.

152. Beginnings of the scout movement in Amherst and their outcome. Massachusetts State College, Amherst.

153. Methods of control of commercialized entertainment with special reference to the motion picture. *Idem.*

154. The Springfield Massachusetts musical festival association. *Idem.*

155. The use of leisure time in a typical American city. T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. Each organization and institution is being studied as far as use of leisure time is concerned, as a separate case.

156. The boy who does not play. Clarence Wittler, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION GROUPS

(See also 3, 22, 50, 51)

157. Study of personnel in certain family welfare agencies in 10 cities in April, 1930, and April, 1932. Ruth Hill, Family Welfare Association of America, 122 East 22d Street, New York City.

158. Effect of cyclical trends on the social organization of selected villages: Implications of the organic nature of the social structure. E. T. Hiller, 328 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana. One agricultural and two coal-mining villages are studied, covering a period of two decades. Detailed data are compiled on occupations, business functions, population composition and volume, forms of recreation, institutions, and regulative culture, change in leadership, etc., comparisons being made between the years of prosperity and depression.

159. Certain characteristics of the Negro church of Columbus, Ohio. Joseph S. Himes, Jr., Samuel Houston College, Austin, Texas.

160. The Banana Empire. A case study of the social aspects of economic imperialism. Charles D. Kepner, Jr., 89 East Main Street, Stafford Springs, Connecticut. Examination of laws, concessions, governmental and fruit company reports, official and unofficial investigations, interviews with officials of governments and fruit companies, Congressional hearings, personal observations on the field, local newspapers and periodicals, letters and diaries, etc.

161. The Catholic Parish Credit Union in the United States. Leo J. Robinson, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, Missouri. Information concerning about 15 per cent of these unions is to be obtained by personal interview, the rest by a questionnaire.

162. Central application bureaus. Margaret Wead, 130 East 22d Street, New York City. Questionnaires will be summarized and evaluated to give some indications of the desirability of such bureaus.

163. Evaluation of member agencies of the Family Welfare Association of America. *Idem.*

Sociology of Religion

(See also 159, 161)

164. The contribution of Durkheim's School to sociology of religion. Lewis Cope land, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

165. The conflict of Church and State in the Third Reich. Paul F. Douglass, Green Mountain Junior College, Poultney, Vermont.

166. A study of denominational city church extension agencies. Wilbur Hallenbeck, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. Thirty-three city societies of seven denominations in eight cities—covering history, activities, organization, including finance, promotion, accomplishments, relationships, and their philosophy with a critique and interpretation.

167. Social motives in modern Hebrew literature. B. Halpern, 1077 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

168. The population pyramid as a test of the adequacy of a church's program. Murray H. Leiffer, Garrett, Evanston, Illinois.

169. The Polish national church in S. Deerfield: its origin and its influence. Massachusetts State College, Amherst.

170. The present-day popular interest in religion (in Springfield, Massachusetts). *Idem.*

171. Religion and the church: An organization of a sociological unit for instruction in secondary education. Arthur Repke, 118 Virginia Street, Elmhurst, Illinois.

172. A study of the Protestant Church in the apartment house areas of Chicago. Elmer L. Setterlund, Hastings College, Hastings, Nebraska.

173. Inter-faith relations (Protestant-Catholic-Jewish). C. E. Silcox, 166 Douglas Drive, Toronto, Canada.

174. A sect in transition. Forrest L. Weller, 3435 Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois. A study of the Church of the Brethren. Origins, transition to America from Germany, change of cultural environment, transition in America, particularly changes in the last seventy-five years. Biographical sketches, historical documents, and personal interviews constitute a large part of the data.

175. The inter-relation between personality and institution as exemplified in membership in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Edwin G. White, 439 Union Street, Ionia, Michigan.

Educational Sociology

176. College teaching. Gerald Barnes, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.

177. Study of needs and requirements of women from the standpoint of modern life. Robert G. Foster, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. This involves data col-

lected through the Advisory Service for College Women, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, over a five-year period and is done largely by intensive case interview method.

178. Bearings of rural and urban population composition and trends upon public school problems and policies by regional types in Illinois. E. T. Hiller, 328 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana.

179. The social background of the village school. C. L. Robbins, State University of Iowa, Iowa City.

180. Adjustment problems of college freshmen women as compared with college juniors and high-school seniors in those schools from which these freshmen graduated. Edna Curtis Spenker, Box 662, Pendleton, Oregon.

181. An experiment with high-school senior vocational interviews. Ellen Winston, 120 Forest Road, Raleigh, North Carolina.

182. An introduction to educational sociology. L. D. Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

Courts and Legislation

183. A study of court interpretations of the qualifications for citizenship of foreign-born citizens. Harold Fields, 405 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

184. The radio and public policy. Louis W. Ingram, 432 West 120th Street, New York City.

185. Revision of model unemployment insurance law. Earl E. Muntz, 1 Park Avenue, West Orange, New Jersey.

Social Change and Social Evolution

186. Evolution of Culture. Maurice Parmelee, 10 Bank Street, New York City.

187. Studies in social dynamics. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, SOCIAL PATHOLOGY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

(See also 9, 17, 31, 37, 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 54, 62, 66, 99, 119, 157, 162, 163)

Poverty and Dependency

188. Medical needs of recipients of Old-Age Relief in New York City. Robert Axel, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.

189. Sociological factors in adult dependency. *Idem*.

190. Trends in volume and cost of child dependency in New York State. *Idem*.

191. Trends in valuation of hospital property. Mary E. Bateman, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.

192. A study of a large sample of relief persons in order to determine who are potentially employable and who are not, together with other information on occupational characteristics. Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, Walker-Johnson Building, 1734 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

193. Study of civilian conservation corps men who did not re-register. *Idem*.

194. Study of transient, homeless, and non-resident families and non-family persons. *Idem*.

195. Survey of closed, opened, and reopened relief cases. *Idem*.

196. Survey of rural families receiving relief in October, 1933. *Idem*.

197. Unemployment Relief Census. *Idem*. A census designed to provide fundamental data on the families receiving unemployment relief during the month of October, 1933.

198. Research on slums and housing policy. James Ford, 101 Park Avenue, New York City, New York.

199. Volume, distribution, and cost of child dependency in New York State in 1932. James H. Foster and Robert Axel, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
200. An inquiry into the practice of counties and cities of New York State in making lump sum grants to private social agencies. Morris L. Hirsh, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
201. Study of relief with respect to rural rehabilitation in Wisconsin. E. L. Kirkpatrick, 315 Agriculture Hall, Madison, Wisconsin.
202. Study of rural families receiving relief in October, 1933. *Idem.*
203. The bearing of social insurance and pensions on the function of family social work. Philip Klein, New York School of Social Work, 122 East 22d Street, New York City.
204. Economic and customary factors in child worker careers. Katherine D. Lumpkin and Dorothy W. Douglas, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.
205. Changes (increase or decrease) in appropriations for agencies for the blind supported from public funds. Evelyn C. McKay, American Foundation for the Blind, 125 East 46th Street, New York City.
206. Problems of delinquent debt among clients of family welfare agencies. Rolf Nugent, Department of Remedial Loans, Russell Sage Foundation, and Margaret Wead, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.
207. Social adequacy of the workers co-operatives in Los Angeles (California County). Constantine Panunzio, University of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles.
208. Mobile adolescent boys. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
209. 50,000 homeless men in Seattle. Allen R. Potter, 1221 East 61st Street, Seattle, Washington.
210. A new sociological type—The shelter house man. Ben L. Reitman, 32 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
211. A study of 100 St. Louis families. C. Ring and Flora Slocum, 2221 Locust Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
212. The wage earner's attitude toward Civil Works Administration program and direct relief.—*Idem.*
213. A survey of social insurance in Europe and the United States with special reference to New York State. David M. Schneider, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
214. Trends in volume of hospital care in New York State. David M. Schneider and Robert Axel, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
215. A critical analysis of industrial social work in Omaha. T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.
216. Personal characteristics and social backgrounds of unemployed, unattached men in the Chicago shelters. Edwin H. Sutherland, with the assistance of a staff of 27 members, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Seven thousand schedules showing occupational status, age, nativity, education in relation to unemployment; 1,500 social histories showing mobility, family attachments or lack of attachments, occupational history, alcoholism, and recreations; psychiatric study of a sample of 500 men, with reference to psychosis; mental tests of sample of 1,000 men; reactions of unemployed men toward shelters.
217. The industrially "scrapped" man. Alice L. Taylor, 5605 Vernon, St. Louis, Missouri.
218. A survey of rural families receiving relief (using names from October, 1933, relief list). E. D. Tetreau, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D.C.
219. A study of public poor relief in Indiana. F. M. Vreeland, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

220. Registration of social statistics in child welfare and related fields. Emma A. Winslow, Director Social Statistics Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Crime and Delinquency

221. Runaway girls. Clairette P. Armstrong, 51 East 90th Street, New York City.

222. Some immigration methods and results in deviates. *Idem*. First the laws governing admission of immigrant applicants for visas to the United States and the methods employed in this selection are noted. Then a survey of the nationalities of each group, and the level of intelligence found in each of these institutions.

223. The administration of criminal justice in Franklin County, Ohio, 1930. William J. Blackburn, Jr., School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus.

224. Interracial homicide in the South. H. C. Brearley, Clemson A. and M. College, Clemson College, South Carolina.

225. Prison administration in Germany and the Italian prison system. Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. The history of penal reform in both countries was studied. Leading prisons in both countries were visited for various intervals. Special emphasis was laid on the reactions of the prisoners.

226. A study of recent prison riots. Richard Clark, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

227. The prison community: a sociological study of a restricted society. Donald Clemmer, Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard, Illinois.

228. A statistical evaluation of the different effect of capital punishment. Robert H. Dann, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. The data of the homicides are being arranged in calendar sequences for given periods of days before and after an execution of a Philadelphia criminal by the State of Pennsylvania. A number of cases have been selected that are relatively free from executions that might affect the findings. It is proposed to treat the data statistically.

229. Survey of the jail population of Connecticut. Jerome Davis, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and trained social workers examined the prisoners in the jail, and interviewed families. Visits were made to schools, employers, etc.

230. The social background of sexual offenders in the Wisconsin state prison. J. L. Gillin, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

231. Parole families from the Ohio penitentiary. J. L. Hagerty, Ohio State University, Columbus.

232. English home office schools and borstals. Norman S. Hayner, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle. The purpose of the project is to compare the English Home Office Schools and Borstals with similar institutions in Germany, Austria, and the United States. The data were gathered on an automobile tour of the United States and Europe in the summer and fall of 1933. Methods of research were interview, direct observation, and study of the literature.

233. The regional aspect of crime and police, with special reference to Detroit. Stuart Lottier, 307 Haven Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

234. Prediction of violation of fidelity bond by embezzlement. Elisabeth Redden, Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland. Comparison of personal data and social situations of persons violating fidelity bonds with persons not violating fidelity bonds.

235. Thirty delinquent careers. James M. Reinhardt, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

236. Study of mechanisms involved in criminal behavior. Lowell S. Selling, Box 1112, Joliet, Illinois. Personal reports and summarizing information about cases of crime, criminal reactions, reactions to punishment, dreams, and other psychological mechanisms.

237. Distance from urban centers as a factor in delinquency commitment rates. Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Data on Kansas institutional population for the period 1927-32. Computation of size of institutional population originat-

ing in each county, related to population of the same age and sex. Correlation between distance of county from city of certain size, and the delinquency rate of the county. Computations for cities above 100,000, cities of from 25,000 to 100,000, and for cities from 10,000 to 25,000.

238. **Embezzlers and other white-collar criminals.** Edwin H. Sutherland, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Trends in embezzlements in comparison with other crimes against property; case histories of embezzlers.

239. **Distribution of crime in a metropolitan area.** Edwin H. Sutherland with T. G. Hutton, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

240. **Mobility of population and crime in Danville, Illinois.** Donald R. Taft, University of Illinois, Urbana, in co-operation with J. W. Albig.

241. **A survey of the provincial industrial school for boys.** C. W. Topping in conjunction with E. Pepler, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

242. **Predicting outcome on probation.** Charles H. Young, 541 West 124th Street, New York City.

Health

243. **An analysis of fees charged by non-municipal dispensaries in New York City.** Robert Axel, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.

244. **A study of social backgrounds in cases of encephalitis treated in the Firmin Deslogé Hospital of St. Louis University during the epidemic of 1933.** Gene Eakins, 1325 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

245. **Survey of tuberculosis in Atlanta.** Sarah Ginsberg, Research Department, Atlanta School of Social Work, 247 Henry Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

246. **Social factors affecting children having positive tuberculin tests.** Margaret Ludden, 1325 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

247. **An experimental test of a theoretically desirable social plan with reference to out-patient and hospital admissions.** Irene Morris, 1325 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

248. **Hospital facilities and charges during the depression in New York City.** Earl E. Muntz, New York University, New York City.

249. **Recidivity of out-patients as affected by the source of referral.** Marie Schmid, 1325 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

Mental Disease

250. **Morons and marriage: an objective study.** J. Lawrence Coleman, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

251. **A preliminary sociological study of opium addiction in Chicago.** Bingham Dai, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. A part of the study is to be based on the records of arrests of the violators in the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act made by the city police and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and on those of the Psychopathic Hospital, covering a period of five years, from 1928 to 1933. The other part will consist of case studies of narcotic drug addicts in the form of personal documents and protracted interviews.

252. **What are the difficulties of social adjustment in the lives of 14 boys diagnosed as "pre-psychotic."** Helen E. Smyth, 157 Ridout Street, S. London, Ontario.

253. **The alleged lack of mental diseases among primitive groups.** Ellen Winston, 120 Forest Road, Raleigh, North Carolina.

254. **An investigation of social factors associated with mental disease, with especial reference to Pellagra.** *Idem.*

255. **The relationship between military life and mental disease.** *Idem.*

Hygiene

256. **Noise as a causative factor in social disorganization.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

THEORY AND METHODS

(See also 6, 8, 14, 19, 187, 220)

257. A social index for the Buffalo area. Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. The combining of various indices of social trends such as infant mortality, families on relief, employment, suicide, crime, into a combined index following the customary methods for elimination of trend and seasonal variation.
258. The problem of prediction in sociological time series illustrated by predictions of relief case loads. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
259. Standardization of a scale to measure social status of American families. *Idem.*
260. A theory for the measurement of social forces. Stuart C. Dodd, 81 South Mountain Avenue, Montclair, New Jersey. A system of equations applicable to quantitatively expressed data when secured at three or more dates from a population.
261. Research interests of American sociologists. Winnie Leach Duncan (Mrs. H. G. Duncan), 1037 Pine Street, Boulder, Colorado.
262. Study of factors in voters' attitudes and opinions. Seba Elridge, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Scores of political intelligence are computed on the basis of the true-false test indicated, and these together with percentages of identity between voters' and their fathers' political preferences are analyzed according to age, sex, amount of schooling, occupation, political party, and other significant categories.
263. A critical study of the correlation coefficient. Paul Hanly Furfey and Joseph F. Daly, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
264. The influence of contiguity upon correlation in census tract data. C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. The census tract data for Cleveland and larger suburbs for the period 1928-33. The items correlated will include such things as juvenile delinquency, rentals, housing characteristics, etc.
265. Social and economic effects of administration of workman's compensation in Pennsylvania. John Perry Horlacher, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
266. Measurement in case work. Maurice J. Karpf and Erle F. Young, 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Study of about 800 family case records in the attempt to discover and utilize some more satisfactory measure of case work than "the case." Cases analyzed by means of a schedule designed to discover number, incidence, association, adjustability, sequence, and so on, of a standard list of case-problems.
267. The preparation of a guide for the collection, care, organization and preservation of fugitive materials in the social sciences. A. F. Kuhlman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
268. The development of attitude tests in the determination of the probability of individual prisoners' success on parole. Ferris F. Laune, 1900 Collins Street, Joliet, Illinois. Prisoners of the Illinois State Penitentiary, 1927-34. Two thousand cases studied statistically and individual experimentation and study of selected cases among the present inmate population of five thousand. 1. Establishment by statistical means of the validity of subjective judgments of probability of success on parole. 2. Analytic determination of etiological factors underlying subjective judgments. 3. Synthesis of tests and questionnaires to determine presence of significant factors.
269. The validity of responses to questionnaires. J. A. Neprash, 443 State Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
270. Correction formula for tetrachoric r' in case the Pearson cosine π formula has been used without adjustment for mutilation of the distribution. C. C. Peters, State College, Pennsylvania.
271. Establishment of indexes of employment and earnings in the state of Washington. John A. Rademaker, 820 North 13th Street, Tacoma, Washington.
272. A scale of status of occupations. Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence. A composite evaluation of the rank of each of about 500 occupations on a scale of values ranging from 0 to 100. Evaluations made by university students from as many different backgrounds as possible, and also by persons of other occupations.

273. Bio-social characteristics of eminent American inventors. Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. Reduction of biographical material to a quantitative basis.

274. A comparative study of American jurists. *Idem*. Social factors concerning approximately 500 jurists.

275. Trends in occupations for educated women. Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

Case Studies

276. The status and function of the engineer: a study in social change. James P. Earp, Drew Forest, Madison, New Jersey.

277. Nationalism and national character. A methodological survey. Frieda Fligelman, 5 Washington Place, Helena, Montana.

278. A sociological-ethnological study of the City of Merida, Yucatan, Mexico. Asael T. Hansen, Calle 72, Numero 499, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico.

279. The isometric map as a technique in social research. Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

280. A comparison of data obtained by interviewing and by written life-histories. Walter C. Reckless, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sociological Theory and History

(See also 141, 187)

281. The history of the development of the lower east side. A slum area. Nels B. Anderson and Francis Hart, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.

282. The social philosophy of Robert Hamilton Bishop. Read Bain, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

283. A survey of recent studies in the sociology of knowledge. Howard Becker, 215 Crescent Street, Northampton, Massachusetts.

284. An archaeological survey of Missouri. Brewton Berry, University of Missouri, Columbia.

285. The Missouri Indians. *Idem*. Research into old maps, journals of missionaries and explorers who visited Missouri between 1700 and 1800.

286. Monograph of a Slovakian village. Arnost Blaha, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechoslovakia.

287. Henry Hughes, sociologist of the Old South. Winnie Leach Duncan (Mrs. H. G. Duncan), 1037 Pine Street, Boulder, Colorado.

288. Some influences of slavery upon social theory in the Old South. *Idem*.

289. Inductive study of factors in the practical application of socialistic principles. Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

290. Invention in the history of the ship—a sociological study of the causes and results of invention. S. Colum Gilfillan, 5623 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

291. A study of Nazism from the historical, sociological, economic, political and ideological points of view. Herman Hausheer, Lamoni, Iowa.

292. Police organizations as typical social organizations. Marshall E. Jones, 19 Munroe Street, Northampton, Massachusetts.

293. A study of the social thought of Carroll D. Wright. Leo La Montagne, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

294. Frontier Folkways. James S. Leyburn, 1406 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. A comparative study of a score of frontier societies founded since 1500: their growth, and the establishment of social institutions in them; what adjustments have to be made in the traditional folkways in order to adjust to raw environment, natives, and absence of organization.

295. The history, development, and significance of statistics in modern social thought. George A. Lundberg, Columbia University, New York City.
296. A study of the social thought of Wu An-Shih. Thomas Tseng Mien, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
297. A study of the social thought of Jean Jacques Olier. Doriste Moreau, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
298. Bolshevism, fascism, and the liberal-Democratic state. Maurice Parmelee, 10 Bank Street, New York City. Their likenesses and divergences as political and economic systems. Their theories, programs, and methods compared and contrasted. Study of compulsory and voluntary social organization, means of social control, influence upon social institutions, etc.
299. The Shanghai Incident of May 30, 1925—a case-study in social-political conflict. Maurice T. Price, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.
300. Study of changes taking place in the folk culture of Yucatan. Robert Redfield, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
301. The history of public welfare in New York State. David M. Schneider, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.
302. The sociology of dictatorships. Newell L. Sims, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
303. Recent French sociology. Emile Benoit Smullyan, 351 Harvard Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
304. Presuppositions and methods of research in contemporary German sociology. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Covers the period of theoretical development in German sociology since Dilthey; is concerned with the transition from philosophical and historical synthesis and speculation to methodological criticism and empirical research; presents the principal schools of thought that have arisen in German sociology in the modern period.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the July issue and up to July 15 are as follows:

- Bond, J. Max, 2540 Magazine St., Louisville, Ky.
Chakerian, Charles G., 333 Cedar St., New Haven, Conn.
Coats, Fay Louise, 2004 Harrison Blvd., Boise, Idaho
Cornett, John S., Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina, Kan.
Cralle, Walter O., 1527 West Drive, Springfield, Mo.
Davis, Edith M., School of Applied Science, Western Reserve University,
 Cleveland, Ohio
Dublin, Mary, 418 Central Park West, New York City
Duerr, Winfred L., 10012 Lowe Ave., Chicago
Du Vall, Everett W., 2818 Orchard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Emerson, Muriel E., 1312 West 11th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Fleming, Evelyn E., Chester, N.J.
Gallagher, Lora Ruth, 431 Avenue O, Central Park, Birmingham, Ala.
Glueck, Sheldon, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Goldhamer, H., 1035 East 60th St., Room 715, Chicago
Habkirk, Brigadier John C., Salvation Army, 719 North State St.,
 Chicago
Harris, Carl J., 331 South 3 West, Provo, Utah
Kepecs, Jacob, 5600 Blackstone Ave., Chicago
Kobre, Sidney, 3812 Dorchester Road, Baltimore, Md.
Lawes, Warden Lewis E., 354 Hunter St., Ossining, N.Y.
McCarty, Vivian, 324 Griggs St., S. W., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Mather, William G., Jr., Department of Rural Social Organization,
 Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Moran, Faith E., 146 Hampton Road, Syracuse, N.Y.
Moran, Frederick A., Executive Department, Division of Parole, Capitol,
 Albany, N.Y.
Morris, Irene, Firmin Desloge Hospital, 1325 South Grand Blvd., St.
 Louis, Mo.
Parkhurst, Jessie W., Department of Sociology, Tuskegee Institute,
 Tuskegee, Ala.
Petty, C. W., Jr., Clinton, N.C.

Potter, Ellen C., 301 West State St., Trenton, N.J.
Rest, Karl H. A., Manly, Iowa
Scully, George T., 1848, 608 South Dearborn St., Chicago
Sheldon, Rowland C., Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, 425 Fourth Ave., New York City
Sommerlatte, Waldo, 2019 Warren Road, Lakewood, Ohio
Souter, S. H., Jr., Superintendent New Jersey Reformatory, Annandale, N.J.
Stern, Leon, Secretary Pennsylvania Commission on Penal Affairs, 608, 311 South Juniper St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stevenson, Ruth Lucretia, 2044 Center Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Thompson, Donna F., 769 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Warner, Sam B., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Weisiger, Kendall, Assistant to the President of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co., 206 East 17th St., Atlanta, Ga.
Whipp, Frank D., Warden Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, Ill.
Young, James T., Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

American Sociological Society.—The fourth chapter membership in the American Sociological Society has been taken out by the District of Columbia Chapter, 2033 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

City of New York Housing Exhibit Committee.—A low cost housing exhibit will be held at the New York Museum of Modern Art, October 15 to November 15. This exhibit will be devoted to showing American and European housing developments which meet the requirements of low rentals. The exhibit is held under the auspices of the New York City Housing Authority, the Welfare Council of New York, the Lavanberg Foundation, and other agencies, including the museum of modern art. In connection with this exhibit will be printed a catalogue the main aim of which is to list the material presented in connection with certain brief analyses of the achievements of European countries and the aims of the low cost housing movement in the United States. For information address Carol Aronovici, Chairman, 302 East 35th Street, New York City, or Mrs. Alice F. Rothblatt, Welfare Council, 122 East 22d Street, New York City.

John Anisfield Award.—A prize of \$1,000 has been established by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf in memory of her father, to be called the John Anisfield Award. The prize will be awarded annually after August 1 of each year, to a sound and significant book published in the previous

twelve months, on the subject of racial relations in the contemporary world. The prize will be administered by a committee of judges consisting of Henry Seidel Canby, Editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology in New York University, and Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council. Books submitted for the award may be sent to the Anisfield Award Committee, care of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 25 West 45th Street, New York City. The first award will be made to a book published between August 1, 1934, and August 1, 1935.

Pennsylvania Committee on Probation.—A "Bibliography of Adult and Juvenile Probation in Pennsylvania" has been prepared by Dr. W. Wallace Weaver of the University of Pennsylvania for the committee which was appointed by Governor Pinchot. Copies of the bibliography will be furnished to anyone interested upon application to the Division of Research and Statistics, State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa.

Social Science Research Council.—Further details concerning the new fellowships of the Council have been announced. The preliminary statement appeared in this *Journal* for July, 1934.

Pre-Doctoral Fellowships for Graduate Study: Since these fellowships are intended to broaden training, no appointee may choose for his year the institution from which he has received his Bachelor's degree. The bases of selection will be full academic and personal records of the candidates, supporting letters from university instructors, and written examinations which will be offered through the College Entrance Examination Board in various centers throughout the United States during the third week in June, 1935. Qualified candidates will be required to take the College Entrance Board examinations Cp3 in French and German (for information write to the College Entrance Board, 431 West 117th St., New York City). They will also take other tests designed to give some indication of their relative capacities and preparation for careers in social science. Appointments will be for the academic year 1935-36. Requests for renewals for a second year will be considered on the basis of performance during the first period of appointment. Fellows are required to devote their full time to their studies and to do no other work. The stipend is \$1,000, plus tuition and an allowance for one round trip between the Fellow's home and his place of study. It is anticipated that the number of appointments will be between fifteen and twenty. The closing date for filing applications is March 15, 1935. Awards will be announced as early

in July as possible. Each candidate must submit a letter from the Chairman of the department in which he has pursued his major undergraduate study in support of his application before blanks will be sent to him.

Pre-Doctoral Field Fellowships: The candidate should have decided on the general area in which he wishes to prepare his thesis and carry on later research, but it is not necessary that the exact thesis subject should have been selected before making application. While it is taken for granted that programs at this level will be closely correlated with the applicants' Ph.D. thesis plans, the aim of these awards will not be to aid in finishing theses or to assist in the collection of data as such, but rather to emphasize the opportunities for obtaining realistic bases for the dissertation and subsequent research. It is anticipated that many of the approved programs will call for a year's work in close association with public and private agencies where basic material for research can be observed directly. Every effort will be made to assist successful candidates in choosing a proper location for field experience, in planning the year's activities, and in securing the active co-operation of government and private officials when necessary for the completion of an approved program. All applicants, however, should submit programs carefully worked out, preferably after consultation with their graduate instructors and others whose co-operation may be required, in such form as to assure their feasibility and to show their relation to later research plans. Appointments will be for not less than nine nor more than twelve months. Programs calling for work abroad must be supported by a clear demonstration that adequate field experience cannot be obtained in this country. The basic stipend attached to these fellowships is \$1,500 for a period of twelve months, with the possibility of additional allowances for travel and other exceptional expenses when necessary. It is anticipated that about thirty-five appointments will be made for 1935-36. No applications for reappointment at this level will be considered. The closing date for the receipt of applications for 1935-36 on blanks to be secured from the Fellowship Secretary is December 1, 1934. Awards will be announced April 15, 1935. In making initial inquiry, it is important that age, academic qualifications, and tentative field plans be specifically indicated.

U.S. Department of Agriculture.—Dr. Charles Josiah Galpin retired June 30 from his post as head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, after fifteen years with the Department and twenty-five years of leadership in the field of rural social planning. During this period

he has attained world-wide reputation as a leader in his field and has been tendered special recognition by two foreign governments.

University of Buffalo.—The Curriculum of Social Work of the University of Buffalo has been voted a provisional membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Niles Carpenter has accepted a visiting lectureship at Harvard during the first semester of 1934-35. During his absence Nathaniel Cantor will serve as acting chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Buffalo, while Dr. Carpenter will retain the directorship of the curriculum of Social Work. Dr. George Newmann, Professor of Sociology in the Buffalo State Teachers College, will take over some of Dr. Carpenter's courses.

University of Denver.—Under the auspices of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences of the University of Denver, a four-day Institute on International Problems was held June 19-22. The visiting lecturers were Dr. P. A. Martin of Stanford University, and Dr. Mehdi Khan Nakosteen of Persia. The lectures were followed by round-table discussions.

Fisk University.—The University of Chicago Press announces the publication of *Shadow of the Plantation*, by Charles S. Johnson, professor of sociology.

Harvard University and Radcliffe College.—Professor Niles Carpenter of the University of Buffalo will teach in the Sociology Department during the first semester of 1934-35, giving a course on Religious Institutions and Social Change and a seminar dealing with Topics in Migration. The course on Religious Institutions will be given at Radcliffe College also.

Professor Leopold von Wiese, director of the Research Institute in Social Sciences at Cologne and editor of the German sociological quarterly published there, will give courses in Systematic Sociology and the Sociology of Economics during the second semester. The Introduction to the Sociology of Economics will be repeated at Radcliffe College.

Dr. Paul Pigors, who, up to the present, has been an instructor in the Sociology Department, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. Kingsley Davis, part-time assistant and tutor in the Department, will be an instructor on annual appointment at Smith College next year, partly replacing Professor Howard Becker, who is on leave of absence.

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson, John W. Boldyreff, Neal B. De Nood, John B. Knox, Herbert D. Lamson (Professor of Sociology at Shanghai University), Robert K. Merton, and E. B. Smullyan have been appointed as full-time or part-time instructors for next year.

Dr. L. A. Haak, part-time assistant and tutor in the Department, has been appointed Lecturer on Sociology and Economics at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Professor T. N. Carver, David A. Wells Professor of Political Economy, Emeritus, until recently a teacher in the Division of Sociology, is about to publish a volume on *The Essential Factors of Social Evolution*.

University of Hawaii.—Dr. Andrew W. Lind has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology, to take the place of Dr. Romanzo Adams, who retired at the close of the academic year 1933-34. Dr. Adams is continuing his research relationships with the Department and will devote his time to writing and research.

Howard University.—Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, formerly of Fisk University, has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology.

University of Minnesota.—Professor M. M. Willey served during the past academic year as assistant to President Coffman of the University of Minnesota. In June, 1934, Professor Willey was made University Dean and Assistant to President Coffman. He will continue his connection with the Department.

Dr. E. D. Monachesi has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology for the academic year 1934-35. He is now in Italy as a fellow of the Social Science Research Council, making studies in the field of penology.

Miss Alice Leahy has been appointed to a full-time position as lecturer in social work, with special reference to psychiatric social work.

Miss Belle Mead has been appointed to a full-time position as lecturer in social work.

Mr. Thomas Minehan, instructor in sociology, was transferred during the winter to the University Committee on Student Work Relief and has served as its executive secretary. His study of roving youth, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*, has just been issued by Farrar & Rinehart.

Miss Gertrude Vaile was released half-time in the winter quarter to the State Relief Administration and was the director of two institutes for emergency public welfare workers. Miss Myra Manifold was released full time to the Minneapolis Department of Poor Relief in order to assist in the reorganization of this department and to take charge of the Central

District. Professor R. W. Murchie was released half time to the State Relief Administration to organize a widespread recreational program.

Dr. George B. Vold was appointed a member of the Minnesota Crime Commission.

Professor F. Stuart Chapin has been elected corresponding member of the Masaryk Sociological Society, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Ohio State University.—Raymond C. Smith is on leave of absence, serving as Secretary of the Production Credit Corporation of Louisville, Kentucky.

St. Stephen's College.—Professor L. P. Edwards gave two courses in the Department of Sociology at Columbia University during the summer session.

CORRECTION

In "Students' Dissertations in Sociology," published in the *Journal* for July, 1934, the thesis topic of Kingsley Davis, Harvard University, was erroneously listed. The topic of Mr. Davis' thesis is "The Theory of Social Structure in the Light of Kinship."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Community and Society: An Introduction to Sociology. By LORAN DAVID OSBORN and MARTIN HENRY NEUMEYER. New York: American Book Co., 1933. Pp. x+468.

This is one of the better textbooks. It follows on the whole the methods associated with the "ecological" school, and the treatment is judicious and intelligent and the materials well arranged. While there is nothing new in the exposition, the point of view is consistently held and well presented. The volume is divided into two parts, an account of the contemporary community, beginning with some sample community studies, and a statement of social processes and sociological principles.

In the Preface the authors acknowledge "the value of the current emphasis upon the group," and their first chapter begins with the words: "People live in groups." This being so, it would seem a deficiency that, apart from the usual material on the family and the crowd, there is no attempt to classify and analyze the different kinds of social groups. Nothing is said of the various types of association which abound in modern society. The description of social processes hangs in the air because there is no reference to the different specific groups in which they occur. Social organization and social institutions are relegated to one short chapter, in which practically nothing is said about different social organizations and different institutional forms. There is no treatment anywhere of social classes. In short, there is a complete lack, rather characteristic of this type of work, of the presentation of what may be called the "anatomy" of society. We have community on the one hand and on the other certain social processes that occur within it—that is all.

To put it in another way, the book is better at description than at analysis. This is seen also in the fact that no distinction is explicitly drawn between the two terms "community" and "society" which give the book its title. Again, in a discussion of religion and morals the reader is not given the differentia between them. Such negative examples might be multiplied. Apart from deficiencies of this nature the authors have done a good job, but even a textbook—perhaps most of all a textbook—should not shirk these problems of analysis and classification.

R. M. MACIVER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Civilization and Society: An Account of the Development and Behavior of Human Society. By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS. Arranged and edited by HOWARD W. ODUM. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. x+412. \$2.50.

Civilization and Society is Professor Odum's abridged redaction of a course of lectures given by the late Professor Giddings at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1924-25 and 1925-26. The editor believes that it is representative of Giddings' development of the subject matter of sociology for teaching purposes, as contrasted with the formulation of much the same matter in books intended for reference, as represented in most of his other books. In fact, this volume is characterized throughout by a direct, informal, and almost colloquial style which will doubtless make it very attractive to many students of a certain grade of advancement. In content, it is devoted in the main to the interpretation of human history and to what may be termed "applied sociology," rather than to fundamental questions of sociological theory. Not the least of the values of the book is that constituted by Giddings' courageous statement of propositions which can scarcely by any standard be called "popular."

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Sociology and Education: An Analysis of the Theories of Spencer and Ward. By ELSA PEVERLY KIMBALL. "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," No. 369. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. 323. \$4.50.

Dr. Kimball's book is somewhat inaccurately entitled *Sociology and Education*; the secondary title, *An Analysis of the Theories of Spencer and Ward*, describes its contents more accurately. Nevertheless it is an excellent piece of work. It contains illuminating and readable biographical studies of the two great pioneer sociologists and capable summaries of the sociological theories of both, in addition to careful reviews and analyses of their writings on education. Besides the obvious printed sources, the author has made use of a substantial unpublished work on education by Lester F. Ward which is deposited in the library of Brown University. Though Ward's and Spencer's opinions concerning education are diametrically opposed in many respects, and although many of the educa-

tional theories of each seem antiquated or otherwise out of harmony with the trend of educational thought of our generation, anyone who is interested in fundamental problems of educational policy will find much that is thought-provoking in this study.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Society and Education. By JOHN A. KINNEMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. xii+558. \$2.00.

Like most other recent contributors to the rapidly evolving disciplines embraced by the term "educational sociology," Professor Kinneman writes from several years of experience as an instructor in teacher-training institutions.

The faculty members of America's larger teacher-training institutions may expediently be classified as *subject-matter specialists* on the one hand, and *pedagogical specialists* on the other. Educational philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and curriculum workers, whether they desire it or not, are increasingly being forced into the latter category.

And once there, they must perforce become students of *adaptations of educations*. They must ask in a score of modifications and expansions of Herbert Spencer's query, "What *learnings* (of skills, attitudes, beliefs as well as of knowledge) are of most worth?"

Professor Kinneman's book is devoted entirely to the problems suggested by that query. It seeks "to make prospective teachers see the relationships which exist between organized society and the practice of the teaching craft," to use his own words.

Professor Kinneman has written a sound, careful book of its kind. But, in the estimation of the present critic, neither it nor most of the other books now available in this field are going to influence educational policies materially. They are too abstract, too theoretical, too lacking in realistic illustrative examples, especially in formative and, therefore, controversial fields.

DAVID SNEDDEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Education of American Ministers. Vol. I. *Ministerial Education in America.* By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN. Vol. II. *The Profession of the Ministry.* By MARK A. MAY AND OTHERS. Vol. III. *The Institutions That Train Ministers.* By MARK A. MAY AND OTHERS. Vol. IV. *Appendixes.* By MARK A. MAY AND FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934. Pp. xiv+232; xi+399; x+522; xii+281. \$3.50 per volume. \$12.00 per set.

These four volumes provide a wealth of material on the training of the American Protestant minister. The first volume is a summary and interpretation by William Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary covering "the status of the minister, the kind of education he receives, and the education needed for tomorrow." The second volume gives the concrete factual material regarding the problems of the ministry as a profession, while the third volume does the same for the institutions that train ministers. The fourth volume presents the statistical data and the tables which were used.

It is apparent that the summary volume represents a selection of material from the second and third volumes, although on just what basis this selection was made it is not easy to understand, nor is the reader always sure whether a statement represents a survey finding or a personal opinion.

It is impossible to summarize even the most important findings of this study in the allotted space. It calls our attention to the fact that a far higher proportion of Catholic priests receive college and seminary training than do Protestants. The general educational level of Protestant leadership has been declining for the past one hundred years. It proves the difficulty of adequately supporting individual churches in the midst of denominational competition. One single, well-staffed church should take the place of half a dozen.

The need for a more adequate preparation to meet the needs of the community life as it exists is apparent. This clearly implies more training in economics and sociology. The overwhelming majority of the ministers investigated showed that they felt the least concern for civic and social activities of any aspects of their work. The study as a whole does not make detailed suggestions as to how the education of the minister should be revised to meet the new and changing social order of today.

Although much of the data is ably presented, some of it is defective. Dr. Brown makes the definite assertion that the salaries of elementary school teachers, for instance, are "much higher" than the ministers'.

Dr. Shuttleworth in a statistical table in Volume II claims that the average annual salary for all ministers is \$1,407, while that for elementary teachers is \$1,788. As a matter of fact, the United States Bureau of Education reports that for the 23 states reporting salaries of elementary teachers, including both supervisors and principals, the average salary was \$1,192 in 1931-32, nor has it been appreciably higher since 1927, and is now presumably lower. The conclusion is this study was made by comparing the teachers in cities of 10,000 and over with the average of *all* ministers including those in the rural field. This, of course, throws out the validity of the comparison. In addition, if the value of the parsonages was included, not to mention other perquisites, the ministerial average would be brought up to \$1,587. Moreover, the authors based their general ministerial average on the census of 1906 which, as the Census authorities themselves say, is highly inaccurate and includes part-time salaries. Had the census of 1916 been used it would have brought the average up over \$200 more.

Again Dr. May shows the superiority of trained ministers to the untrained and states "at least one-third or two-fifths of this difference must be credited to training and *nothing but training*." Presumably training *does* have its effect, but it is theoretically possible that part of the difference may be due to the fact that the seminary is also a selective influence which attracts the more able. Dr. May admits that "trained ministers failed rather completely in increasing benevolences" and "did little to increase Sunday-school enrollments," both fairly important criteria of success.

The usability of the volumes would have been increased by a more adequate index. The fourth volume has no index nor even a complete outline in the front. References to it in the other volumes are by appendix and table. Since there are two "appendices B" in the one volume this is confusing. It is to be regretted that more attention could not have been devoted to such sociological factors as: social control, conflict, accommodation, and the cultural content of the minister's message.

Volume II impressed the reviewer as of great significance. No student of this problem should neglect the valuable sociological material which it contains.

On the whole these volumes present the most complete data on the education of the American minister now available. They will prove indispensable to those who are charged with the administration of ministerial education.

JEROME DAVIS

YALE UNIVERSITY

A Study of Opinions on Some International Problems as Related to Certain Experience and Background Factors. By ARTHUR KOLSTAD. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. v+95. \$1.50.

Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth. By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE. ("Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association," Part III.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. Pp. xvii+428. \$2.00.

The Schools and International Understanding. By SPENCER STOKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. xxvii+243. \$2.50.

International Understanding through Youth. By the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1933. Pp. 200. Cloth, \$1.85; paper, \$1.50.

Mr. Kolstad's study brings out that student opinion on internationalism is not influenced by differences in sex, foreign travel, or party affiliation; but that it is correlated with residence, church membership, mental ability, and choice of major studies. Opinions tend to be favorable to internationalism the more general the terms in which an issue is stated. That a lack of consistency which he notes reflects different degrees of subjection to conditioning influences in childhood is suggested by the three other publications here under review.

Miss Pierce's inquiry into the attacks of citizens' organizations on the child mind through the schools covers not only international but also social, economic, and domestic political interests. Unfortunately it does not depart far enough from the official statements of these groups and published accounts of their activities to indicate the relative effectiveness of their diverse methods.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, in its report on interchanges and travel of school pupils, shows that individual exchanges of children provide fewer opportunities than do group movements for learning about foreign peoples; travel and excursions are less helpful than longer periods of joint study and recreation. The principal factors of success are adequate preparation, careful supervision, and personality of leader. In spite, or perhaps because, of intensive nationalism, the agencies and procedures of international teaching through direct contact are more fully developed in Europe than in America.

Mr. Stoker's survey and history of international understanding as a

concern of higher and elementary education includes no critical appraisal of methods. The reader is left uninformed that professional interchange and vacation courses for foreign students, for example, have not worked out with complete success. Nevertheless, his compilation of scattered information is helpful in that it shows the part of often small and seemingly unrelated efforts in a single significant movement.

BRUNO LASKER

NEW YORK CITY

Our Neurotic Age: A Consultation. Edited by SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932. Pp. xv+531. \$4.00.

Psychology: Science or Superstition? By GRACE ADAMS. New York: Covici-Friede, 1931. Pp. 299. \$2.50.

The symposium edited by Samuel Schmalhausen is of little scientific interest since the methodological problem of talking about the relationship between the intensive observation of the individual and the extensive observation of other pertinent aspects of the total situation is inadequately stated. The task of talking sense about collective psychopathology is well analyzed in F. Schneersohn's contribution to the first volume of the magazine *Ethos*, and the present volume has hardly caught up with that formulation, much less surpassed it.

Some of the individual articles are well executed. Max Lerner's gracefully written essay proposes a classification of the neuroses of capitalism which he aptly distinguishes from the neuroses of industrialism. Ernest Jones makes an important, though belated, comment about psychoanalysis, when he says:

An impartial observer cannot fail to be struck by the disconcerting fact that analyzed people, including psychoanalysts, differ surprisingly little from unanalyzed people in the use of their intelligence. Their greater tolerance in sexual and religious spheres is usually the only mark of the change in the use of the intellect [p. 72].

He recommends that analysis be concluded by applying its findings to the various conscious and preconscious convictions about public symbols.

Grace Adams has prepared a very spirited sketch of the history of psychology in America. The chapters about William James and E. B. Titchener are written with the most happy fusion of warmth and insight; the other portions of the book are executed with high competence.

The principal deficiency of this volume is the unfortunate formulation

of its problem. The leading question is phrased so that it cannot possibly lead anywhere in particular. The issue is phrased in "either—or" form, instead of "how much and when." This condemns the conclusions to triviality from the beginning, since it can culminate only in some sweeping blanket characterization of all psychologizing in America.

The study would have been infinitely stronger if it had been undertaken with the breadth of perspective which modern efforts at the development of a sociology of knowledge have made current. It is a sterile triumph, easily distorted into journalistic sensationalism, to find that prominent American psychologists have often renounced the "scientific" for some other ideal. Certain psychologists, recruited from certain social classes, equipped with certain skills, characterized by certain bio-psychic traits, and expressing certain intimate motivations, have, under certain conditions, bound themselves to "objective" procedures; then, under certain conditions, unbound themselves to a certain extent and in certain situations. Cultural presuppositions in the United States have modified the behavior of psychologists; such differences Miss Adams is not equipped to write about in other than aphoristic fashion.

I hope that the appearance of this book will provoke some competent person into redoing the job; or even that Miss Adams, having achieved some journalistic success, will acquire the skills necessary to conceive her task in more significant terms.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Current Municipal Problems. By ERNEST S. GRIFFITH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Pp. 293.

Professor Griffith has collected in this volume a series of essays upon a number of contemporary municipal problems without intending to present a systematic survey. The general point of view of the book is found in an emphasis upon the social significance of municipal government. Although the second chapter is devoted to praise of the historical method, the following essays succeed in avoiding this approach, apart from an occasional sporadic historical reference, in favor of analysis, description, and interpretation.

The chief problems called up for review are, in sequence, politics and corruption, quantitative methods in public opinion, municipal measurement, state administrative control of cities, charter appraisal, defects in the council-manager plan (of which the author is an advocate), metropoli-

tan government, and the rôle of voluntary agencies and the amateur in city government.

The rapidity of change in our municipal institutions and in their setting in the national framework of government, and the hazards of writing in this field, are thoroughly demonstrated in the essay discussing state administrative control. For the moment, at least, a new relationship between city and national government, illustrated in public works, relief, municipal credit, and debt adjustment, has pushed the traditional problem of state-municipal relations into dim obscurity. This new problem is not and perhaps could not be treated by the author.

In discussing the rôle of voluntary agencies, Professor Griffith reveals a faith in the possibility of a final solution which not every reader will be able to accept. "It seems probable," he writes, "that a permanent division of sphere between private and governmental effort ought to be worked out on a statesmanlike basis." It is easier to approve an alternative view, suggesting "the breaking down of the rigid and highly artificial distinction between community action through governmental channels and through other agencies."

LEONARD D. WHITE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule, 1916-1930. By JOSEPH D. McGOLDRICK. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv + 431. \$4.50.

This book supplements McBain's book of 1916. Beginning in 1876 in Missouri, some city home rule now exists in sixteen states, widely separated and of differing population density. In the present volume appear first comments on these different state constitutional home-rule provisions and illustrative court decisions. Then subjects such as taxation, utilities, courts, finance are considered, to show as the case may be either supremacy of state law or of local authority. One may differ with the assertion, "The home rule movement appears to be fading like all fads" (page 3). Home rule is no fad, but a realization that better government is obtained by the forward-looking community if freed from remote, often unfriendly or incompetent, state government control. The reference to Ohio "home rule and non-home rule cities" (p. 228) is questionable, because home rule comes directly to all Ohio cities from its constitution. Altogether, the work is a thoroughly worth-while treatment of a vital subject with, in the main, good supporting cases well selected from the available decisions.

MURRAY SEASONGOOD

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Local Government in the United States: A Challenge and an Opportunity. By MURRAY SEASONGOOD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. 145. \$1.50.

This little book contains the substance of the Godkin lectures which Mr. Seasongood delivered at Harvard in 1932. In it he attempts to give an outline of the condition of local government in the United States in general and in Cincinnati in particular, to summarize the diseases which afflict it, to enumerate the remedies and surgical operations which are needed to cure these diseases, and to indicate the nature of the success which has been achieved in Cincinnati. To compress such a conspectus into less than 150 pages involved inevitably the sacrifice of all hope of being either comprehensive or systematic. But by way of compensation Mr. Seasongood offers his readers a first-hand personal experience of many of the events which he describes, for he was the first mayor and chairman of the City Planning Commission under the charter reform government which Cincinnati adopted in 1925.

The story which he relates is indeed an amazing one. "Cincinnati has been transformed from a run-down, shabby, despairing, boss-ridden city to a forward-looking, confident, clean and well-conducted municipal corporation, governed by citizens with expert assistance. The whole attitude of its inhabitants has changed. . . ." Political scientists and students of public administration are coming to regard the Ohio city as one of the most hopeful signs of an improvement in the condition of municipal affairs at present to be found in the United States. The vital question is whether the reform of Cincinnati is a mere isolated event or whether it can be made the beginning of a general tendency to eliminate corrupt politics from city government. The answer lies in the hands of the general body of citizens. And one is disposed to doubt whether the general body of citizens will respond in a powerful way to the type of appeal which Mr. Seasongood makes here in the true Godkin tradition. The appeal to economy and efficiency in terms of rational self-interest is far too bleak and negative; a far more generous and inspiring conception of civic life will be needed if mass opinion is to be strongly influenced. And this may cut across the industrial and economic interests of many persons and corporations who are at present on the side of the angels in the fight against the powers of darkness.

WILLIAM A. ROBSON

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

American County Government. By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE. New York: Sears Publishing Co., 1933. Pp. vii+306. \$3.00.

In content this book represents a transition from books on local government emphasizing structure and organization to recent studies in basic land use and rural social forces and standards of living. Chapters one to seven present the historical development of town and county government, the relation of these to the state, and the evolution of organization borrowed partly from urban experience. The final four chapters contain a discussion of reorganization. Here the need for some standard by which to appraise the value of local rural government leads to recent studies in such basic problems as land use and classification, the relation of settlement and standards of living to these, and hence to a basis for estimating governmental needs. The shifting of functions now under way is presented, and the opposition of vested interests noted. The book is stronger on the side of describing structure than of concrete analysis and appraisal of the changing population resources and time-space relationships that are pressing us for functional changes affecting government. This same emphasis is found in the selected bibliography.

JOHN M. GAUS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Party Politics. By A. N. HOLCOMBE. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1933. Pp. x+148. \$1.75.

The first part of this book is an excellent interpretation of American, Italian, German, and Soviet politics. The author condenses and brings down to date his materials on American politics. His comparative analysis of Italian and German fascism is penetrating and suggestive. In discussing the communist alternative he applies the occupational classifications of Bukharin and Geiger.

The second part of this book is devoted to a rationalization of "new deal" politics in the United States. The method used here is largely deductive. Starting with Aristotle's principle of the golden mean, Holcombe concludes that the Rooseveltian policies fit the formula.

The scientific value of the book would be increased if more details were given about the classification of American occupations used to fit Bukharin's scheme. It might also be suggested that the real test of new deal politics will not be Aristotelian logic.

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sociologie de la guerre et de la paix. Edited by G. L. DUPRAT. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1932. Pp. 318. Fr. 50.

This volume is an interesting exhibit of what sociologists produce in the way of orderly reflection on this subject of universal concern. It is remarkable that from the many contributions, formulating the problem in such different ways, the editor is able to extract as coherent a motif as he does. The "collective conception" that emerges out of the book can be apprehended mainly by means of Professor Duprat's contributions and interpretations, and can be stated in part as the conception that: the support by the public powers of the national state, of private economic interests of small groups which are organized nationwide for competition, is a present condition which excludes hope for lasting peace; and that political organization of occupations and other social functions transcending national boundaries, implying reduction of the authority of the "multifunctional" state is a form of world-organization that has some chances of developing, is fitted to actual technical conditions, and will offer the strongest guarantee of peace. Of the thirty-odd contributions, probably the most interesting to American sociologists are: G. Richard's summary of the bearing of sociological theories upon the postulate of international law that certain moral principles command the respect of all nations, however widely their moral codes differ; G. Bouthoul's essay upon the relations of population and population-policy to war; J. Duprat's essay on pauperism (as conceived by Proudhon) as a factor of war; E. Dérobert's striking analysis of the "politico-economic factors of war and peace"; P. Otlet's proposal of a mission for sociology in the world-wide organization of human purposes; G. L. Duprat's introductory mémoire on the relations between different kinds of social structures and war, and conclusion on "the international organization of peace." Certain movements of international co-operation are described in other papers, notably A. de Maday on the International Labor Organization, and V. Castrilli on the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

The contributions, with hardly an exception, are not reports of sociological research, as we usually understand that term. In general, they represent realistic and systematic thinking, making use of conceptions developed within sociology.

HARMON HAYES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Development of the Peace Idea and Other Essays. By BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD. Boston: Plimpton Press, 1932. Pp. xxviii + 243. \$1.50. Privately printed.

This little volume of twelve lectures by the generally recognized leader of the American peace movement in the two decades prior to the World War is a convenient introduction to the best pacifist thought of that period. Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood was a Quaker educator who, at great sacrifice, devoted himself to the work of the American Peace Society from 1892 to 1915. His social philosophy was inspired by Christian ethics. These papers, which include lectures on the limitation of armaments, the golden rule in international affairs, William Penn's experiment in civil government, the Hague Conferences, and international arbitration, fail to show any great insight into the economic causes of war. His arguments for world-federation and for the limitation of armaments have, however, been only slightly improved on by middle-class pacifists. In spite of a growing interest in the history of pacifism and the recent publication of several scholarly monographs, some of Dr. Trueblood's essays on the history of the peace movement are still useful. All the papers in this volume are unusually free from the vague sentimentality that characterized so much of the pacifist literature of Dr. Trueblood's lifetime. For his keen analyses of the public events of his day one will still have to consult the files of the *Advocate of Peace*, and in spite of the brief appreciation by Edwin D. Mead, this volume does not pretend to indicate the propaganda methods employed by Dr. Trueblood or to give a definitive evaluation of his contributions to the peace movement.

MERLE CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

Preachers Present Arms. By ROY H. ABRAMS. Philadelphia: Round Table Press, Inc., 1933. Pp. xix + 297. \$2.50.

This book is "a study of the war time attitudes and activities of the churches and clergy of the United States 1914-1918." It is a Ph.D. thesis from the University of Pennsylvania. It documents the well-known fact that almost all of the American churches and clergy were patriotic in the World War.

The author is no practitioner of the Christian ethic. If he were, he would have written a thesis entitled: "Social Scientists Present Arms." This would have been much more exciting to the sociologists; but it might have ruined any career Dr. Abrams had in view as a sociologist.

No man should be faulted for avoiding martyrdom. The Christian ethic is dangerous.

The evidence regarding the clergy is overstated. Ecclesiastics have often held the doctrine of pacifism, but only in rare cases have they held it in any absolute form. In this matter they seldom show the rigid dogmatism which scientists exhibit in the case of the doctrine of objective truth. Yet Bishop Paul Jones resigned his high office rather than his pacifism. It might be hard to name a university president who did as much. The writer of this review labored earnestly—and in vain—to dissuade the Reverend Irwin Tucker from making the pacifist speech for which he was sentenced to twenty years in the federal prison in Atlanta. The clergy did not all live up to their doctrines, but they scored higher in this regard than any other group of the intelligentsia—than the historians, for instance, or the sociologists.

Incidentally, Dr. Abrams is an extremely good writer. His book is so readable and interesting that it should enjoy a large circulation.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Educational Frontier. Edited by WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK. New York: Century Co., 1933. Pp. vi+325. \$2.50.

This book is the joint work of seven educational philosophers who frankly attack the evils inherent in what they regard as our antiquated educational system and attempt to show how these evils block the path of educational progress.

The thesis of the authors is that the educational changes which have been brought about by technological development have caused so great a conflict between the historic ideals taught in our schools and the actual educational effects of our existing economic and social institutions as to nullify the teachings of the school. The school, as a result of these conflicting elements, has become essentially a function of the political and economic forces operative in the social life.

The authors assume a telic function of the school and agree that real social progress can best be made when the social and economic life becomes a function of education, and therefore insist that education should lead and not follow. This change of emphasis in education should, they believe, provide a remedy through the application of the principles of experi-

mentalism to education, and thus free the schools from political and economic dominance and make them a truly educative force capable of bringing about a new and better social order.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Radio and Education. Proceedings of the Second Annual Assembly of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, Inc., 1932. Edited by LEVERING TYSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. viii+306. \$3.00.

Educational Broadcasting. A Bibliography. By ROBERT LINGEL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. x+162. \$1.50.

To the sociologist, radio is virtually an unexplored province. Despite its manifest significance as a social force, despite the engrossing problems it engenders wherever it impinges on the more established social institutions, broadcasting has had scant attention from the sociological fraternity. Nevertheless, the literature of radio grows apace, and these two books are useful contributions to it.

Radio and Education, 1932, is made up of the addresses delivered at the second annual assembly of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. These annual meetings of the Council give promise of providing the nation's most distinguished forum for the discussion of the major social problems of radio. The list of speakers on the Buffalo program included Radio Commissioner Lafount, Professor Richard Joyce Smith of the Yale School of Law, President Florence Hale of the National Education Association, Robert S. Lynd, James G. McDonald, Frederick P. Keppel, and the journalist William Hard.

The Council's deliberations show how quickly the problem of educational broadcasting ramifies into the larger question of the ultimate social control of radio. Something like half of the book is confined to radio education as a going concern (including a full report of the Council's own broadcasting experience); but the remainder of the volume widens the discussion to include the thorny question of radio advertising, the place of broadcasting in the community, the tastes of radio listeners, the trend of radio programs in the United States, and the status of public regulation of the broadcasting industry. The main thread here is the search for a formula of social control which will harmonize many diverse interests, commercial and otherwise, and make radio a potent instrumentality for the common good.

Mr. Lingel's bibliography, *Educational Broadcasting*, lists an amazingly large number of titles for so new a subject. It is by all odds the most thorough compilation which has been made to date. Perhaps it has the defect of its virtues; perhaps it is too complete. A shorter and more fully annotated bibliography will be preferred by some. But Mr. Lingel has served his readers' convenience well by grouping his titles under carefully chosen categories.

Those responsible for the publication of *Educational Broadcasting* might well have selected a more expansive name for the bibliography. This reviewer was agreeably surprised to discover that Mr. Lingel has not limited himself to educational broadcasting in a technical sense; radio broadcasting in its every social aspect has come within his purview. The book contains, moreover, a 24-page Appendix which lists titles in radio law. This bibliography on radio law, the work of Arthur W. Scharfeld, formerly assistant counsel of the Federal Radio Commission, will be particularly helpful to those who may wish to investigate the phenomenon of cultural lag in connection with radio. Indeed, all students of the sociological phases of radio are indebted to Mr. Lingel, Mr. Scharfeld, and the others who assisted in the assembling of titles for *Educational Broadcasting*, and to the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, under whose auspices the book was prepared.

LOUIS W. INGRAM

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Education on the Air: Fourth Yearbook of the Institute of Education by Radio. Edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1933. Pp. vii + 380. \$3.00.

This volume, like the preceding volumes, consists of talks and discussions concerned with the radio as a medium of communication and education.

Part I, devoted to national aspects, includes "Broadcasting Techniques," "School Broadcasting," "Research and Measurement," and "Educational Stations and Programs." Part II is concerned with research in radio education and includes reports of research by Cantril, Allport, Calhoon, Gaskill, Hewes, and Lumley.

In general, the earlier enthusiasm for radio education is tempered by increasing respect for research evidence and for refined research methods. The volume reflects some concern with the basic methodological problems of sampling, reliability, and validity. The book bears the mark of its

origin in institute talks. One feels that the sections dealing with research material would have greater scientific utility if the space devoted to discussions were made available for more complete recording of procedures and methods.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Rural Adult Education. By BENSON Y. LANDIS and JOHN D. WILARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xiii + 229.

Adult Education and Rural Life. Proceedings of the Fifteenth American Country Life Conference. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. vii + 153.

The former of these two volumes contains the findings of a study which was undertaken as a research project of the American Association for Adult Education, but which turned out to be a survey, based largely upon other studies, of the several types of "services" and agencies by means of which adult education is attempted in rural areas. It is partly descriptive and analytical and partly evaluative from an a priori standpoint; it seldom attempts evaluation of agencies or methods in terms of ascertained educational results.

The latter volume, which is frankly evaluative and reconstructive, reproduces in full several addresses and papers dealing with the objectives, problems, methods, and agencies of rural adult education, together with brief summaries of round-table discussions on these subjects. Particularly suggestive is the first essay in the book, "Statesmanship in Rural Adult Education," by A. R. Mann. Neither volume is of more than incidental interest to the sociologist.

C. W. HART

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Rural Crime Control. By BRUCE SMITH. New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. x + 306.

In this careful study a well-known specialist presents abundant evidence of the failure, under modern conditions, of our traditional machinery for rural crime control. He is aware that fixed traditions, local vested interests in office, and popular demand for the preservation of local autonomy hinder needed changes. Therefore, though the author contemplates the possible abolition of the offices of sheriff, constable, and coroner; though he is enthusiastic over the success of state police, and suggests

state medical examiners subordinated to prosecutors or police; though he speaks with approval of rather complete reorganization of the system of justices of the peace as in Virginia; and though, if our political system permitted, he would apparently welcome a national central authority administering criminal justice; he seems to expect but gradual progress in most of these directions.

The book is a real contribution—the best in its field. The reviewer would merely suggest that if we do radically reorganize our system of rural justice, still other considerations, not stressed by Mr. Smith, may be needed. State as well as local boundaries may need alteration; even "J.P.'s" might well be learned in social science, as well as "learned in the law"; and if the process of change must come so slowly perhaps we shall become sufficiently learned to dispense with much of the machinery altogether.

DONALD R. TAFT

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The Story of a Bohemian-American Village. By ROBERT T. KUTAK.
Louisville, Ky.: Standard Printing Co., 1933. Pp. xvii + 156.

The author of this highly interesting study is a son of the editor of the Czech daily, *Svět*, published in Cleveland, Ohio. From early youth he came into contact with the Czech immigrants, and in his own family he had an opportunity of observing the process of adjustment to life in the New World.

The purpose of his study has been to discover which modes of behavior of the Bohemians have persisted in America and which have changed, and, so far as possible, to find out the causes of these persistences and changes. Milligan, Nebraska, was selected as the community studied, because it is an isolated rural settlement and because the author was already acquainted with its social life. Speaking very broadly, the author has followed the example set by the Lynds' *Middletown*; in addition, he indicates that "the present study attempts to explore this field with the sociological system of Professor MacIver as a compass." Quite obviously, the writer has excellent descriptive powers, and he has used them well. He is modest enough not to pretend to know more than he does, although the monograph bears all the earmarks of a thesis. The book is singularly innocent in places, but we must judge the author by his fire and not by his billowing smoke. On the whole, it is an honest book, which has been needed; its value lies not only in its simplicity and insight into the subject, but primarily in the solid basis of factual material which it presents.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

Arctic Village. By ROBERT MARSHALL. New York: Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, 1933. Pp. xii+399. \$3.00.

Arctic Village is a careful and imaginative study of a community in Alaska and a valuable addition to the social history of the frontier. Mr. Marshall has brought to bear upon his tiny and almost exclusively male arctic community a formidable battery of methodology which is in some respects ironic comment upon the quantitative method, but which will doubtless serve to convince some of his readers, while many others would have received full conviction from the vividness and authenticity of his painstaking descriptions. The author uses concepts borrowed directly from our own culture, such as capital, labor, crime, and quite correctly, for the members of the community with which he deals see the advantages and disadvantages of their isolated, self-sufficient lives against a background of ideology derived from twentieth-century industrial society. The book is a definite, concrete contribution to comparative sociology.

MARGARET MEAD

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Machine Age in the Hills. By MALCOLM Ross. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. x+248. \$2.00.

This is an intelligent reporting of the effects of the introduction, boom, and decline of bituminous coal-mining in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia. The story is that of a change from agrarian stability to industrial collapse. The chapters tell of the old ways of the primitive mountaineer, of how he became a miner, and especially of his present misery and want now that the mines need so few of his kind and his land is gone.

In some respects the decline of these mountaineers suggests the cycle of events where Western civilization strikes upon some tribal peoples. Here, also, was an isolated people with a simple economy and a slow-changing culture. Here, too, the exploitation of a raw material by an expanding capitalism removed the native from the land, disrupted his social organization, and weakened the influence of the older moral order. And here, also, are problems of adjustment of old ways to the new—of the blood-feud, for example, to the conflict between capital and labor.

This parallel does not concern the author, who writes to present some ugly facts, and to propose possible remedies. The collapsed boom left a disorganized people in poverty and helplessness. They may be aided by proper regulation of the coal industry, but few of the natives can hope for

work in the mines. The author suggests returning to the mountaineers surface rights to the land, reforestation, small water-power projects for local industries, the development of handicrafts, and a one-cent-a-ton tax on coal, to be spent equally on the rehabilitation of the region and on further search for new uses for coal.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians. By JACOB JOHN SESSLER. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933. Pp. 265.

Almost two hundred years ago the present steel city of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was the site of a thriving communistic Moravian community. The first settlement in 1739-40 followed a series of persecutions in Europe, particularly in Germany, and border conflicts in Georgia.

A communism was developed in which no distinctions were made between government and church. Marriage was permitted, but children belonged to the church and were trained by it. Government was patriarchal, but Christ was in direct relation to them in all of their activities. Not theology, but personal contact with Christ, was stressed. The apostolic patterns of foot-washing, Love Feast, and the Holy Kiss ceremoniously emphasized unity.

Following a period of excessive emotionalism, 1746-50, a period of disintegration set in, followed by the end of the general economy, 1862. The demand for communal security, both financial and social, was going, and the temptations for individual effort and the dissatisfaction with family conditions were instrumental in bringing in a new order. The present total membership of the Moravians throughout the world is about 225,000.

FORREST L. WELLER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Our Primitive Contemporaries. By GEORGE PETER MURDOCK. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xxii+614. \$5.00.

This volume contains eighteen essays, each one describing the culture of a "primitive" people. The groups have been selected from all parts of the world, and from stages of cultural development ranging from the crude Semang of Malaysia, the Hottentots of South Africa, and the Tasmanians, to the advanced Aztecs, Incas, and the Ganda of Uganda. The sole purpose of the book is presentation of fact; psychologizing, ethnological the-

orizing, and sociological generalizing are ignored. Each essay is based upon wide reading (the chapter on the Haida Indians of British Columbia incorporates data from the author's own field researches) and ends with a carefully selected bibliography. One hundred and seventeen photographs and drawings contribute much to the attractiveness and usefulness of the work. A detailed index adds further value.

Those who wish to make an acquaintance with representative primitive cultures will find these portraits of great value: they will provide a maximum of information in a minimum of time. Moreover, they will be found intrinsically interesting and entertaining.

LESLIE A. WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Rebuilding of Blighted Areas. By CLARENCE ARTHUR PERRY.

New York: Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1933. Pp. 59. \$2.00.

Mr. Perry has already set forth at length elsewhere the altogether sound planning principle of the neighborhood unit (*Regional Survey of New York*, Vol. VII). The idea has, indeed, become fundamental in planning thinking—that we must plan or replan cities not by units of quarter-sections or optimum size of water mains, but by neighborhoods that can provide a cohesive community environment. And no one has yet improved upon Mr. Perry's notion that the most binding force to bring people together in our cities is having children that go to the same school, thus giving us a workable basis for a neighborhood unit.

Mr. Perry and his staff here report the results of an elaborate application of this theory to a specific blighted area of forty-one acres in Queens Borough, New York. Six thousand people are to be accommodated—under one proposal partly in a twelve-story tower building which will incidentally "provide a slighty sheath for (the) tall smokestack" of a central heating plant, and which will cost \$21 a room a month. Over one-third of the land will still be in streets.

It is possible to conceive of Queens Borough as a series of such colonies surrounded by immense parks; it is impossible to conceive it built up solidly with such intense and expensive developments. There does not seem to be a sound economic basis for the neighborhood thus conceived.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CLEARING HOUSE
CHICAGO

The Evolution of Human Behavior. By KARL J. WARDEN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. ix+248. \$3.00.

This book has seven chapters of untechnical discussion on organic evolution, the prehistoric archaeology of Europe, the races of men, and the possible future of human evolution. There are incidental references to social origins such as language and religion. The author is not an anthropologist and confines himself in the main to the older books. The discussion will not interest specialists, although such a summary of familiar facts might prove informing to the general reader who is interested in evolution and race. The chief criticism is that human behavior is hardly discussed at all. It makes a more attractive title, and the reader looks for something on the subject, but though the author may have intended to treat it, his book was finished before he got to it.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Women in the Twentieth Century. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. Pp. xi+364. \$4.00.

Women and Wealth. By MARY SYDNEY BRANCH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xvii+153. \$2.00.

America through Women's Eyes. Edited by MARY R. BEARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. 558. \$3.50.

Woman's Coming of Age. Edited by SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN and V. F. CALVERTON. New York: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1931. Pp. xx+569. \$3.75.

Modern Woman and Sex. By RACHELLE S. YARROS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1933. Pp. 218. \$2.00.

Miss Breckinridge's study, one of a series of monographs published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, is a masterly review of the activities of women during the past century, as seen in their varied organizations, in their search for gainful occupation, and in their relationship to government. The chapters on women and gainful employment summarize the situation and present statistics for which students of women's work have long wished.

Women and Wealth is a statistical study showing the status of women as taxpayers, and their control of wealth as women of property, as gainfully occupied workers, and as buyers and managers of family income. The

author concludes that discrimination against women can be removed if women will realize their present high economic position and endeavor to make the condition of economic independence for women more universally characteristic of our society. Also, they could so change the manner of using wealth and income as to contribute toward the building of a better social and economic order.

Mrs. Beard has chosen remarkably telling extracts from the writings of women to illustrate the share of women in the development of American society, "their activity, their thought about their labor, and their thought about the history they have helped to make or have observed in the making." The volume was developed in the light of Mrs. Beard's belief that the methods of cultural anthropology must be applied to all phases of history.

Schmalhausen and Calverton have brought together original contributions from twenty-eight writers dealing with primitive woman, the history of marriage, psychology and pathology of the sexes, and the activities and attitudes of the new woman toward child-bearing and other problems. The articles as a whole are of a "radical" nature, with a psychiatric turn, and are distinctly thought-provoking.

Dr. Yarros, described on the title page as "a feminist physician," and long prominent in the field of social hygiene, presents a rational, straightforward study of sex and marriage, making an excellent case for monogamy and for birth control. She is one of the few students of marriage who fully recognize the important rôle of economics in marriage and family harmony. The chapter on sex education is especially noteworthy.

No one concerned with the occupations, social problems, or the education of women can afford not to be among the readers of these five studies.

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

INSTITUTE OF WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS
GREENSBORO, N.C.

Parents, Children, and Money: Learning To Spend, Save and Earn.

By SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG and BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG. New York: Viking Press, 1933. Pp. xii+219. \$1.75.

There has long been need for a handbook for parents dealing with the financial training of the child and adolescent. In this clear and interesting presentation is found a very practical discussion of home attitudes toward money; of the allowance, spending, saving, earning, lending, and borrow-

ing; and of the influence of money on family life. The basic point of view is that the child learns to do by doing; "if the child is to learn to handle money, he must have money to handle." All devices for giving the child contact with money must be looked upon as educational instruments which, wisely used, lead to self-control and mastery; unwisely used, they may bring maladjustment and difficulty. The attitude of the authors moves far beyond the idea that the only virtue is thrift; rather do they envisage money as a system of symbols devised by man to facilitate human relations. The problem of training does not center about money as such, but about money as an expression of human relations and the importance for both child and adult of learning relative and significant values.

JOHN E. ANDERSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Approach to the Parent. By ESTHER HEATH. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1933. Pp. xviii + 163. \$1.25.

This book, by a psychiatric social worker in a child-guidance clinic, gives a detailed analysis of attempts to bring about a satisfactory worker-parent relationship for the benefit of the problem child. It is intended to show a development of technique, the first case described being the second in the worker's experience, and the fourth a case undertaken eight years later. As a demonstration of extremely skilful handling, together with the use of considerable psychological insight, the book is both interesting and valuable. Incidentally, none of the cases was truly psychopathic, so the problems were psychological rather than psychiatric.

But as regards improved technique, the showing is not so conclusive. Judged by the excellent results achieved, the first case was handled most satisfactorily, nor did the lack of "identification" of the worker with the parent, aimed at in the last case, bring forth any happier conclusion.

In this fourth case the worker suggested for the male parent of a nine-year-old boy participation in, or arrangement for, the following play activities: football, soccer, croquet, dart-throwing, tenpins, bean bag, ball, stunts on rings, punching bag, swimming, tiddleywinks, parcheesi, work bench, clay and wax modeling, printing outfit or typewriter. A more complete identification of the worker with the parent would surely have led her to include golf.

S. D. PORTEUS

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Major Aspects of Personality. By MAURICE H. KROUT. Chicago: College Press, 1933. Pp. xiii+364. \$2.75.

The author takes the position that "the ecological, biological, cultural, pre-natal, natal, early post-natal, later post-natal, and the situational (laboratory and clinical) approaches to the study of the individual give us the 'major aspects of personality.' " In his discussion, however, the terminology and point of view of psychoanalysis strongly predominate, ecology is forgotten, heredity and race are denied as biological realities, and marked overlapping and confusion occur among his categories. While some of the original sources cited shed real light on the mystery of personality, it can hardly be said that the writer has increased the illumination by throwing their fragments together. Nevertheless, anyone who attempts to harmonize the diverse approaches in this field deserves applause.

T. C. McCORMICK

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

The Unemployed Man. By E. WIGHT BAKKÉ. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1934. Pp. xviii+308. \$3.50.

In 1931, the author of this book, a Fellow in Yale University, went to England to gather information on the question: "What has been the effect of Unemployment Insurance on the willingness and the ability of workers to support themselves?" He centered his investigation in Greenwich, a borough of London, and checked his findings by visits to other London boroughs.

The book is primarily a study not of institutions, but of "the actual conditions of life and the attitudes growing out of them." However, it offers very interesting comments on the significance of these attitudes of unemployed workmen for class conflict, respect for law, problems of making a living, adjustments to unemployment, home life, use of leisure, religious beliefs and church attendance, and participation in politics and public affairs.

The book was well received in England. The *Times Literary Supplement* declared that "While the effects of the 'dole' have formed a subject of conversation and often of dogmatic opinion for so many years, information scientifically gathered has hitherto been entirely lacking. It has fallen to an American to break a good deal of new ground in this direction, and his boldness in undertaking so difficult an inquiry has been amply justified by the results."

It is interesting to compare the attitudes of the unemployed in this English community with those of typical industrial communities in this country, as given, for instance, in Elderton's *Case Studies in Unemployment* or my *Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief*. We may add that these studies are important for social psychology as well as for such economic problems as unemployment insurance.

The author's general conclusion is that the effects of unemployment insurance on the behavior of workmen are not such as to discredit insurance, but, on the whole, commend that system as a wise economic measure.

JAMES M. WILLIAMS

HOBART COLLEGE
GENEVA, N.Y.

Social Credit. By C. H. DOUGLAS. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1933. Pp. xi+212. \$2.00.

The present edition of this challenging essay comes ten years after its first appearance in England. The author is an engineer whose outlook bears resemblance to that of Veblen and American technocrats. The essence of his theory is in his own words that

the consumer cannot possibly obtain the advantage of improved process in the form of correspondingly lower prices, nor can he expect stable prices under stationary processes of production, nor can he obtain any control over the programme of production, unless he is provided with a supply of purchasing-power which is not included in the price of the goods produced. If the producer or distributor sells at a loss, this loss forms such a supply of purchasing-power to the consumer; but if the producer and distributor are not to sell at a loss, this supply of purchasing-power must be derived from some other source. There is only one source from which it can be derived, and that is the same source which enables a bank to lend more money than it originally received. That is to say, the general credit.

While in a sense this is an incursion into the field of economics, it is dominated throughout by sociological concepts. The author's aim is for a society based on the concept of assistance, of co-operation instead of on restraint, and particularly a restraint in the form that carries on the old theory that work is the only claim to goods, and that wages or profits are in the shape of rewards of virtue. He predicts the certain break-up of the present social and financial system, attended by a period—well within the lives of the present generation—in which the blind forces of destruction

will appear to be in the ascendant. Yet he is faced with the paradox of power in which those persons most anxious for changes in the social structure are powerless to effect them while persons better able to bring them about are rarely anxious to do so.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Public Health Nursing in Industry. By VIOLET H. HODGSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xxii+249. \$1.75.

Industrial Health Service. By LEVERETT DALE BRISTOL. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1933. Pp. xi+170. \$2.00.

These two books exemplify the increasing organization and "socialization" with which medical service is conducted. Dr. Bristol, Health Director of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, has prepared a small handbook through which physicians who are employed by business organizations may be stimulated to do better work in caring for and preventing diseases among employees, in keeping good records, and in maintaining wholesome co-operative relationships with medical and community agencies. The book is full of concrete practical suggestions, and also contains a tentative appraisal form for personnel work in industry, of which health and safety activities are only a part.

Miss Hodgson's larger manual is intended as a handbook for the nurses engaged in industrial medical service, of whom there were 3,189 recorded in the 1930 census. A considerable part of this manual is filled with technical information concerning the equipment and organization of a health department in the larger industrial plants, the care and prevention of accidents and illness, physical examinations, industrial poisons, occupational diseases, and the elements of plant hygiene.

Noteworthy, however, is the substantial space devoted to furnishing background and understanding of the industrial situation into which the health service of the physician and the nurse must be fitted. These portions of the book would be very valuable to the industrial executive or personnel manager, as well as to the technician.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

ROSENWALD FOUNDATION

Unemployment Insurance. By S. P. Low and ST. V. F. COULES. London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1933. Pp. xi+123. \$2.00.

Legislation concerning British unemployment insurance in the form of acts of Parliament, regulations, and special orders consists of an almost interminable maze. Messrs. Emerson and Lascelles have put all students of this subject in their debt by furnishing several editions of their *Guide to the Unemployment Insurance Acts*, and now further help is offered by two British barristers. No attempt is made by Messrs. Low and Coules to give more than a very brief historical résumé of this form of social insurance in Great Britain, and no critical evaluation of the scheme is vouchsafed by them. The authors, as the Preface states, promise their readers merely "a concise exposition of the principles and practice governing the Unemployment Insurance scheme" and "as clear a conspectus as possible of the position as it is today." Their promises are ably implemented.

It is worth noting that these two British barristers, unlike many of their American cousins, have been capable of divesting themselves of legalistic hocus-pocus to the point of achieving actual lucidity. This gives rise to the hope that a "New Deal" somewhere—sometime—may produce even legal documents that are comprehensible.

MARY B. GILSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Social Cost of Industrial Insurance. By MAURICE TAYLOR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933. Pp. xx+421+xviii. \$3.25.

This is a comprehensive and critical study of one of our major industries—the selling of insurance in small amounts to the wage-earning population. While industrial insurance was first introduced into the United States as early as 1876, it was not until after 1900 that it really found its stride. By 1932 a host of house-to-house canvassers had succeeded in placing on the books some seventeen billion dollars of insurance on some fifty million men, women, and children. Even this underrates the achievements of the insurance companies and their salesmen, for the industry is characterized by a tremendous turnover in good and bad years and especially so in the latter. Thus in 1932 the insurance policies that were allowed to lapse reached a total of two and a half billion dollars. In the early years this form of insurance was known as funeral insurance, and the salesmen played on the fear of a pauper's grave. While this is not altogether absent even now, the extension of the insurance to children—ar-

ranged often before they are born—has added the slogan of thrift to the salesman's vocabulary.

Mr. Taylor is altogether too mild in his condemnation of the extension of life insurance to children. The practice of contrasting the low rates on young persons with the high rates on older persons is a vicious practice and points to the desirability of abandoning uniform premiums—a system which can be condemned on other grounds. Moreover, the selling of several policies to a family in the lower-income group, when the average amount of insurance per family is approximately one thousand dollars, usually means a reduction in the amount which the head of the family might otherwise carry, which is a flagrant reversal of sound policy. This criticism is not applicable to industrial insurance in so far as it is a form of saving. But the practice of collecting weekly premiums in addition to the time spent in selling the insurance so increases the cost—salaries and commissions absorb about one-fifth of the premiums—that the thrift inculcated is hardly worth the price paid for it.

With the insurance system so widespread it may well be desirable to substitute for it a system of state insurance without any premiums at all or with premiums collected from the pay-rolls. Mr. Taylor sees no great promise in a system of government insurance, primarily it seems because he is considering a system in which insurance is "sold." Instead he makes suggestions for improvements by the private companies, especially by the elimination of the weekly collections and the consequent reductions in costs.

AARON DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

We Move in New Directions. By H. A. OVERSTREET. New York:
W. W. Norton & Co., 1933. Pp. x+284. \$3.00.

Professor Overstreet is one of the most alert and facile of our social philosophers. His latest book is also his most progressive and courageous. Professor Overstreet does not content himself with urging a desultory patching-up of the system of capitalism and nationalism. He recognizes that the system as a whole is at fault and that a new one must be constructed before any permanent betterment of mankind can be secured. He envisages a social order in which the economic life is based upon service rather than profit and in which the interests of the consumer prevail over purely productive enterprise. He wishes to suppress nationalism and war by adequate international organization. Finally, he recognizes that the

provision of adequate material necessities is only the first step toward the conquest of any true civilization. Therefore, he lays great stress upon giving proper attention to the cultivation of that leisure which we shall enjoy in greater abundance with the growing efficiency of the machine technique. It is an ideal book as an introduction to a course on social reform or as the conclusion of a course on the history of social thought.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The New British Empire. By W. Y. ELLIOTT. New York and London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932. Pp. xv + 519. \$5.00.

In these days when attention is focused on "new eras" and "new deals" the title of this book would seem to be timely and appropriate. But the New British Empire with which Professor Elliott is concerned relates to political and economic changes reaching back over a considerable period of time, though accelerated by the post-war conditions. The book was written before the present depression got under way, consequently some revision would be necessary to bring it up to date. For example, England's tariff policy has changed and new trade agreements have been made with the Dominions. The main purpose of the book, or rather of the series of lectures which comprise the book, is not to trace the familiar historic facts of the development of the Empire but rather "to get the essence of the New Empire into comprehensible form, with a reasonable degree of insight into the main forces that move it or hold it stable." It can be stated at the outset that Dr. Elliott has struggled valiantly and on the whole rather successfully with his Goliath. If at times the subtlety of the argument seems even more bewildering than the subject warrants, it is partially explainable by the fact that the style of presentation is that of the informal lecture involving the usual temptation to rhetorical expression and repetition of ideas. These defects are partially offset by the inclusion of footnotes, and more particularly by the addition of a comprehensive appendix in which pertinent sections of important documents are presented.

The author is particularly concerned with the basis of the unity underlying the relations of the autonomous Dominions to the mother-country. He analyzes the nature of this unity and the machinery through which it is effected, and concludes that economic ties, while significant, are declining in importance, and that the basis of Empire integration resides funda-

mentally in the consciousness of a common cultural and spiritual destiny which finds expression in "allegiance to the crown."

This sense of common destiny pertains chiefly, if not entirely, to the relations between England and the self-governing Dominions. It does not apply to India, the Crown Colonies, or the other dependencies where racial and cultural differences prevent the emergence of a common communal sentiment. The integrity of the Empire as a co-ordinated unit is predicated upon world-peace and on the ability of Great Britain to maintain its economic and cultural prestige as an integrating center.

Though the book contains a number of rather questionable dogmatic statements and considerable repetition of subject matter, on the whole it is a scholarly analysis and a fascinating account of the complicated system of relationships which have developed between the different parts of this informal yet cohesive international political structure.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Lenin. By JAMES MAXTON: New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932.

Pp. 179. \$2.00.

This little book by a leading figure of the British I.L.P. is less a biography of the great leader of the Russian Revolution than it is an uncritical eulogy. Homage is paid to Lenin's revolutionary intransigence, but there is very little analysis of his views or of the fundamental problems out of which they arose. Maxton's acquaintance with Lenin's work is obviously second-hand, and his discussion takes the form of a superficial running exposition of material readily accessible to the English reader. Even as a popular biography there is little excuse for it.

The real problems, however, concerned with Lenin's life and thought are many. Unfortunately, they are not so much as stated here. To begin with, the fundamental question must be asked: To what extent was Lenin an "orthodox Marxist" even in the pre-revolutionary days when he looked upon Kautsky and Plechanov as the leaders of international social-democracy? What was Lenin's distinctive contribution as a Marxist? Did he do no more than to revive the revolutionary spirit of Marx's thought and apply it to the tactical problems of proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialism? Or did he add genuinely new elements to the Marxian theory of social revolution, especially in his conception of the rôle of the political party in the conquest and exercise of power? What were the precise points at issue between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky—

and has history confirmed the views which Lenin defended? To what extent can one speak of Leninism as a set of doctrines? Are his views on politics, epistemology, and culture logically compatible, and do they all flow from the same premises? What were the relationships which existed between Lenin and the other members of the Central Executive Committee of the Bolshevik party after he returned to Russia, and what effect did they have upon the strategy of the Revolution? Why did Lenin in his testament call upon the Bolshevik party to remove Stalin from his post? How did Lenin conceive of the dictatorship of the proletariat—as a genuine workers' democracy or as the rule of a political party over the working class?

These are only some of the questions which any competent study of Lenin must answer. Maxton's *Lenin* evades them all.

SIDNEY HOOK

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

World Revolution and the U.S.S.R. By MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xiii+264. \$2.00.

The dual political rôle of the Communist élite of Moscow has long been a subject of comment by foreign observers. The dichotomy of Soviet Government versus Communist International, Five-Year Plan versus world-revolution, building socialism at home versus encouraging proletarian revolt abroad, is already a familiar one. The exigencies of Soviet diplomacy, the Trotsky-ite indictment of Stalin, the peace program of Litvinov, have all contributed to the widely held opinion that the Russian Communists have definitely subordinated their original dream of revolutionizing the bourgeois world to the practical task of co-operating with it in the interest of establishing an industrialized socialist society in the U.S.S.R. Dr. Florinsky shares this opinion. He has here attempted to depict "the great movement of ideas (regarding world-revolution) which has taken place in Communist circles since 1918 and which amounts to a fundamental revision of the teachings of Marx and Lenin." In tracing this movement from the original doctrine of world-revolution to the triumph of Stalin's conception of "socialism in a single country" over Trotsky's conception of "permanent revolution," in analyzing the present program of the Comintern as laid down in the Sixth Congress in 1928, and in summarizing the implications of the "new" orientation for Soviet foreign policy he has made a valuable contribution. His book is admirable for his generally

well-balanced judgment, his readable style, and his copious citations and translations from documentary sources of Communist ideology and tactics.

Dr. Florinsky is too well informed to fall into the error of assuming that a new Soviet "nationalism" has relegated the world-revolution into a background from which it will never again emerge. He is content to pose the "dilemma." This "dilemma" itself, however, is more apparent than real. The shift of emphasis in Communist theory is a result of the fact that the capitalist societies, contrary to the expectations of Moscow in 1918 and 1919, have survived the effects of the first great imperialist war. Their temporary stabilization necessarily means that the ultimate success of world-revolution can now be best assured by the establishment of a powerful socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. rather than by revolutionary gestures which must remain futile until the enemy is further weakened in the aftermath of the next imperialist war. No realistic student of diplomacy can longer doubt the "inevitability" of that war. Nor can he assume Soviet neutrality in view of the fact that German and Japanese fascist ambitions are directed against the U.S.S.R. itself. To postpone the struggle as long as possible is sound Communist strategy. This is the present task of the Soviet foreign office. But when war comes, Moscow will necessarily fight not only with guns but with the propagandist weapons of the proletarian revolution. It will then be the task of the Comintern to co-operate openly with the Red Army and to exploit every opportunity for revolution presented by social and economic disintegration in the bourgeois states. When this future comes, it will be clear that the present "fundamental revision" of program is a purely temporary expedient, like the NEP, and another instance of the adaptability of Communist tactics to political realities.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Brief History of Russia. By M. N. POKROVSKY. New York: International Publishers, 1933. 2 vols. Pp. 295 and 348. \$2.50 each.

Professor Pokrovsky was probably the most distinguished historian among the Russian Bolsheviks. His book supplies a real need in the literature of Russian history. Most of our up-to-date histories of Russia have given altogether too much space to the dreary and superficial annals of politics and diplomacy. As a thoroughgoing Marxian, Pokrovsky is,

naturally, more interested in the social and economic aspects of Russian development. But he does not allow his Marxism seriously to distort his presentation of the facts. The first volume reviews Russian history from the beginning to 1900 and is notable chiefly for its defense of the thesis that feudalism was widely prevalent in early modern Russia. The second volume treats of Russia from 1900 through the failure of the Revolution of 1905. It thus represents the most satisfactory treatment of this important period which is available in English, and constitutes an ideal introduction to Trotsky's monumental history of the 1917 Revolution.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

World Chaos: The Responsibility of Science. By WILLIAM McDougall. New York: Covici-Friede, 1932. Pp. 117. \$1.25.

The substance of this essay was delivered as the Ludwig Mond Lecture before the University of Manchester in May, 1931. The main thesis is the familiar one that our society is "top heavy" because of the "lopsidedness of our Science." We need "a new scale of values in the public mind, a scale in which such prestige shall attach to the social sciences as hitherto physical science alone has enjoyed." Aside from funds and "intellects of the first order," a sounder psychology—a "science of the imponderables"—is needed.

Many of the author's illustrations are from the field of economics which to him "is not a science, but, rather, a chaos." They are often quite striking, but they are certain to give a very unbalanced picture of the present position of economics as a systematic discipline. His discussion of Sir William Beveridge's views of credit (p. 76) is simply uninformed. His statement that economics is "full of iron, inexorable laws" (p. 78) is probably based on a high-school text—it certainly could not be documented from mature current work. Chinese and Indian boycotts of British goods are cited as proof of the inadequacy of "the law of supply and demand." And quotations about the development of economics from O. Spann's writings—introduced as "the" leading historian of economic thought—are simply special pleading on the part of an Austrian fascist professor. There is not a line in Dr. McDougall's essay that would lead his readers to suspect the special position of his "authority."

Illustrations of this sort can be taken from almost every page. The lay reader—to what audience is the plea directed?—will certainly get a con-

fused "scale of values" by which to judge present efforts in the social sciences. To a more informed audience, able to correct the facts and focusing, this might be a stimulating sermon. It can be warmly recommended to those who do not agree that most of our work would profit by the availability of a more definite "science of the imponderables."

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Philosophical Approach to Communism. By THEODORE B. BRAMELD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xi + 242. \$2.50.

The Foreword by T. V. Smith is particularly lucid, but impliedly promises more than the book fulfills. The volume is misnamed. It is not a "philosophical approach to communism." It is an ideological catalogue. Its use would seem to be as an outline of an approach to a book yet to be written on a philosophical approach to communism. The exposition is much too compact and presumes upon the reader's ability to supply details. The style is involved and the ideas confused by a conglomeration of names, dates, references, and unexplained terminology.

A considerable section of the book is concerned with the concept, acquiescence, which would seem to have questionable relevance to the theme. An attempt to define acquiescence succeeds, by a curious collocation of terms, in giving it no precise meaning whatever. There is a clear and accurate discussion of Stoicism, but Spinozism is too briefly epitomized to be very helpful. In spite of its title, the book contains little of interest or importance for sociologists.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft im Lichte der Völkerforschung. By RICHARD THURNWALD. Volume III of *Die menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethnosoziologischen Grundlagen*. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1932. Pp. vii + 248. RM. 15.30.

In *The Origin, Development, and Character of Economics in the Light of Ethnological Investigation* Dr. Thurnwald has greatly enriched our insight into primitive economics, our knowledge of the character of economic activities and forms, and of their interrelations and interdependencies.

There are descriptions of economic organization in preliterate life, of technological processes in relation to economic pursuits, of money, trade, markets, collective and co-operative enterprises, slavery, capitalism, barter, loans, credit, and communism.

There is a telling description of the transformations in economic life which are possible with a money economy, and of the difference in incentives to work in a moneyed and in a non-moneyed régime. Common consent will assign this work a place of first importance among treatises on early economic life. "All of these various forms of economic life are closely bound up with the political order, of which they are an intimate part." In the fourth volume of his *Menschliche Gesellschaft* the author will discuss these political implications.

WILSON D. WALLIS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Economic World Today. Edited by FELIX MORLEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. \$1.00.

These radio discourses under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education contain concise statements by Moulton, Hardy, Nourse, Rogers, and others similarly qualified on such problems as the tariff, the gold standard, war debts, and transportation. An excellent introduction for the non-technical reader.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Appellate Courts and Appellate Procedure in Ohio. By SILAS A. HARRIS. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 181. \$2.00.

This is a study, based partly on statistical sources, of the operation of the system of appellate courts in Ohio. It has value largely for the specialized student of judicial administration. There are several references to the subject of criminal cases in appellate courts which are of interest to the criminologist.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Expenditures of Public Money for the Administration of Justice in Ohio, 1930. By RUTH RETICKER, with the collaboration of LEON C. MARSHALL. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 233. \$2.50.

Within the scope of this study are not merely courts, but legal officers, correctional institutions, police, maintenance of buildings. The total estimated is \$38,465,214; it is allocated according to purpose and administrative units, state, counties, cities, villages, and townships. It is a valuable contribution for the criminologist as well as for the student of public administration in general.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

How To Appreciate Motion Pictures. By EDGAR DALE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xi+243. \$1.20.

The author believes that enjoyment of motion pictures can be increased by training in the selection of pictures and by education directed toward a broader perception of the various features of the pictures. In order to accomplish these aims, he thinks it advisable for the individual to know as much as possible about motion pictures. He therefore describes in this little book practically everything that concerns them. We are told how to shop for good movies; the history of the movies; how they are produced, including camera work, sound pictures, settings, and directing; the nature and purpose of motion-picture reviewing; the technique of the scenario and the standards of good acting. As the subtitle of the book indicates, it is meant as a manual for high-school students. It will probably interest even the adult "movie fan."

HERBERT S. LANGFELD

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933. Compiled and edited by BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, assisted by JOE L. NORRIS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xiii+540. \$3.00.

This volume is one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the literature of Chicago's history. There have been other compilations quoting what visitors have seen in Chicago and have said about it, but none as thorough as this one. It includes not only the familiar descriptive work done in early days by men like Charles J. Latrobe and Fenno Hoffman and later by Kipling, Julian Ralph, William Archer, Waldo Frank, and others, but many interesting studies with which even busy students have been unacquainted. Through the eyes of vivid writers who have gazed astonished upon Chicago, its entire century (and its earliest period too) is presented in sharp and varied colors. The historical sketches by Miss Pierce preceding each section are excellent.

Less diligent workers than Miss Pierce and Mr. Norris will for a long time be "borrowing" from these pages, which should have a wide enough reading to stimulate people in general to understand the city better and thus to help make it a nobler place.

HENRY JUSTIN SMITH

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Sismondi. By ÉLIE HELÉVY. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1933. Pp. 148. Fr.15.

It is most appropriate that a time like the present should witness the emergence of a compact but fairly adequate volume of selections from the economic writings of the man who is known as the first great interventionist in the field of political economy subsequent to the intellectual ascendancy of Adam Smith. The twenty-five page Introduction by the author of *Le Radicalisme philosophique* provides an excellent, though all too brief, account of the life and writings of Sismondi in their historical setting, and with some attention to their contemporary implications.

LEO ROGIN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

American Social Problems. By WALTER GREENWOOD BEACH and EDWARD EVERETT WALKER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934. Pp. ix+391.

This text was prepared for students, presumably of high-school age, who are beginning a study of social reality. The first part presents some geographic, cultural, and historical information designed to give the student an understanding of the nature of group life. The second and main part of the volume consists of ten chapters on ten separate social problems. The third part of the volume is political in nature; it is designed to answer for the students the question posed by the authors—"What shall we do about it?"

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Nutrition Service in the Field. Report of Subcommittee on Nutrition of White House Conference, LUCY GILLETT, Chairman. New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. xiv+139.

Child Health Centers: A Survey. Report of the Subcommittee on Health Centers, J. H. KNOX, Chairman. New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. viii+57. \$2.00.

The first report deals with the present status and needs of nutrition service in the United States, so far as these could be obtained by the methods utilized. It describes the work of the nutritionist, a relatively new worker, in the public-health field, gives examples of nutrition service rendered by various types of organizations throughout the country, reveals the need for extension of such services, and makes recommendation for meeting these needs. The chairman of the committee is herself a nutritionist of outstanding accomplishments in her capacity as director of nutrition service in the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, New York City, and the report reflects her sane viewpoint and critical judgment.

The second report includes a survey of child health centers, a list of health centers in the United States and its possessions, an account of the nature and scope of their work, and recommendations for improving and extending this important part of child welfare work. It constitutes a valuable reference for health workers.

LYDIA J. ROBERTS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Heredity and the Social Problem Group. By E. J. LIBBETTER. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1933. Pp. 160. \$7.50.

This volume consists of twenty-six pedigrees of persons in receipt of public assistance together with some brief descriptive material and statistical tabulation. The pedigrees are selected from a larger number collected by the author during his long service in the administration of poor-law relief in and near London. Unlike the many pedigree studies that attempt to trace a long line of defectives from a single ancestor, the present pedigrees give the impression that the present-day defectives are descended from several similarly defective ancestors.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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INSIGHT AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

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ABSTRACT

According to the *Gestalt* principle of insight the existence of causal relations is established through perception and not through extra-mental manipulation. Perceptions assume the form of configurations, and some degree of insight into causal processes is usually involved in a perceptual configuration. The essence of scientific method is an attempt to obtain insight. This may be done by direct study of human and interhuman behavior, by studying certain symbols abstracted from reality and supposed to stand in a constant relation to it, and through sympathetic penetration. The first is a method of passing phenomena directly before the eyes in order to discover recurrent patterns. These gradually crystallize into concepts. Imagination is utilized to complete configurations and to fit together pieces of configurations. Statistics has valid uses but is justified as scientific procedure only to the extent to which it is used to subserve insight. Sympathetic penetration—the process of interpreting the behavior of others in terms of purposes and emotional states imputed to them—furnishes indispensable clues to human behavior. The case study is a most useful literary form in condensing and organizing sympathetic insight. The view of scientific method as a struggle to obtain insight forces the admission that all science is half art. It depends upon perceptions reconstructed and fitted together in imagination, upon an artistic re-creation of events. This holds *a fortiori* for sociology.

I propose in this paper to state some methodological implications of the *Gestalt* principle of insight. This is the doctrine that mental events do not occur as separate and discrete sensations, but in organized wholes, and that there is, in some cases, a direct perception of the causal interdependence of events.¹ That we experience causal

¹ The definition of insight has presented some difficulty to writers of the Gestaltist school. Insight is apparently that which enables us to perceive certain parts of our perceptual world as cohering with each other, or, in the more complex case, to perceive directly the causal interdependence of two or more processes. Insight in time configurations frequently assumes the form of comprehension in terms of process and function.

determination in a sensory context is the basic assumption of this paper. Whoever points out the implications of a premise does not need to commit himself to the premise. The *Gestalt* theory of perception is but one of many theories, and it would be difficult to establish that it alone is true. The use of the insight concept in the present paper is simply to serve as an organizing principle for some methodological notions which are more difficult to state in a different frame of reference.

Methodology must rest upon certain assumptions concerning the external world and the nature of the perceiving mind. As to the external world, all schools of scientific methodology grant the postulate of determinism. All schools likewise find some way of treating sensory data as more or less true representations of the world of reality, whatever that reality may be thought to be. There is less agreement concerning the nature of the perceiving mind, and widespread disagreement as to the method by which we can definitely establish the existence of a causal relationship.

The doctrines of Karl Pearson, as expressed in *The Grammar of Science*, have had some effect upon methodological speculation in the social sciences. Pearson assumes that the elements of experience are sensations which have no inherent connection with one another; this is typical of a whole school of methodology of which we take Pearson as an outstanding example. Having thus fractured his experiential material, he is forced to achieve some extraordinary intellectual gymnastics in order to put it together again. How establish the fact that the external counterpart of one of these discrete sensations is the cause of the external counterpart of another discrete sen-

Kohler says that insight "does not mean more than our experience of definite determination in a context, an event or a development of the total field; and in the actual cases there need be nothing like an invention, or a new intelligent achievement, or so forth. A total field would be experienced *without* insight, if all its several states, wholes, attitudes, etc., were simply given as a pattern, in which none was felt directly to depend upon any other and none to determine any other (Wolfgang Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology*, p. 371). Again, Kohler says, "There is no mere sequence of indifferent events, connected indirectly. Each phase of what happens grows out of its predecessors, depending upon their concrete nature. And the subject, whose experiences are an expression of this one developing context in the brain-field, will experience the development, along with its 'referring to,' 'depending upon,' 'away from,' and so forth, that is, with *insight*" (*ibid.*, p. 390).

sation? Pearson is logical. There is, he says, no *real* cause in the universe as we experience it; cause comes before, and effect after, in an invariable sequence. One never establishes a causal relationship with certainty; one establishes only a probability that an ascertained event will be followed by another ascertained event. A certain sequence has been observed n times in the past; weigh against that the negative cases and compute the probabilities. There is no cause, and statistics is the way to find it. This epistemological system has been used as the basis of a rationale of statistical method; on the basis of the Pearsonian notion of cause some statisticians falsely claim that theirs is the only road to scientific truth.

Let us state the assumptions of our own methodology and examine its implications. *Gestalt* doctrine regards sensations as false abstractions from phenomena. Perceptions assume the form of configurations, and some degree of insight into causal processes is usually involved in a perceptual configuration. Cause is an elementary datum of experience; extra-mental manipulations are therefore not necessary to establish a relation of cause and effect. The relationship of cause and effect usually assumes the form of a configuration in time. This theory enables us to avoid the ultimate nonsense of Pearsonian methodology, the doctrine that a statement of a causal relation is really only a statement of relative probabilities. If one perceives a single instance correctly, he can generalize from that instance. When an instance in which a causal relation has been observed is followed by another instance in which this relation is not present, one needs to refine his observation and to restate the conditions under which his generalization is valid.

The Pearsonian methodology rests upon the assumption that sensations are discrete units and have no order in themselves; given this principle, the whole incredible artificiality of method must follow. If, however, cause is an elementary datum of experience, extra-mental procedures for establishing a relationship of cause and effect are of less importance than what happens in the mind; what is really needful is to experience phenomena with insight.

Science is man's attempt to understand his universe. One focuses his attention upon various aspects of phenomena, attempting to perceive with insight. The advancement of science depends upon the

search for insight. The mind of man is a tiny pencil of light exploring the illimitable dark. Causal relations are an inseparable part of experience, to be treated as real because experience must be treated as real; we may seek to refine our perceptions of cause, but we cannot reject them without rejecting our whole world of experiential reality.

If cause is an elementary datum of experience, then the thing to do is to experience it. The essence of scientific method, quite simply, is to try to see how data arrange themselves into causal configurations.² Scientific problems are solved by collecting data and by "thinking about them all the time." We need to look at strange things until, by the appearance of known configurations, they seem familiar, and to look at familiar things until we see novel configurations which make them appear strange. We must look at events until they become luminous. That is scientific method. Quantification is not the touchstone of scientific method. Insight is the touchstone.

In the social sciences, we may proceed to obtain insight in three distinct ways:

1. By direct study of human and interhuman behavior in order to perceive with insight. It is difficult to maintain this objective and external approach to human behavior because of the ease with which interpretations based upon sympathetic insight (Type 3) creep in.
2. We may obtain insight by studying certain symbols abstracted from reality and supposed to stand in a constant relation to it. These symbols are usually numerical.
3. We may obtain insight through sympathetic penetration. This insight is based upon the fact that the behavior of others, either directly perceived or mediated to us through language or mathematical symbols, starts certain mental processes in ourselves. This kind of insight is peculiarly liable to error, but of all kinds of insight it is the most significant.

² Herbert Blumer seems to be very close to this point of view in the following passage: "What is needed is observation freely directive and flexible in perspective. Scientific observation, as I understand it, is just this. It places emphasis on exploration, turning over and around, looking intently here and there, now focusing attention on this, now on that. It is flexible scrutiny guided by sensitized imagination. One sees it clearly in the work of Darwin who, incidentally, used neither instruments nor mathematics" (Herbert Blumer, review of Lundberg's *Social Research*, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, No. 6 [1930], 1102).

These methods of obtaining insight are of course only analytically separable. All three are used at different stages of every research procedure. The behaviorist cannot dispense with sympathetic insight. Introspection, properly a method of studying phenomena directly, is most useful as an approach to the minds of others. The statistician must usually draw more or less upon sympathetic insight for the interpretation of his phenomena.

Apparently it is possible to offer a valid explanation of the principal methods of science in terms of the search for insight, and to subsume each of these methods under one of our three headings.

In studying any set of phenomena directly, we pass them before our eyes in the attempt to discover recurrent patterns and, if possible, to make out the entire configuration of events. Sumner's study of customs may be taken as a good example of the use of this method. These recurrent patterns gradually crystallize into concepts. Concepts result from the capacity of the mind to perceive the similarity of configurations perceived in succession. Concepts may be defined as transposable perceptual patterns to which we have given names. Imagination is often called into play to fit together pieces of configurations, to perceive with insight configurations of events which have not actually been present to the senses.³ A high degree of insight into causal relations is implicit in the scientific concept. A concept must be transposable not only from one set of phenomena to another but also from one mind to another. The most effective way to communicate concepts is always to describe or to point to phenomena and

³ Herbert Blumer ("Science without Concepts," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, No. 4, 515-33) has defined the concept in terms of the assistance which it renders in filling in the gaps and open spaces of perception. It is true that the concept does this, but this aspect of the concept should be interpreted rather as imagination, which is the tendency of the mind to complete a configuration when only its rudiments are presented to consciousness. Blumer's view apparently bears the earmarks of sensationalistic psychology, as do most other interpretations of concepts. A concept is not necessarily a construct, and not even scientific concepts are always and necessarily constructs; although the physiologist would have occasion to frame a number of constructs in order to understand the physiological processes of a dog, yet it is likely that the physiologist's concept of a dog as a dog is not much further removed from sensory data than the layman's concept of a dog. The scientific concept often is a construct, a configuration whose rudiments are present to the senses, whose totality is the work of the imagination. Blumer's discussion of this type of concept is particularly enlightening.

to give to each configuration of events its name. All directed thought is conceptualizing activity. An unfortunate circumstance is that communication often breaks down, so that one acquires names without their attendant perceptual patterns. There is abundant evidence in sociological literature that many of our colleagues have learned words without perceiving processes, so that they literally do not know what they are talking about.

Experimentation may be classified as a mode of getting insight through the direct study of phenomena. Experimentation is not a method of establishing causal relations by mechanical manipulation or numerical criteria, for experimentation grows out of pre-existing insight and is useful only in so far as it leads to the acquisition, refinement, or verification of insight. The experimental procedure enables us to isolate one causal mechanism and to observe it in standardized form, to repeat it over and over, or to repeat it with variations until we obtain insight. Any other trained observer may repeat the experiment and get the same result, and the same insight; the ultimate test of the experiment is the ability of different observers to obtain the same insight. Experiments are meant to be repeated. Also, it is pre-existing grasp of causal processes and functional connections which makes an experiment critical or significant. Further, an experiment always flows out of empirical insight as to suspected causal relations and relevant variables; the experiment succeeds if it is based upon good insight, and it usually fails if it is based upon false insight. No virtuosity of technique can compensate for want of understanding.

The application of insight as the touchstone of method enables us to evaluate properly the rôle of imagination in scientific method. The scientific process is akin to the artistic process; it is a process of selecting out those elements of experience which fit together and recombining them in the mind. Much of this kind of research is simply a ceaseless mulling over, and even the physical scientist has considerable need of an armchair. Constructs so formed must be conformable to reality, must be internally consistent, and as far as possible consistent with other members of the same system.

A second method by which insight may be derived is that of the study of symbols derived from phenomena. We shall consider par-

ticularly quantitative symbols, although all reports furnished by others would strictly come under this heading. We have ruled out the justification of statistical method which makes counting of cases a condition precedent to establishing a causal relationship; with this must go the belief that what is not quantified is not science. But statistical method remains immensely important in any system of methodology. We do not deny the validity of statistical method, nor contemplate a limitation of its field, but the rationale of statistics which we here present may strike some as strange.

It is submitted that statistical method is successful as a means of discovering truth when it is used to subserve insight, and that it fails when it is used without insight or in such a manner as to obstruct insight. Statistical enterprises depart from pre-existing insight, and are only worth while if they lead to further or more accurate insight. The valid uses of statistics seem to be: (1) to treat mass phenomena, (2) to give objectivity to social investigations by substituting the study of quantitative symbols for the direct study of social phenomena, (3) to sum up and to check partial insights, and (4) to determine the relative numerical importance of known causal configurations.

1. Probably the best use of statistics is for the study of various kinds of mass phenomena. In certain classes of phenomena, the important facts are numerical relations; this is the case with the unemployment problem. Sometimes, too, social facts are so widespread that they cannot be directly studied but must be converted into figures and studied in this symbolic form. As social centralization increases this will be increasingly important. But mass phenomena must be studied until they are seen to fall into a pattern, and until one glimpses, at least, the causal interdependence of parts; they must be studied, in short, with a view to obtaining insight. It is noteworthy that some of the most illuminating studies of mass phenomena would not pass the Pearsonian tests of scientific truth; the parts are quantitative and to some extent repetitive, but the whole is a single case study. Much of what we know about human ecology is as yet generalization from a single case. In the study of mass phenomena, it is well to insist that there can be no talk of a causal relation unless a definite causal pattern appears.

2. Statistics may give added objectivity to social investigations by substituting the study of quantitative symbols for the direct study of social phenomena. If we are to have an objective social science, we must utilize statistics in this manner wherever it is possible to do so. Social phenomena are so emotionally toned that even the most impartial observer may well doubt whether he has interpreted them without bias. Perhaps this is how it comes about that even those researchers who say the most unkind things about statistics are overjoyed when the turn of events makes it possible for them to quantify their results. It is clear, however, that the use of quantitative symbols by no means guarantees objectivity, for faulty insight underlying the investigation or prejudice in the interpretation may vitiate the entire research. And if symbols are substituted for reality, it is well to remember that a generalization tends to be significant only as an interpretation of that order of phenomena from the study of which it emerges. A study of marriage statistics is not a study of marriage, and all too commonly fails to reveal anything concerning marriage.

3. There is also partial insight which reveals causal processes inconclusively; this appears where we are not able to analyze or control our phenomena properly, and must therefore deal with a nucleus of interlocking and perhaps interfering causal processes. Statistics may be used to refine such fragmentary insight, as a means of gaining control over phenomena of multiple causation. Psychologists, when they are not able to set up their experiments in such a way as to control all the variables, attempt to gain additional control through statistical technique. Statistics may also be used as simple statements of fragmentary insight, or as signposts pointing to undiscovered causal processes.

4. A most important use of statistics is in determining the relative numerical importance of known causal configurations. It would be interesting, and possibly of some importance, to know how many small men have developed the state of mind known as the inferiority complex; only statistics can tell us. The questionnaire, for all the absurdities that unintelligent persons have committed in its name, has served the social sciences well, and its principal utility comes under

this heading. The questionnaire is oriented by the empirical insight of the person who frames the questions, and it can seldom reveal anything that was not implicit in those questions; it can rarely, therefore, discover anything new, although it has considerable value in the testing of hypotheses. The greater the quantitative value of the questionnaire, the more nearly defined and interchangeable its units, the more completely it must fail to reveal previously unsuspected connections of cause and effect. However, it is of great practical and administrative importance to know which causal relations are most frequent, for in administration we must always play the main chance; statistics can help us to find the main chance.

It is insight, then, that makes the statistical method work. Our case will be stronger if we can show that when statistical method fails, it is from lack of insight. Bungling statisticians commonly misuse their methods in such a way as (1) to give an unreal conclusiveness to results that are in no sense final, (2) to obscure the dynamic or functional connections in the living material which is the object of research, or (3) to lead research away from the fundamental issues of science toward those relatively meaningless things which are accessible to quantitative techniques.

1. One may, through a statistical organization of his materials, give to them an appearance of order, exactness, and finality that is unintentionally deceptive. There is something certain-seeming in a neat row of figures, something that tempts to dogmatism. The gravamen of this charge is that we may rely upon our figures to the neglect of other methods which might bring us into closer contact with our problem. A similar self-deception often occurs when we think we have measured something. Quantification in the social sciences is not often genuine. Typically we have an approximate figure which stands in an unknown relationship to the unknown which we are trying to measure. Thus we use divorce rates as a measure of marital maladjustment, death rates as a measure of ill health, insanity rates as a measure of mental ill health, various figures as indices of the crime rate.

2. Statistical organization of materials may obscure the dynamic connections within them. A science that deals with life must be

concerned with process. No statistical organization, however refined, can give us a view of process; it can give only a view of the ends of process. One has often the feeling, when he is confronted with the results of such an elaborate study as Dr. Hamilton's research in marriage, that at least as significant an accounting of marriage might have been made by throwing away all the material which Dr. Hamilton finally saw fit to use and using the material which he no doubt threw away. We become museum keepers when we become mere custodians of facts. What we need is a conception of process, a conception of change, which is something a statistical demonstration often fails to give. Statistical organization involves classification. Classification is grouping like things together. But like things may have in fact no relation to each other. The very process of classification, necessary to statistical treatment, must inevitably destroy certain functional interconnections.

3. Partly as an incident of the inevitable obscuring of functional and dynamic connections, and partly for other not wholly unconnected reasons, the practitioners of quantitative methods have commonly felt a strong impulsion away from the significant central problems of science toward those peripheral phenomena which permit of quantitative study. To be sure, the quantitative approach, used unimaginatively, leads to a mere enumeration of facts, perhaps significant and perhaps not, but demonstrable and ascertainable, concerning certain traits and attributes, and it therefore leads away from a real coming to grips with the dynamic facts of function. Thus the intelligence testers know every fact connected with intelligence except what it is. It is easy, too, to write a chapter concerning sex differences, but it is not easy to show the meaning of those differences in terms of function.

Our third source of insight is sympathetic imagination. The social sciences differ from the physical sciences in that our knowledge of human beings is internally as well as externally derived. Cooley has stated it well:

[Sympathetic penetration] is derived from contact with the minds of other men, through communication, which sets going a process of thought and sentiment similar to theirs and enables us to understand them by sharing their states of mind. This I call personal or social knowledge. It might also be described as

ject to peculiar perils. It is undeniable that every investigator tends to see in a case the things that he is looking for. Whatever its other merits, a highly valued conceptual framework is here undoubtedly a disadvantage, and this is the reason why social investigators who carry a slender load of concepts sometimes go so surprisingly far; they have no preconceptions as to how things are going to shape up. Without concepts as an aid to observation we could see almost nothing, and yet concepts hinder us from seeing things afresh. A value of the life-history document prepared by a person innocent of sociology is its freedom from indoctrinated observation. Many efforts which masquerade as case studies are not case studies at all, but merely the results of informal questionnaires, or schedules, with the results organized by persons rather than by questions; they are not case studies as regards new insight, because the investigator does not get any insight or record his phenomena in such a way as to allow his readers to get it. They are spurious case studies, and their principal use is a quantitative one, for they do make it possible to estimate the relative importance of known causal patterns. As a matter of literary technique, most so-called case studies fail of their purpose because of their conceptualized form. The way to communicate insight is not to verbalize it in the form of an abstraction but to describe or to point out phenomena. The difference between a good novel and the ordinary case study is that the novel describes false or non-existential phenomena to communicate true insight, while the case study conceptualizes true phenomena to communicate no insight.

It is of some importance to deal with the view that the procedure of collecting a number of case studies renders the process "informally" statistical. This is not necessarily true. An interviewer may wish to subject a number of persons to study simply as a means of learning to see his cases with a higher degree of structuration, so that he has more complex and workable insight into every case from having seen the others, and there may be in all this no numerical implication. The procedure does in fact often become informally statistical, but it need not become so. It is an artistic process. Men who can produce good case studies, accurate and convincing pictures of people and institutions, are essentially artists; they may not be learned men, and sometimes they are not even intelligent men, but they

have imagination and know how to use words to convey truth. Some of the most significant books in the field of sociology have been written by men who could never be brought to understand the distinction between form and content of social processes.

Our view of scientific method as a struggle to obtain insight forces the admission that all science is half art. All science depends upon perceptions reconstructed and fitted together in imagination, upon an artistic re-creation of events. This holds *a fortiori* for sociology, for sociology must also include imaginative insight. The sociologist must strive to understand the scattered bits of human experience, and then he must try to put things together. There ought to be a place in the world for the sociologist who is also an artist. For in the past we have had to depend upon three sorts of lying prophets for our interpretations of social institutions: upon men of affairs, who lie like Ananias in their own interest, or lie as advocates do to prove their cases; upon literary men, who lie like Baron Munchausen, primarily to amuse, or from sheer lack of mental discipline; and upon scholars, who lie at second hand by quoting something somebody else has said that is not so.

That there can be false insight is a point that has already been conceded. It is possible to perceive causal relationships that do not exist. But the remedy for false insight is not quantification or any mechanical test. Quantification will merely facilitate the elaboration of the error, and experiment will project it into another realm. The one and only remedy for false insight is true insight. There seem to be three criteria of truth in the insight method, and we may characterize them as artistic, systematic, and pragmatic.⁶

Insight is the unknown quantity which has eluded students of scientific method. That is why the really great men of sociology had no "method." They had a method; it was the search for insight. They went "by guess and by God," but they found out things. They strove to perceive with insight.

⁶ The artistic criterion includes agreement of (trained but unindoctrinated) observers, wealth of inference, and everything that determines whether or not the whole of a theory presents a convincing picture of some part of the jig-saw puzzle of society. We should restrict the systematic criterion to considerations of internal consistency. The pragmatic criterion is, of course, control.

CRIME IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHINA^x

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ABSTRACT

In the old Chinese society, individuals were confronted with very powerful traditions, which determined behavior to the minutest detail, and were assured of swift punishment in case of nonconformity. Consequently crime, in the Western sense, was not a serious problem. But recently China's social equilibrium has been so disturbed by the Western influence that the old rules are no longer effective. The result has been a destruction of the old social institutions; different types of crimes have developed and increased along with other social problems. An analysis of the available material suggests that crime in China has been intimately involved with three distinctive aspects of social change. These three aspects are: (1) crime as conflict between law and the mores; (2) crime as the only practical way of making a living; (3) crime as a positive reaction to the failure of social control and as a response to social disorganization.

The study of crime in relation to social change in China is of peculiar interest to the sociologist. Social change in China has been very rapid, and its effects are therefore seen more vividly than in other countries where change has been less rapid. A criminal in China usually has experienced both the old and the new situation within his own lifetime, while in other countries the same change may be spread over several generations, so that the contrasts and conflicts between the cultures are not so sharp.

The aim of this study of crime in relation to social change is to attempt to answer two questions: first, why there was little crime in the Western sense in the earlier period in China; second, why and how crime has developed while China is trying to adopt the culture of the Western nations. The general thesis is that crime is a very significant, if not the most significant, manifestation of the disorganization in China following upon contact with the West, and that it serves as an index to the maladjustment of different aspects of Chinese society during a period of rapid transformation.

^x This article contains the essential portions of a dissertation which is filed in the library of the University of Chicago. It is based principally upon statistical materials and case records secured by the author, while he studied and taught at Yenching University in 1927-29 and conducted a crime survey under the auspices of the National Research Institute of Social Science, *Academia Sinica*, in 1929-30.

The relations of men to one another were not so formally codified by law and government in China as in the West but were regulated by extralegal, unofficial, yet well established, traditions. Confucius, whose teachings have formulated the Chinese behavior patterns to an overwhelming extent, advocated about 500 B.C.: "Guide the people by law, even them by punishment; they may shun crime, but will lack shame. Guide them by virtue, even them by *li* (mores or equity), and they will develop a moral sense and become good." This cardinal principle of control of behavior has been followed by the Chinese for about 2,500 years. It was upon *li* that Chinese institutions were founded, by *li* that they functioned, and through *li* that they held firm.

The family in China was not only the real unit of government—for it had full control of the most important human relationship—but it was also the heart of Chinese society. All values were determined according to their effect upon the welfare of the family—not upon the welfare of the state, of which the Chinese masses could hardly conceive. Even the highest official of the state, no matter how heavy his responsibilities nor how distant from his home, returned to his native city to observe a three-year period of mourning upon the death of either of his parents. Otherwise, he was considered an unfaithful son and therefore could no longer be a good official.

Moreover, the Chinese family organization served as a form of social insurance for its members. The collective resources of the family always stood behind any individual. If there was suffering for the family, all suffered collectively. This, obviously, tended to result in submission of the individual to the will of the group.

In ancestor worship, the ceremonialized consciousness of the unity of time and the concept of the continuity of the family were blended. The existing generation was but a link between the immemorial past and the innumerable generations of the future. The ancestor worship ceremony, the wedding, and the funeral were dramatic representations of the family status in the community, and as such served to arouse and reawaken the concept of self-respect and group solidarity.

As the family was the central institution in the village, so the guild was the form of economic organization and control in the small

city or town. Like its medieval European counterpart, it was an association of all those engaged in the same occupation within the community. The welfare of the members was well taken care of by their own guild in accordance with age-long tradition, which all of them took as a matter of course. The guild was the highest authority for settling disputes among the members and disciplining those who violated its traditions.

Besides the family and the guild, the old education and the aesthetic arts were also effective means, not only of transmitting the ancient ideologies, but also of reinforcing the prestige of the past. Statuary, architecture, painting, calligraphy, the tale, the proverb, and classical teaching, each with its moral and ethical implications, suggested definite common behavior patterns for the people to follow.

Thus, the individual living in old China had his interests sharply defined in reference to the larger aims of the group of which he was a member and hardly seemed to exist as an independent personality. Custom and tradition, as Thomas says, "defined the situation" and imposed a rigid discipline on all who participated in the common life. The masses were totally unaware of the existence of these traditions as controlling forces, for the traditions were firmly interwoven with reference to all aspects of life and involved no fundamental conflicts.

When infractions of the folkways and mores occurred, which were seldom, the collective sentiments of the community were aroused. The restoration of the normal equilibrium by appeal to penal sanctions was demanded. These penal sanctions were applied immediately after the offense and were collective, in the sense that the whole community took part. This collective ceremonial of penal sanctions acted powerfully to reinforce the traditions and to strengthen the group solidarity.

Almost the only individuals upon whom these traditions and penal sanctions were ineffective were the bandits and professional thieves who had escaped from the village and family life. It was hard to find a criminal living with the people, and it was still harder to leave undiscovered and unpunished. To have crimes committed repeatedly, and to have criminals live in the community and escape punishment, and to regard observance of some of the traditions as crimes

are entirely new in China. These date from the contact with the West. But how has the Western civilization influenced the traditional Chinese way of living?

The introduction of the Western technological system and the Western ideology of national democracy, together with other elements, has produced a growing participation of the peasant in nationwide and even world-wide social and economic activities. It is not an exaggeration to say that there have been more profound changes in China in the last twenty years than in any previous century in its history. Politically, China's continuous defeats by Western nations in the various wars have made her conscious of national solidarity and anxious to adopt the Western political organization. Democracy was the key-word of the Chinese revolution of 1911, and militarism has been worshiped ever since the demonstration of Western military strength in China. On the other hand, the introduction of Western technology in the form of manufactured goods has inevitably, although many of the people have not realized it, crushed the old Chinese handicraft industry, made possible the growth of modern cities, and transformed the primary, self-sufficient group into a national organization based upon more or less impersonal competitive co-operation. These changes destroyed the traditional way of living, and the sacred *li*, which molded the Chinese behavior for thousands of years, has started to disintegrate.

Furthermore, the recent changes are abrupt and unexpected. Some parts of Chinese culture have changed more rapidly than others. The rate of change has varied also in different localities. It is much more rapid in cities than in villages, and in places where facilities for communication are developed than in places where they are not developed. Since there is an interrelationship and interdependence of different parts of a culture, a rapid change in one part, unless accompanied by similar changes in the correlated parts, produces maladjustment and social disorganization. Crime develops and increases along with numerous other social problems.

But is crime in China different from that in America? What types of crime does China have? Do all types of crime increase in China? These questions can be answered only by presenting criminal statistics. But criminal statistics, like other Western products, are a

recent importation into China. On account of the inadequate experience and training of "experts," and the incorrectness of the material sent in by the prisons and other institutions, the official criminal statistics are ambiguous and inaccurate so that they are completely useless for sociological analysis.

Certain statistics, collected and compiled from records of the prisons of twelve provinces, during two trips in 1928 and 1930, justify some general conclusions with regard to crime in China. For example, in Peiping, Tsinan and Shanghai (Chinese section only) male prisoners increased markedly, female prisoners not at all. A detailed analysis of the data regarding male criminals in Peiping reveals that crimes of misappropriation and theft increased tremendously, fraud slightly less so, while assault and sexual immorality remained nearly constant. In other words, during recent years in Peiping economic crimes increased very rapidly while crimes of violence and sexual immorality remained nearly constant. The increase of male prisoners is due to rapid increase of economic crimes among men.

The data collected from twenty different cities with reference to the types of crime committed show that 38 per cent of the male criminals have been convicted of theft, 20 per cent of the sale and use of opium and other drugs. These two types of crime make up 58 per cent of the total. It is interesting to notice that while drunkenness is the chief crime in both England and the United States,² it is of no significance whatsoever in China, where opium and drugs are a major problem. While theft is the dominant crime in China, it has not such an important rôle in either the American or the English criminal world. If we add together all economic crimes in Peiping in order to compare with others, we find that the crimes mainly economic in character amount to 32.8 per cent of the total; 2.93 per cent of the prisoners are convicted of sexual crimes, and 14.2 per cent of crimes of violence and others.

Among the female criminals in the prisons of twenty cities studied the largest number are committed for opium and other drug law violation (29.2 per cent), and the second largest number (28.6 per cent) are those convicted of abduction and kidnapping (procuring

² See Hobhouse and Brockway, *English Prisons Today* (London, 1922), and *Prisons, 1923*, Bureau of Census (Washington, 1926).

in the Western sense).³ These two kinds of crime equal 57.8 per cent of the total crimes among the women criminals. In Peiping 23.8 per cent of the convictions are for abduction, 19.4 per cent for kidnapping, 13.6 per cent for sexual immorality. Thus 69 per cent of the female prisoners are convicted of economic crimes.

While male criminals in America traditionally have a monopoly of the crime of procuring, in China during recent years women have taken the initiative in conducting this criminal business. What is more astonishing, many widows are convicted of abduction. In Peiping, 119 out of 294 women convicted of abduction are widows. Inasmuch as Chinese custom frowns upon remarriage of widows, and there are practically no means of self-support open to them in the city (in the village they were supported by the large family, which disappears in the city), such women are practically compelled to turn to crime in order to gain the barest necessities of life. One cannot but be amazed to discover that over 71 per cent of the widowed women convicted of abduction are over fifty years of age, which is considered a very old age in China. Almost 60 per cent of those convicted of kidnapping are above this age. Only 20 per cent of the women who are still in the marital state are convicted of abduction at so late an age.

In the United States, juvenile delinquency plays an alarming rôle in the field of criminality, but in the Chinese cities it is not a problem, except perhaps in Shanghai, which follows the Western industrial and commercial city pattern. The boys' gang life, which is an indispensable feature of the behavior of juvenile delinquents in America, is practically non-existent even in Shanghai, where, however, "wild boys," whose parents are much engaged with their work and have no time to take care of their children, have developed. But these "wild boys" are not organized. No reformatory is to be found throughout the length and breadth of the whole country except a semi-official institution in Peiping founded by former Prime Minister Hsi-ling Hsung after the American inspiration but closed

³ According to the Chinese criminal law "whoever by violence, threats, or fraud, allures or takes away female persons, or any male person under twenty years of age, commits abduction," and "whoever commits abduction without violence, threats, or fraud, is guilty of kidnapping," and "whoever kidnaps any person under sixteen years of age shall be deemed to have committed abduction."

in the spring of 1929 because of the lack of both funds and inmates. The courts of Peiping city did not send a single delinquent to the reformatory for two years before its closing.

In order to find an adequate explanation of the absence of juvenile delinquency in China one has to go back to the deeply rooted age-long tradition of filial piety, which is the living expression of the central law of the family system—ancestor worship. Obedience to his parents is regarded as the highest virtue a person can possess. In every-day Chinese home life the degree of obedience which is expected by parents, and unquestionably given by children, even long after maturity, is one of the aspects of life in China which Westerners find most difficult to understand.

The impact of Western culture patterns disturbs the life of the male adults first because they participate most actively in the new social life. Adult females are generally confined to family affairs and consequently are not so sensitive to the recent social changes as the adult males. The children, with the exception of those receiving a modern education, are naturally still subjected to the molding influence of age-long tradition and are least affected.

On the other hand, China resembles some of the Western nations in the relative absence of crime in rural communities. Only two cases of theft had occurred during the years 1927 and 1928 in Shan Chia Tien, a village of about 4,000 population situated about 25 miles west of Peiping. These two thieves were strangers in the village and came in the autumn to steal crops. One was caught before he could get anything. He was reprimanded by the village elders and set free immediately. The other had done some damage to the crops before he was caught. The elders decided that he should walk through the village street with a notice on his back declaring him to be a thief. When he had thus subjected himself to the scorn of the village, he was sent away with a warning that if he came back he would be punished severely. The elders reported that they could recall no serious crime in their village during their lifetime and remarked: "It is bad to have had two thieves within two years." The elders explained these two cases thus, "You see, now-a-days, there are so many strangers that come into our village that there have been lots of disturbances. Naturally bad persons come in and do damage to the

community. You cannot tell who is good and who is bad, because they are all strangers."

What are the effects of the recent social changes upon crime in China? An analysis of a large number of cases suggests that crime in China has been intimately involved with three distinctive aspects of social change. First, crime in China reveals the conflict between the old tradition and the new law. The legal conception of crime has changed much more rapidly than the traditions. Tradition laid great emphasis upon the family as a solidary group, and any action that helped to strengthen the family was praised and encouraged. Therefore bigamy, for the man, was permitted since it was an aid to family continuation. To murder one's father's enemy was a vivid expression of filial piety. It helped to strengthen family solidarity. The same was true of the murder of a wife and her lover. Theft and assault within the large family was not a criminal act. It was rather a violation of obedience to the elders.

Old China had very little law. New China is following the Western pattern and passing many laws as quickly as possible. The new criminal law has the ideal of strengthening national solidarity instead of family solidarity, and of raising the position of women to an equal level with that of men. These ideals have been advocated by the leaders of the government for the purpose of producing rapid reforms after the Western model. Thus, when crime is defined from the standpoint of the national state as a solidary group, the individual is not supposed to limit his allegiance to any group narrower than this. Therefore bigamy and the murder of the father's enemy are crimes in the eyes of the new law in spite of the fact that they are still in accordance with *li*. Professor Park, after his second trip to China, clearly explained the difference between law and mores by pointing out that law stands for *consistency* and *logic* in the Western sense, while the Chinese *li* administered *justice* by following the custom of time and place and taking special situations into consideration.

On the other hand, when traditions are so deeply and extensively involved with the social life and when law is against such traditions, the violations of law are too numerous to be considered as crimes. For example, when the Chinese government introduced the Western

calendar in place of the lunar calendar with a threat of punishment in case of resistance, the masses continued to follow the old custom, because the lunar calendar was a link in the whole social, economic, and religious system of China and could not be changed overnight. The law could not produce the desired effect. The opium law has suffered a similar fate, for the custom of smoking and using opium and other drugs, somewhat like the liquor problem in America, is deeply rooted among the masses.

Some crimes have definite social functions in spite of the fact that they are "antisocial" from the legal point of view. If there were no market for prostitutes, prostitution could not exist. Gambling houses could never open if there were not enough gamblers to support them. The life of bandits is not very different from the life of the army—the "official bandits" as they are called by the people—or of the farmer who shifts from farming to banditry and from banditry to communism and then to farming again. Accordingly, the line of demarcation between the legal and the illegal is very uncertain. A crime is often merely a different aspect of a situation.

Second, crimes in China are to a large extent the only practical way of satisfying fundamental desires. Most crimes in China, as has been shown, are economic in character. Poor old widows become procurers; poor young girls become prostitutes; poor men become thieves. Many major social crises have been produced by the new economic organization, war, famine, political changes, and urbanization. These social crises in turn produced many personal crises in the form of deprivation of the means of subsistence. When, after the revolution, the Manchu hats were no longer sold, the hat-maker was without an occupation and could find no other occupation. Theft was his only alternative. The Manchu nobles, having lost their royal income, had no occupational training, and resorted to theft as the only means of livelihood. Having been compelled by war, famine, and Western technology to leave their land, many farmers became bandits and robbers. In such situations crime was the only alternative because the family and the guild no longer acted as protective agencies in the city, and no new philanthropic institutions had been developed to meet the new needs.

Third, some crimes can be viewed as an indication of a positive

reaction to the failure of traditional control and as a response to the existing situation of disorganization. During the process of rapid change a new situation initiates new desires, and new attitudes develop. These cannot be adequately expressed in the old social organization and consequently cannot be controlled by the latter. Many adolescents defy the old rigid standards of morality and demand a new sexual life which leads to the crime of sexual immorality. Professional thieves justify their conduct by formulating their own philosophy that law is only a tool with which the rich and the powerful protect their property which was secured by graft and robbery. Bandits organized themselves in order to "execute the will of God by killing the wicked rich and saving the honest poor." They fight against soldiers not as soldiers but as "official bandits."

Organized crime, also, has changed its character in response to the changing situation. Formerly, the criminal organization was a secret society which functioned as a social agency to take care of the non-conformers of the villages. At present it sets up headquarters in the city and sends its members all over the community to conduct its own criminal business of controlling the opium traffic, gambling, prostitution, and to associate with politics for protection and development of its business. Thus, the criminal organization finds a new function in society and adjusts itself to meet the changing needs.

Chinese students have earlier and better opportunities for apprehending Western ideals by means of modern education and Christianity than many other groups. In school the old ideals of social relationships are somewhat neglected, while a new type of ideal is introduced. Students are taught to be loyal to the nation instead of the family, to abandon superstition instead of strengthening old religious ideas, and to practice democracy instead of submitting to parental and school authority. Many students have gone so far as to defy all the old traditions and become radical agitators and revolutionists, and a great deal of political crime results in the effort to attain a new social order.

Indeed, communists are most highly organized persons, although in the eyes of the law they are the worst criminals. They attempt to overthrow the existing order in face of the threat of a death punishment. When they are taken to be executed, they shout: "We die

for the sake of communism?" This indicates they dwell in another cultural realm which is indorsed by the powerful group of workers and peasants with whom they identify themselves. They try by every possible means to abolish tradition and to open a way to a general and permanent satisfaction of those needs which cannot be freely fulfilled while old tradition lasts. Such a phenomenon occurs only when and where different parts of a culture are so badly dislocated that the public begins to be conscious of disintegration and demands reorganization and reconstruction. This crime is a response to the unrest and instability of society. It indicates that the pressure of the old system has become intolerable, and it releases the forces of the new order. Revolt is natural among the people who demand either the values which they have lost during the disturbance of the old equilibrium or new values which they cannot have under the traditional system. When a revolution succeeds, the old type of political crime ceases to be a crime, and a new type of tradition is set up. A great Chinese historian, Shih Ma-ch'ien, about 2,000 years ago stated: "When you steal a pin, you are executed; but if you steal a country, you become a king. Within the reach of your kingdom virtue and morality prevail."

In conclusion, this study suggests that crime has a character of its own. It varies with the changing situation. What crime is, is not determined by the nature of things but by custom and by law. The same behavior acquires different meanings in a society at different times. Crime is not a thing apart from society. It is deeply involved in the culture from which it develops. It is an indication of, and a response to, social disorganization. It is as complex as culture itself. It is inextricably interwoven with the general process of social change.

NEW THOUGHT: A CULT OF SUCCESS^r

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ABSTRACT

New Thought had its main roots in the mesmerism of Quimby and the transcendentalism of Emerson and the Concord Group. It is a system of high-powered mental telepathy which held that matter could be spiritualized and brought under the complete domination of thought, and, conversely, that all thoughts become matter. It appeared as a concerted movement in 1890 and by 1915 had achieved a prodigious growth. It had no church and was essentially a metropolitan religion. Its adherents were impelled mainly by the motive of profit, and few were masters of its theology and metaphysics. Like Puritanism, it recognized the law of prosperity as a cardinal statute. By personal magnetism the adherent could attract, persuade, influence, or control his fellows, and success in business was assured. The writings of New Thought accord with the traditional American philosophy of success. They banish luck and reaffirm the economic potency of character. Faith in equality of opportunity is sustained. The bulk of the literature contains little but esoteric directions for making money. The very novelty of New Thought gave it popularity.

The adage that money-making has been a religion to Americans has a literal truth unperceived by many who repeat it. There was a native American religion devoted precisely to that end: a cult of economic success. Although it still clings feebly to life, its day was twenty years ago. It was called New Thought.

Although the ideological family tree of New Thought has a gnarled trunk and many branches, its two principal taproots may clearly be discerned. One of these extends into the historic teachings of P. P. Quimby, the great mesmerist of Portland, Maine, who had healed (and taught) Mrs. Eddy. The other was fed by the transcendentalism of Emerson and the Concord Group. But New Thought was neither transcendentalism nor Christian Science. It is often confused with the latter, largely because of their common relationship to Quimby. Barriers hazy to a layman but real to an initiate separate the two.

In the first place, New Thought was not a church but a system. Anyone could practice it regardless of his church. It was a system of high-powered mental telepathy. Unlike Christian Science it did not deny, but emphatically recognized, the existence of matter. It

^r Part of a general study presented as a doctoral dissertation to the Yale Graduate School, 1933.

held, however, that all matter could be spiritualized and so brought under the complete domination of thought. Conversely, all thoughts became matter. As the disciples of New Thought expressed it, "Thoughts are things." What character was to a Puritan, thought was to them. It was not old-fashioned thinking. It was mystical power, to be summoned in trance and reverie.

In its theology, New Thought again differed from Christian Science by ignoring the existence of evil. It had no devil, not even of such vague substance as Mrs. Eddy's "malicious animal magnetism." According to its tenets, the individual was actually divine, a reflection of Emersonian transcendentalism. Its God was "this Supreme Power—Universal Presence—All Mind," who could be addressed, alternatively, as "Mind, Spirit, Law, The Absolute, First Cause, Nature, Universal Principle, Life." The exalted position occupied by man in the New Thought cosmos was that of "an emanation of God," for "all the Universe, high and low, developed and undeveloped, manifest and unmanifest, is one . . . and all is in connection with the Centre—God." In this monistic conception New Thought bears an even closer resemblance to Walt Whitman's than to Emerson's theology. But, after all, it was not its parentage which made converts. Most of them were unaware of the mesmeric and optimistic ingredients it had derived from Quimby and Emerson. They only knew its promise to make them persons in an impersonal world.

New Thought did not appear as a concerted movement until about 1890. By 1915 it had achieved a prodigious growth. From its New England cradle it had followed the western pathway of all American sects, until in that year it was organized into the New Thought Alliance by the First International New Thought Congress, assembled in San Francisco. The official manifesto of the Congress declared that the purpose of New Thought was:

To teach the infinitude of the Supreme One; the Divinity of Man and his Infinite possibilities through the creative power of constructive thinking and obedience to the voice of the Indwelling Presence, which is a source of Inspiration, Power, Health and Prosperity.

The organization of New Thought lacked the discipline, the careful regimentation, even the ritual of a church. Its disciples gathered

together throughout the country in informal groups or "Centers." In 1890 the most important of these were located in Boston, New York, Chicago, Kansas City, and San Francisco. Minor differences distinguished each from all the others in a manner impossible to the strict formality of most churches, yet all were alike in fundamentals. About each center, groups were formed, so that by the year of the International Congress in San Francisco, scarcely a northern or western city did not have its local organization. Although New Thought did not penetrate the South or other predominantly rural sections of the country, its geographical distribution was large, official directories of New Thought centers in 1911 and 1912 including every city of note in the northern states and Canada. It was, significantly, a metropolitan religion.

As to the appeal of New Thought, thousands made use of its teachings who were never in any sense masters of its theology and metaphysics. These were the property of the small, striving minority, and a few writers who explored its mysteries. But the great majority were in it for what they could get out of it, and that was money. They wanted to succeed, to grow rich, to rise in the world, rather than to commune with the All-Mind. For New Thought was a get-rich-quick religion, a something-for-nothing religion; that was the secret of its appeal. No rigorous discipline compelled its followers' worship. What most of them worshipped was not New Thought but success. New Thought, to them, was a new way to pay old debts.

Until the advent of this strange religion, American business men had justified their careers (whenever it may have occurred to them to do so) on Puritan grounds—Puritan, that is, in the sense of ascetic Protestantism. The doctrine of the "Calling," which Luther had evolved and Calvin elaborated, had become a household morality in America. Children were reared in the notion that God had appointed a business for everyone. To achieve success in that business was a sign of virtue; and, conversely, the surest way to achieve success was to be virtuous. The doctrine articulated well with American ideas of democracy—that, since virtue was good for success, and virtue was available to all, then all must succeed. This was the rational and moral basis upon which the common man be-

came the self-made man, the capitalist, the rugged American individualist.

How much of a departure from all this was New Thought? An unfamiliar, psychic terminology and a system of mental magnetism seem to remove it far from the orthodox Christian proprieties of the Puritans. Theologically they were poles apart, but in one fundamental they were alike. The law of prosperity was a cardinal statute upon the books of New Thought as it had been in the teachings of the Puritans.

Because "thoughts are things" the New Thought priesthood instructed neophytes that they might think their way to wealth. As you think, so you are, they said. But this was thinking with a difference—personal magnetism, "the subtle thought waves, or thought vibrations, projected from the human mind," which travel along "like a ray of light," serving their masters. Since a "personal magnet" was in this manner able "to attract, persuade, influence, or control his fellows," how could he possibly fail in business—unless, of course, he wanted to?

Here, indeed, was the secret. Even the authoritative teachers of New Thought affirmed its magical properties, so far as success in business was concerned. It might help a man to achieve distinction in other fields, in "art, scientific research, invention, literary work, *et cetera*," and then again it might not. But these were fields the harvests of which "are reaped by others of a more worldly turn of mind." Because the "personal magnet," with "push, energy, force," is needed to turn works of art and science into money, he "usually reaps the lion's share" of the profit. Therefore, the teachers of New Thought are "justified in regarding success as meaning the attaining of financial reward, and *that* must depend largely upon the Personal Magnetism of the seeker after success." And, if the lion's share of the profit went to the business man, so did the lion's share of the glory.

The inventor, student, writer, and scientist can be greatly benefited by an understanding of the intelligent use of the powers of Mental Control, but to the "man among men" remains the privilege of securing the best results of that wonderful power, for it brings him not only Success, but also its material manifestation—Money.

The writings of New Thought preserve, in fact, a surprising continuity of the traditional American philosophy of success. They banish luck, and reaffirm the economic potency of character. "Business success," declared one authority on the subject, "is due to certain qualities of mind, character or temperament. Of these three qualities, the first is the only *real* one, as the last two are but the results of the first." The qualities of "character or temperament" are specified: "Energy, Ambition, Determination, Perseverance, Patience, Prudence and the rest of the list"—a welcome concession to orthodoxy. And how much more easily attainable they were made by New Thought. It was no longer necessary to sit upon hard pews and drop pennies in the plate. One had merely to ask the slave of the lamp for the correct endowment of virtues and success was his. This is a revealing indication of how deep-rooted the popular conviction was that only the virtuous man could, or should, succeed.

New Thought likewise preserved the American faith in the equality of opportunity. Success was possible to anyone, said the prophets, for anyone could practice personal magnetism, and to the personal magnet the qualities of success were irresistibly drawn. By this means the poorest clerk could snap asunder the chains which bound him to his desk. His wildest flights of fancy might be realized in fact, all by "direct psychic influence," the "power of the eye," the "magnetic gaze." "Anything is yours," said the voice to the poor clerk, "if you only want it hard enough. Just think of that. *Anything*. Try it. Try it in earnest and you will succeed. It is the operation of a mighty law." This, as we shall now observe, is the note which all the New Thought prophets sounded.

Ralph Waldo Trine was one of the rare purists whose books were guileless optimism. *The Greatest Thing Ever Known*, *The Winning of the Best, Through the Sunlit Year* proclaim him one who never succumbed to mental money-making. Actually he was never recognized officially as a teacher. He chose, rather, to skirt the edges of the movement, sharing its optimism but little else. Yet even he subscribed to the "law of prosperity," and held that:

Faith, absolute dogmatic faith, is the only law of true success. When we realize the fact that a man carries his success or his failure with him, and that it

does not depend upon outside conditions, we will come into the possession of powers that will quickly change outside conditions into agencies that make for success.

From this rather lofty eminence, New Thought descended to the level of a new get-rich-quick scheme. The bulk of its literature contains little, indeed, but esoteric directions for making money. Volume after volume purports to disclose the secret of success. Read *Practical Methods to Insure Success*, and its author guarantees "that after two years of faithful adherence thereto, you will never be sick; you will never be in need of money or friends; whatever you do will be successful."

The Conquest of Poverty, by Helen Wilmans, was another famous New Thought tract. Miss Wilmans believed that "the real philosophy of success has been rarely if ever touched upon in any of the writings of this character," and proposed to "expound as best I can the laws of individual financial success in the light of the philosophy of mind." There follows a demonstration of how to think money into one's pockets according to a few simple directions. There is talk about a higher law, and the misconception that poverty is necessary. Then the book turns into autobiography. Young Helen Wilmans, tired of the farm, borrows ten dollars and heads for the city. She discovers that poverty is only fear, and that faith will produce success. She turns her personal magnetism on her landlord, about to eject her for non-payment of rent. The rent will be paid, she says, ominously. "How?" queries the slowly dissolving landlord. "I am going to start a paper of my own, and it is already a success even before it is born. Sit down while I read you the first article I have written for it." "The subject," concludes Miss Wilmans, "Was 'I.'" Instead of ejecting his tenant, the landlord loaned her twenty thousand dollars on the spot. The higher law is duly expounded.

What! Can a person by holding certain thoughts create wealth? Yes, he can. A man by holding certain thoughts—if he knows the Law that relates effect and cause on the mental plane—can actually create wealth by the character of the thoughts he entertains. . . . The weakest man living has the powers of a god folded within his organization; and they will remain folded until he learns to believe in their existence, and then tries to develop them. Men generally are not introspective, and this is why they are not rich.

There is an interesting sequel to the account of this book. Because it was held that Miss Wilmans claimed powers known to be impossible, she was charged with deceiving the public and indicted by the United States government for fraudulent use of the mails. The profits accruing from the large sale of her book were swept away. The champion of the law of prosperity died a failure because the government thought she played an old skin game. But her cause did not suffer. A great many citizens, apparently, were not so sure as their government that her powers were impossible.

All the New Thought teachers insisted ceaselessly on the law of success. It was infallible, to be sure, yet one must have the will to let it operate. Failure and mediocrity were as abhorrent to them as to the Puritans.

In Holyoke, Massachusetts, a woman by the name of Elizabeth Towne had founded a New Thought periodical, *The Nautilus*, which soon received official recognition, swelling its circulation to a yearly average of 85,291 copies in 1927. It seems to have been read mainly in the eastern centers, and proved a profitable venture. As its editor, she devoted many editorials to the would-be successful, which she afterward elaborated in the form of pamphlets. *Practical Methods for Self-Development*, written in 1904, was dedicated "to You, Sweet Heart." Money, she wrote, flows through the world like blood, and

.... carries all needful and useful things to every human atom. The only thing that keeps us from taking plenty of either money or air is fear. Money is *really* as free as air. Take it in by knowing that it is yours. *The time is surely coming when a miner will be as flush with money as any trust president who ever lived.*

The way to this economic millennium was no mystery to Mrs. Towne. In another pamphlet she disclosed "How I Healed My Purse." She told herself:

I must claim wealth NOW. Then I began to say, I AM *wealth*—I AM. I said it actually millions of times. I took infinite pains to get into the *wealthy* attitude of mind over the spending of every five cent piece that went through my purse. Now I was taking great pains to spend as the truly wealthy spend, with that sense of *plenty* always in reserve. By little fits and starts more money came to me. My success grew by fits and starts.

Another major prophet of New Thought was Frank C. Haddock. His claim to fame was authorship of the "Power Book Library": *The Power of Will*, *The Power for Success*, *The Personal Atmosphere*, *Business Power*, *The Culture of Courage*, *Practical Psychology*, and *Creative Personality*. The announced method of the library was "Exactly What To Do and How To Do Exactly That," its "Double Goal": "Supreme Personal Well-Being and Actual Financial Betterment." Each volume contained its own peculiar version of how to get rich. *Power for Success*, for example, offered "Twenty-eight Lessons in Success Magnetism." It was more specific than the others, perhaps, but that is its principal distinction. Here is lesson number one:

The mood of success should be held constantly in mind in all the work of this book, and in all the affairs of life. This may be done by affirming, until it is a permanent belief and expectation of the soul, "I am resolved on success. I shall certainly achieve success."

And so continue the remaining twenty-seven lessons. One is instructed how to cultivate "vibrant magnetism" by deep-breathing exercises and other exotic means. The idea is first to develop physical magnetism, out of which grows psychic magnetism, whose flower is success.

Success is relative. Every person is entitled to that measure of success for which he is fitted, and no more. This measure of success is no mere privilege; it is the profoundest of obligations. The universe guarantees that success to every individual who intelligently and courageously attempts his best lifework. The Infinite puts Himself at the disposal of every honest soul. That is true of *Amoeba*; it must be true of men. . . .

The "Power Book Library" enjoyed great popularity. *The Power of Will*, first printed in 1907, sold approximately six hundred thousand copies costing three to four dollars apiece before its last printing in 1923. Over sixty-two thousand people paid ten dollars each for *The Power of Success* during a similar interval; and the combined sales of the entire Library have fallen just short of nine hundred thousand copies.

The people who bought these books did so in the hope of finding an elixir which has been sought by alchemists and astrologers since the dark ages. They were, as the geographical distribution of New

Thought shows, people who lived in great cities. Most of them were in the white-collar army. Promotion came by accident to them. The ugliness of their surroundings had, and still has, a devastating effect upon their spirits. But they could dream . . . of yachts, and automobiles, and castles in the country.

The very novelty of New Thought gave it popularity. American history is rainbow-hued with similar fads. Yet there was, underneath it all, that human craving which the Puritans had made to serve God and capitalism. That is why so many Americans eagerly consumed the books which told them how to "Make Your Mind a Mental Mazda."

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DURKHEIM'S DIVISION OF LABOR IN SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

The source of social life, according to Durkheim, is the similitude of consciousnesses and the division of labor. The former is best evident among primitive societies where a "mechanical solidarity," evidenced by repressive law, prevails; the latter in advanced societies where populations evidence greater "dynamic density," and juridical rules define the nature and relations of functions. In combating individualism and basing the existence of societies on a "consensus of parts," Durkheim refutes his positivistic emphasis which denies the relevance of ends to a scientific study of society. In his discussion of social ends is a latent anti-mechanistic trend. The theory of unilinear development is established on deficient ethnographic data. It assumes the absence of division of labor among primitive societies and of any "mechanical solidarity" among modern societies. Repressive and restitutive law Durkheim seeks to use as indexes of mechanical and organic solidarity, but he does not establish with any precision the perfect associations which he assumes obtain between his types of solidarity and of law.

In a pedestrian, and somewhat infelicitous, fashion, Durkheim's *De la division du travail social* has been accorded a belated English translation, forty years after its initial publication.¹ This testimony to the continued esteem with which Durkheim's work is regarded provides the impetus for a reconsideration of the first *magnum opus* of this hegemonic protagonist of the sociological school. The value of such an examination is twofold: it permits a re-estimation of the rôle played by Durkheim in the development of modern sociological thought, and it brings to a focus several conceptions fundamental to much of contemporary research.

An analysis of the theoretical context in which this work was written is of moment in appreciating its contributions. Deep in the current of the positivistic thought which stemmed from Comte, Durkheim's *Division* embodies many of its characteristic features. It seeks to adopt the methods and criteria of the physical sciences for the determination of those mechanically induced social laws, which, under given conditions, obtain with an ineluctable necessity.² Explicit in this procedure is, of course, the assumption of the feasibility of so doing and of the susceptibility of social phenomena to such

¹ George Simpson, *Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Subsequent citations refer to this edition.

study. The fact that the concept of causation, more markedly perhaps in the social sciences than in the physical, is an epistemologic assumption, a matter of imputation and not of observation, is ignored. Within this positivistic tradition the *Division* is further classifiable as instancing the anti-individualistic, anti-intellectualistic approach. It is an avowed revolt from the individualistic-utilitarian positivism which, finding its prototypes in the systems of Hobbes and of Locke, characterized so much of English social thought. A radical sociologism seemed to Durkheim to be the one way of maintaining the autonomy of sociology as an independent discipline, and it is to this dominant preoccupation that many of his conceptions are due. Of especial significance is the fact that the *Division*, although it adumbrates many ideas which Durkheim subsequently developed in some detail,² presents an objective approach, with implicit reservations, from which he later diverged sharply, notably in his *Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*.

The peregrinations of the ideas expressed in the *Division* have included this country, but a brief summary is none the less desirable to establish the basis of this discussion. The source of social life, maintains Durkheim, is twofold: the similitude of consciousnesses and the division of social labor. In one society-type, which he calls "primitive," solidarity is induced by a community of representations which gives birth to laws imposing uniform beliefs and practices upon individuals under threat of repressive measures. These repressive laws are external—that is, observable in the positivistic sense—indexes of this "mechanical solidarity." The division of social labor, on the other hand, while it enhances, nay compels, individuation, also occasions an "organic solidarity," based upon the interdependence of co-operatively functioning individuals and groups. This type of solidarity is indexed by juridical rules defining the nature and relations of functions. These rules may properly be termed restitutive law, since their violation involves merely reparative, and not expiatory, consequences. Historically, the movement has been from mechanical to organic solidarity, though the

²The starting-point of *Le Suicide* is explicit in Book II, chap. i., of the *Division*; *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* on pages 349 ff.; and the *Formes élémentaires . . .* on pages 288 ff.

former never disappears completely. The determining cause of this trend is found in the increased size and density of populations with the usual, if not invariable, concomitant, increased social interaction. This so intensifies the struggle for existence that only through progressive differentiation of functions is survival possible for many who otherwise would be doomed to extinction. This continuous trend occurs mechanically through a series of disturbed and re-established social dynamic equilibria.

Now, as previously suggested, Durkheim seeks to combat individualistic positivism which ignores the relevance of social ends as partial determinants of social action. He is hence faced with a perturbing dilemma: as a positivist, to admit the irrelevance of ends to a scientific study of society; as an anti-individualist, to indicate the effectiveness of social aims in conditioning social action, and thus in effect to abandon radical positivism. For, if, as positivism would have us believe, logic and science can deal only with empirical facts, with *sensa*, then a science of social phenomena, on that score alone, becomes impossible, since this attitude relegates to limbo all ends, i.e., subjective anticipations of *future* occurrences, without a consideration of which human behavior becomes inexplicable.³ Ends, goals, aims, are by definition not logico-experimental data but rather value judgments; and yet an understanding of social phenomena requires a study of their rôle.⁴ This does not involve a determinism-teleology embarrassment, but simply notes the fact that subjectively conceived ends—irrespective of their

³ Strangely enough, this position is admitted by the positivist, V. Pareto. See his *Traité de sociologie générale*, II, 1349 ff. Paris, 1917. Cf. Talcott Parsons, "Some Reflections on 'The Nature and Significance of Economics,'" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XLVIII (1934), 511–45. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Parsons for much of the viewpoint here expressed.

⁴ Compare Heinrich Rickert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft*, pp. 99 ff. Tübingen: Mohr, 1921. Léon Duguit, whose conceptions of solidarity by similitude and through division of labor closely resemble those of Durkheim, presents a brilliant exposition of the significance of ends for interpretation. This, in spite of his ultra-positivism. See his *L'État, le droit objectif et la loi positive*, pp. 33 ff. Fontemoing, 1901. In this country, the most exact statement of this position is to be found in W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (University of Chicago Press, 1918–20), particularly in the discussion of social attitudes and "definition of the situation."

recognition of all the pertinent data in a given situation—as well as “external conditions,” influence behavior. To ban ends as “improper” for scientific study is not to exempt sociology from metaphysics, but to vitiate its findings by a crude and uncriticized metaphysics.⁵

At the time of writing the *Division*, Durkheim was too much the positivist to acknowledge explicitly the full force of this position, but his conscious methodologic doctrines notwithstanding, he surreptitiously slips between the horns of the dilemma and salves his anti-individualistic conscience by dealing with *social* ends. Thus, he indicates quite clearly that if society were simply a resultant of juxtaposed individuals brought into temporary contractual relationships for the satisfaction of their respective immediate interests, that if the typical social relation were the economic, then we should no longer have a society but Hobbes’s “state of nature.”

For where interest is the only ruling force each individual finds himself in a state of war with every other since nothing comes to modify the egos, and any truce in this eternal antagonism would not be of long duration.⁶

This corresponds to Durkheim’s description of *anomie*. But the fact is, he continues, that even in such highly contractual and “individualized” societies as our own, this brutish state of nature does not obtain. What, then, obviates this condition which, were the individualistic approach valid, one would expect to find characterizing a contractual society? It is the “consensus of parts,” the integration of individual ends, the social value-complex.⁷ This is clearly seen in the legal regulation of contracts between individuals, for although it is true that these contracts are initially a voluntary matter, once begun, they are subject to society as the omnipresent and controlling “third party.” Through a system of law, an organ of social control, the accord of individual wills is constrained for the consonance of diffuse social functions. Moreover, in this process, society plays an *active* rôle, for it determines which obligations are “just,” i.e., accord with the dominant social values, and

⁵ Compare C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss (ed.), *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Pierce*, I, 52 ff. Harvard University Press, 1931.

⁶ *Division* . . . , pp. 203-2; cf. p. 365.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 360. Cf. Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

which need not be enforced. With this incisive analysis, Durkheim refutes one of the basic doctrines of an atomistic sociology, for he finds in the very relation which had been regarded as individualistic, *par excellence*, the significant interpenetration of social factors.⁸

His conception is similar to Sumner's "strain toward consistency" and autonomy of the mores and to Goldenweiser's notion of the limit to the discrepancies between the various aspects of a culture. This view of society is linked to an acknowledgment of the previously mentioned rôle of social ends and to an acceptance of the doctrine of emergence. That social behavior cannot be explained through reference to the behavior of individuals in mere juxtaposition is maintained by both Durkheim and Pareto,⁹ and it is precisely this view which is held to justify sociology as a distinct discipline.

In Durkheim's discussion of social ends is a latent anti-mechanistic trend. For when instruments are fashioned for the attempted attainment of ends, by this very fact conditions are evolved which act not only in the direction of the goals, but react upon and frequently change the value-estimations. These new valuations may relieve man from the necessity of accepting the "conditions of existence"—Durkheim's *milieu*—and acting in the previously determined manner. His "definition of the situation" having changed, his behavior has a new orientation, and mechanistic determinism, based on a knowledge of the *objective* factors, no longer adequately accounts for this behavior. But as is frequently characteristic of mechanistic theorists, Durkheim does not properly distinguish his abstract conceptions, in this instance the external conditions of existence, from the concrete situation, which includes the usually suppressed elements of man's selection of objectives. The ineluc-

⁸ The distinction between Durkheim's analysis and the social contract theories should thus be quite clear. As Durkheim himself remarked: "Il n'y a qu'un critique singulièrement superficielle qui pourrait reprocher à notre conception de la contrainte sociale de rééditer les théories de Hobbes et de Machiavel." *Règles . . .*, p. 151.

⁹ It is particularly striking that Pareto, with his leanings toward empiricism, should adopt this view. *Traité . . .*, I, 26. "Notez qu'étudier les individus ne veut pas dire que l'on doit considérer plusieurs de ceux-ci mis ensemble, comme une simple somme; ils forment un composé, lequel, à l'égal des composés chimiques, peut avoir des propriétés qui ne sont pas la somme des propriétés des composants." This conception is, of course, marked in all of Durkheim's works, but an exposition of it was first given in his *Règles . . .*, p. 126.

table conclusions derived from his abstract delineation of the situation he thinks to represent actual facts, in all their empirical variety.¹⁰ To put it in another way, Durkheim neglects to treat his conceptions as ADVISEDLY ideal constructions demanding appropriate alteration before they can adequately describe concrete social phenomena.

In his presentation of societal evolution, Durkheim professes to trace genetically a transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, and it is here that his defective ethnographic data lead him astray. With Maine and Steinmetz, he affects to note the preponderance, even the exclusive existence, of *penal* law in primitive society. In point of fact, as recent field studies have demonstrated, primitive societies possess also a corpus of restitutive, civil law, involving rights and duties between individuals, and kept in force by social mechanisms.¹¹ The existence of such essentially contractual relations among primitive peoples detracts from the plausibility of Durkheim's theory of unilinear development. Moreover, in affirming the preponderance of organic solidarity in modern societies, Durkheim tends to depreciate unduly the persistent factor of community of interests. This bias warps his analysis of the elements of social cohesion. Such group-integrative factors as conceptions of honor, *Ehre*, and the subsumption of individual under collective interests during periods of war and of conflict generally, which are significant elements in the cohesion of contemporary societies,¹² are unwarrantably ignored by Durkheim in his endeavor to find in the division of labor the sole source of modern solidarity. The inviolate unity of a group becomes imperative during inter-societal conflicts, and this unity is largely achieved through appeals to common sentiments. Likewise, is the non-juridical notion of honor a powerful, if not

¹⁰ Hume had long since perceived this confusion of mechanistic science. Professor A. N. Whitehead denotes the error by the descriptive phrase, "The Fallacy of Misplaced Concreteness." See his *Science and the Modern World*, pp. 75 ff. New York: Macmillan, 1931. A keen psychological description of the basis of this error is to be found in Richard Avenarius' *Kritik der reinen Erfahrung*, II, 376 ff. Leipzig: Reisland, 1907-8.

¹¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, pp. 55 ff. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926. Contrast Durkheim's statement that "in primitive societies . . . law is wholly penal." *Division . . .*, p. 76.

¹² Cf. Georg Simmel, *Soziologie*, pp. 202, 404 ff. München and Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923.

always effective, regulatory device making for social cohesion. The fact that such forms of mechanical solidarity still subsist suggests additional grounds for rejecting Durkheim's argument of unilinear development.

Durkheim's conception of this unilinear evolution must, moreover, be reconsidered in the light of what has been appropriately termed the "principle of limits" of development.¹³ Development in a given direction may continue until it becomes self-defeating, whereupon reaction occurs in an opposite direction. Were it not that Durkheim attempts to extrapolate beyond the universe of his data, he might have found in the ever more frequently occurring states of *anomie* accompanying the increase of division of labor an index of this reaction. In the economic world, one need but note movements of reconsolidation after optima of differentiation have been passed, to realize that the process is not necessarily unidirectional.

To arrive at his conception of evolution, Durkheim does not, as has been alleged, abandon his sociologicist position. It is true that he finds the "determining cause" of increased division of labor in the growth and heightened density of populations, which is primarily a biological factor, but it is only in so far as this demographic change is associated with increased social interaction and its concomitant, enhanced competition, that the stipulated change will occur. It is thus this social factor—the "dynamic density," as he terms it—which Durkheim finds actually determinant. In a subsequent work he makes this point even more definitely by noting that population density and dynamic density are not always associated—in China, for example—and that in these instances the increase in division of labor is considerably inhibited.¹⁴ Hence the facile formula which

¹³ Cf. A. A. Goldenweiser, "History, Psychology and Culture," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, XV (1918), 593; P. A. Sorokin, "The Principle of Limits," *Publications, American Sociological Society* (1932), pp. 19-28.

¹⁴ *Règles . . .*, p. 140. "Nous avons eu le tort, dans notre *Division du travail*, de trop présenter la densité matérielle comme l'expression exacte de la densité dynamique." Paul Barth manifestly errs in ascribing to Durkheim an unmodified materialistic interpretation of history. Durkheim's shift to idealism becomes marked in his work on religion. Cf. Barth's *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie*, pp. 628-42. Leipzig: Reisland, 1922.

attributes an increased differentiation of function solely to demographic changes must be revamped. To the extent that this differentiation is generalizable as a social process it may be said to be associated with competition between individuals and between groups, whatever the factors leading to such competition.

If we abandon Durkheim's unilinear theory we are left with an acute characterization of the two societies, mechanical and organic, taken as ideal-types, or as heuristic fictions. These may then be considered as limiting cases, never obtaining in empirical reality, which may be fruitfully employed as poles of reference toward which empirical data are theoretically oriented. Durkheim's work thus provides a conceptual scheme which may be used to advantage in the interpretation of processes of differentiation, integration, competition, and the like.

Another aspect of Durkheim's methodology, which characterizes not only the *Division*, but also his later works, is his use of "indices" which he considers the "external," measurable translation of the "internal," not directly observable social facts. Just as the physicist measures heat and electricity through certain objectively observable and easily measurable phenomena, such as the rise and fall of mercury in a glass tube and the oscillation of the needle of a galvanometer, so Durkheim hopes to use repressive and restitutive law as indexes of mechanical and organic solidarity, respectively.¹⁵

At this point, a fundamental difficulty arises. If the observed facts (L) are to be significant and relatively accurate indexes of the types of solidarity (S), the following relationships must hold true. Let $L(x, y \dots)$ be written for a function of measurable quantities ($x, y \dots$) (statistics of penal or restitutive law) and let it be so related to $S(x', y' \dots)$ (the social fact—social cohesion) that these postulates are satisfied. When L varies in a determinate fashion, S varies correspondingly. When there are successive increases in L , the first changing L from L_1 to L_2 and the second from L_2 to L_3 , so that the first increase is greater than the second, then the first increase in S (solidarity) is greater than the second. This postulate

¹⁵ *Division* . . . , p. 66.

must still obtain when less is written for greater.¹⁶ This affords a concomitant variation between the social facts and their indexes, the variations of the former being directly unmeasurable and relative to the directly measurable variation of the latter.

It is precisely this sort of relationship which Durkheim fails to demonstrate. He does not establish with any precision the perfect associations which he assumes obtain between his types of solidarity and of law. For example, organic solidarity may be regulated by customary usages and mores without ever becoming definitely translated into civil law. This was notably the case during a great part of the Middle Ages.¹⁷ Furthermore, as has been suggested, much of mechanical solidarity in contemporary society—that evidenced by "honor," for example—finds no expression in repressive law. These necessarily brief indications must suffice to signify the debatable premises on which Durkheim bases his system of indexes.¹⁸

In his generally brilliant chapter on the division of labor and happiness, Durkheim evidences another fundamental weakness of his method. He eliminates certain possible explanations of a particular set of social phenomena by demonstrating that the logical consequences of the rejected theories are not in accord with observed facts. He assumes that the possible number of explicative theories is determinable, x , and that having eliminated $x-1$ explanations he is left with the necessarily valid solution. Thus, he holds that "the desire to become happier is the only individual source which can take account of [the] progress [of the division of labor]. If that is set aside, no other remains."¹⁹ This method of projected experiment was brought into prominence by Descartes, to whom Durkheim was avowedly indebted, who maintained that in ap-

¹⁶ Compare A. L. Bowley, *The Mathematical Groundwork of Economics*, pp. 1 ff. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

¹⁷ Cf. Paul Vinogradoff, "Customary Law," in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, G. C. Crump and E. F. Jacob (ed.), pp. 287-319. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

¹⁸ The same sort of criticism may be leveled against the indexes of group cohesion and disintegration employed by Durkheim in *Le Suicide*.

¹⁹ *Division . . .*, p. 251. That this is an extreme statement is clear, for Duguit, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff., suggests an individualistic, and non-eudemonic, explanation.

proaching reality one will find that many consequences result from initially adopted principles and that rational consideration will decide which of these consequences is realized.²⁰ But the fallacy of this method lies in the initial assumption that one has exhausted the totality of possible explanations. The elimination of alternative theories in no wise increases the probabilities of the other alternatives.

Of Durkheim's *Division*, one may say in general that it presents an incisive and suggestive analysis of a determinate social process and its structural correlates. If its conclusions are too sweeping, if its method is at times faulty, one may yet acknowledge from the vantage point afforded by four decades of subsequent research that it remains one of the peak contributions of modern sociology.

²⁰ René Descartes, "Discours de la méthode," *Oeuvres*, VI, 64 ff. Paris, 1902.

SOME FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

The assimilation of Negroes into the white culture is attributable largely to the conditions of the first hundred years of slavery in the Upper South. White institutional complexes have tended to be adopted entire from the formal social institutions to the minor modes of everyday behavior. The lag which exists between Negro and white institutions in any given area is due to the fact that acculturation was incomplete at the time of emancipation, that there has since been increasing separation of the races, and especially that economic drag has re-enforced cultural isolation and retarded the rate of cultural change among the Negro population. Cultural isolation, race prejudice, and economic drag have caused the intensification of those Negro institutions which offer opportunities for leadership and self-expression within the Negro group, particularly the church and the lodge. Race consciousness since emancipation has given rise to various agencies for racial solidarity, the Negro press being the most important. In view of the ever increasing likeness of white and Negro culture there can be no possibility of Negroes creating a unique type of culture in the United States.

No sociologist maintains that the Negro in this country retains any African social institutions of significance. There are, of course, Africanisms in the New World, but they are more rare in the United States than anywhere else. Outside of a dozen African words, a few modifications of English dialect, the custom known as "shouting" in the sea-islands region, some survivals of African rhythms in Negro music, an occasional "voodoo" remnant, and a sizable body of folk lore, there is little left to show the cultural connection of our Negroes with Africa.

This fact of the replacement of African heritages by white culture may seem elementary, but it is well to dwell for a moment on the factors which made possible such a cultural transformation of a people. A fortunate combination of circumstances contributed to this process, and the course of American Negro culture might easily have run differently had any one of these factors been absent or of a different nature.

It seems likely that the course of Negro cultural development in America was pretty well determined before the end of the seven-

teenth century. Let us therefore review for a moment some of the circumstances in the early history of white and Negro contacts in this country.

First, we may refer without comment to the well-known fact of diverse tribal stocks among the slave population. Another factor of importance was the spatial isolation of the Africans from their native land. Culture has a spatial or territorial existence, and it cannot be uprooted and forcibly transplanted to an alien territory without disintegrating more or less. For the Negro, slavery was a one-way road.

The most important factors, however, are to be found in the nature of the relations of whites and Negroes during the first hundred years of slavery. The first Negroes, twenty in number, were brought to Jamestown in 1619, only twelve years after Jamestown was settled and before the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth Rock. In 1620 there were no new importations, and in the next three years only one Negro a year was brought in.¹ In 1625 the population in Virginia was twenty-three Negroes and about twenty-five hundred whites. Even after thirty years, there were only three hundred Negroes in Virginia, and some of these must be attributed to natural increase. Importation was of an occasional nature for forty years or more, for slavery in the strict sense had not yet come into existence.

The very fact of these small numbers meant that acculturation could begin under the most favorable conditions. Furthermore, we know that the Negroes were parceled out in small groups. A census taken in Virginia in 1623 showed that the twenty-three Negroes then in the colony were scattered among seven distinct settlements, of which only one had more than four Negroes. The Providence Island settlement recommended in 1633 that twenty or thirty Negroes be imported and that they be placed under the care of several families in order to guard against plots.² This policy was apparently deliberate, and under the circumstances was easily carried out.

Slavery as a social and legal institution was a gradual develop-

¹ J. C. Ballagh, *A History of Slavery in Virginia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1902. Pp. 9 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

ment. Not until 1670 was it legally defined in Virginia. Prior to this Negroes were on much the same basis as white indentured servants. It is fairly certain that some of the original twenty became free men and property-holders in their own right before they died.³ For fifty years, then, Negroes in Virginia had a status intermediate between slavery and servitude, with the possibility of freedom always present as an incentive to learning the ways of the white man. All in all, it is difficult to imagine a more favorable situation for the initiation of the black people into white civilization. As Phillips has said:

Thus for two generations the Negroes were few, they were employed alongside the white servants, and in many cases were members of their masters' households. They had by far the best opportunity which any of their race had been given in America to learn the white men's ways and to adjust the lines of their bondage into as pleasant places as might be.⁴

Before some of the later colonies were established and long before slavery entered its exploitative stage, Virginia had made a good start on the process of assimilating the Negro. The other colonies in the Upper South followed the same line of development. Slavery became economically advantageous and entered a period of rapid growth toward the end of the eighteenth century, but it always retained in the Upper South the qualities of an intimate, easy-going, patriarchal relationship between master and slave. The Upper South thus became an area of training in the elements of white civilization, a center of diffusion from which went out slaves and free Negroes who had "learned the ropes."

Considering the exploitative nature of the system in the Lower South after cotton became king and the preponderance of Negroes over whites in many sections, it is safe to say that the assimilation process would have been retarded by two or three generations had it not been for the civilizing influence of the seasoned slaves from the Upper South.

The slave trade became illegal in 1808, and, while importations continued on up to the Civil War, their total was insignificant in

³ John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1913. P. 24.

⁴ U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*. New York: D. Appleton, 1918. P. 75.

comparison to the numbers imported prior to 1808.⁵ The domestic trade assumed importance as the Lower South drained off the surplus slaves from the Upper South. For more than fifty years before emancipation, then, the overwhelming majority of Negroes in the United States were Negroes who had been born and reared on American soil.

We may conclude, then, that the future course of Negro culture in the United States was determined long before the Civil War by the nature of the circumstances prevailing in the Upper South during the first hundred years of slavery.

In treating this broad subject in a brief paper of this kind, it is impossible to say much about any particular institution. Let us, therefore, attempt to state a few generalizations, introducing such illustrative material as time and space will permit.

In the first place, it appears that in the process of acculturation the Negro has tended to adopt the various white institutional complexes *in toto*. Take religious institutions, for example. The white colonists made efforts to convert Negroes to Christianity, but their efforts were not forceful, and presumably the Negroes might have exercised some freedom of choice. Yet the parallel between Negro and white religious institutions is almost perfect. Almost every denomination known to white people is also found among Negroes, and, with insignificant exceptions, the Negro creeds, rituals, ceremonies, church architecture, etc., are patterned after the white.

The thoroughness of the cultural transfer of religious institutions from the white people to the Negroes has only lately been realized. It is now known that the emotional extravagances of the Negro revival meetings are the same as those which accompanied the Great Revival among the white people in the early nineteenth century. Even the Negro spirituals, long thought to be a distinctive product of slavery, turn out to be patterned on the words and melodies of the white spirituals of the revival and camp-meeting period.⁶

⁵ W. H. Collins, in *The Domestic Slave Trade* (New York, 1904), estimates the importations from 1808 to 1860 at about 220,000.

⁶ See N. I. White, *American Negro Folk Songs* (Harvard University Press, 1928); Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (University of North Carolina Press, 1930); George P. Jackson, *White Spirituals From the Southern Uplands* (University of North Carolina Press, 1934).

The Negroes introduced some modifications, especially in rhythm, but the structure, ideology, and melodic traits of the songs were just as much borrowed as were the church creeds and rituals.

It is easy to suppose that Negroes would have produced a highly emotional type of religious behavior even if the white revival movement had not touched them. It is very doubtful if such would have been the case, however, for in those localities along the seaboard where the Episcopal and other "high-church" influences weakened the revival, the prevailing Negro religious behavior is temperate. It is true that in certain isolated sections, like the sea islands of South Carolina, there are probable African elements in the institution known as the "shout," but it is interesting to note that the "shout" is usually segregated from the church service proper. It is doomed to extinction, for it is frowned upon by most of the leaders for whom church progress is synonymous with more dignity and less noise. As far as the pattern of the church service proper in these isolated areas is concerned, it resembles the white service of a century ago more than it does the present-day Negro service in the urban centers of the South.

The tendency to adopt white institutions *in toto* seems to hold good all along the line, from the major or formal social institutions on down to the minor customary modes of everyday behavior. Furthermore, it appears to make little difference whether the borrowing was done entirely spontaneously or under varying degrees of pressure. In the case of religious institutions, there was, of course, some degree of pressure from the white man in so far as a deliberate effort was made to convert the slaves. But in the case of secret fraternal organizations there was no pressure. There were, in fact, obstacles to wholesale voluntary borrowing. Yet the whole complex of white fraternal and benevolent orders has been adopted by the Negroes—from the old-line orders, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias, down to the more recent orders of Elks and Moose. The Negro Masons, for example, were chartered from England in 1784, and they have duplicated every feature of white masonry, including the order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. So well have the Negro orders imitated the white that they have been called upon several times to defend in court their use of the same

names, constitutions, emblems, titles, regalia, etc., as the white orders.⁷

A further generalization may be stated: There is a lag between Negro and white institutions in any given area. Various writers have pointed out the fact that Negro superstitions and folk songs are frequently the white man's forgotten relics. The same holds true for Negro culture in general. Whether it be dialect, manners, religious practices, or family mores, this lag is always apparent. Where does one find the largest number of archaic English words and idioms in the United States? Among the whites of the Southern Appalachians and Ozarks, the whites of the North Carolina banks, and the Negroes of the sea islands. Where does one find the old-time Southern oratory at its best? Among the Negro religious and educational leaders in the South. Where does one find the old-style manners of the Southern gentleman best exemplified today? Among the Negro aristocracy of the South. And so it goes for practically every culture trait that one might mention.

This lag is due to several conditions. In the first place, acculturation was incomplete at the time of emancipation. Then, too, there has been an increasing separation of the races ever since emancipation. In other words, intimate contacts which make for easy cultural transfer have actually been fewer since emancipation than at any time previous thereto. Thus the Negro side of the biracial social order which has grown so tremendously since 1865 has advanced more slowly than the white.

But even more important than these factors is the economic drag which has reinforced cultural isolation and has retarded the rate of cultural change among our Negro population. Life rests upon an economic base, and there are many culture patterns which are inaccessible to those who live on the margin of economic security. Our social institutions are inseparably tied up with automobiles, telephones, radios, airplanes, bathtubs, twin beds, and kindergartens; and the bulk of the Negroes still follow behavior patterns in which these things have little or no place.

Negro family life affords some excellent illustrations of the eco-

⁷ See *Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama), 1925-26, pp. 92-93; 1931-32, pp. 41-43.

nomic drag on institutional development. At the top of the scale are Negro families of strong traditions and high cultural attainments. They are apt to be, as E. Franklin Frazier has ably shown in his book, *The Free Negro Family*, those families which got a start before emancipation. Some of them trace their free ancestry back almost to the beginnings of our nation, and many of them were economically competent long before the Civil War. Below these are families of varying degrees of cultural development, on down to those thousands who have not the means to command the barest essentials of decent and comfortable home life.

These lower-class Negro families are but little removed from the patterns which prevailed during slavery. Sex inhibitions are not strong, legal processes in marriage and divorce are disregarded, and illegitimacy is a normal pattern in the sense that it occurs very frequently and without a great deal of personal disorganization. Here, as in slavery, the woman is frequently the head of the household. She is the stabilizing influence. The man is less disciplined in the ways of family responsibility. The jokes about the Negro man whose hardest task was to find work for his wife are not entirely without foundation. These patterns continue, partly because of isolation and the indifference of the dominant group, but chiefly for the reason that on the lower levels of Negro life economic conditions closely resembling slavery have caused acculturation to proceed slowly.⁸

Every Negro institution makes appropriate adjustment to the basic economic factors. In certain respects, low economic status has reacted to the advantage of the race. It is no accident, for example, that the largest and most successful Negro business enterprises are in the insurance field, for the attitude of the large white companies toward Negro risks has made it possible for the local and regional Negro companies to develop the field for themselves.⁹

Generalizing once more, we may say that cultural isolation, race

⁸ For a discussion of this and related points, see Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932), chap. x, particularly pp. 378-88.

⁹ For a good survey of this subject, see W. J. Trent, Jr., *Development of Negro Life Insurance Enterprises*. Privately published, Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina.

prejudice, and economic drag have caused the intensification of those Negro institutions which offer opportunities for leadership and self-expression within the Negro group, particularly the church and the lodge. In other words, the Negro has compensated for his restricted range of social participation by multiplying his religious and fraternal organizations to the point of saturation. There is scarcely a Negro community in the South that does not offer Negroes two or more kinds of church affiliation and from two to twenty brands of secret fraternal affiliation.

In some black-belt communities these institutions have even assumed certain political functions. On St. Helena Island, for example, a man rarely goes to court before first laying the case before his local lodge, "praise house," or church. Few cases ever reach the courts, for most of them are settled satisfactorily by these lodge and church "courts," including some rather serious offenses, such as theft and assault.¹⁰

The functions of the lodge and church in the Negro community are so well known that there is no need to dwell upon them here. Odum's descriptions published twenty-three years ago in his *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*¹¹ still hold good for many parts of the South, but on the whole there is a noticeable decline in the strength of these institutions. As the school and other agencies enlarge their sphere of activity, the church and lodge decline in importance.

Perhaps the most significant development in Negro life since emancipation has been the rise of race consciousness, with its protests against racial discrimination and its demands for racial equality. This "racial psychosis," as Reuter terms it, has given rise to various agencies for racial solidarity. Of all these agencies the Negro press is by far the most important. Its expansion during the last twenty years has been tremendous. It is the one institution through which the Negro expresses himself frankly and freely. It is almost as if all the rancor, all the resentment and brooding, all the inhibited impulses to retaliate for discrimination and injustice, were brought together and let loose every week in the two hundred or more Negro newspapers. Like the press of other minority groups seeking recogni-

¹⁰ See T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), chap. xii.

¹¹ Chaps. ii and iii. New York: Columbia University, 1910.

tion and status, the Negro press is not a *news* agency in the strict sense of the word, but rather a safety-valve institution, in which certain stereotyped modes of compensatory behavior are regularly exhibited.¹² It thrives on a racial interpretation of human events. It criticizes, ridicules, blames, and damns the white man, while it exonerates, vindicates, and idealizes the Negro. Ironically enough, this safety-valve institution, this champion of the race in its struggle for status, is, except for its purely racial function, patterned after the white press in the United States.

Much has been said lately by Negroes about the possibility of their creating a unique type of culture in the United States. Some would base this culture on the peculiar experience of the Negro in America. In view of the ever increasing likeness of white and Negro culture, this goal must remain a mere fanciful dream. If Negroes were separated territorially from white people, they might, after several hundred years, produce some unique cultural elements. Other advocates of the new culture would have the Negro reidentify himself with his African heritages and forsake the ways of the white man. Paul Robeson declared last summer:

I believe where the Afro-American made his mistake was when he began trying to mimic the West instead of developing the really great tendencies he inherited from the East. I believe the Negro can achieve his former greatness only if he learns to follow his natural tendencies, and ceases trying to master the greatness of the West. My own instincts are Asiatic.¹³

It is all very easy for a few discontented souls to seek spiritual and intellectual peace in the culture of their forefathers, but to advocate a back-to-African-culture movement for the Afro-American is the sheerest nonsense. It would be about as successful as an attempt to get the poor whites of the South to identify themselves henceforth with the social institutions of Samoa.

¹² For an analysis of this aspect of the Negro press, see an unpublished master's thesis by John M. MacLachlan, "Compensatory Characteristics of the Negro Press," University of North Carolina, 1932.

¹³ *Time*, Vol. XXII, No. 32, August 28, 1933.

THE JAPANESE IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUGET SOUND REGION

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ABSTRACT

Cultural differences have tended to isolate the Japanese and make of them a discrete unit in the social organization of the Puget Sound Region. A complementary economic organization has developed, and with increasing satisfaction in economic co-operation advantages in other types of relation between Japanese and whites are gradually being realized. Public education has been of special influence in reducing cultural differences. No evidence can be found that racial characteristics in themselves are responsible for prejudicial attitudes.

The Japanese residents are an integral part of the economic organization of the Puget Sound Region, although they comprise less than 2 per cent of the total population. In practically all other aspects of social organization in the region, with the exception of public-school education, the Japanese population forms a discrete element. It is a unit well integrated internally, but existing mostly as a separate system unincorporated in the organization of the dominant white population for political, religious, recreative, kinship, and fraternal functions. How has this come about?

At first the Japanese tried many occupations, but soon specialized in a few wherein they felt the pressure of competition least, either because of their special ability and industry or because not enough whites were willing to do those kinds of work. With changes in the economic organization of the region these specializations have also changed, sometimes as causes, sometimes as results of the former changes. Cultural factors have been very influential in determining these specializations. Language differences have been great, and have tended to bar Japanese immigrants of the first generation from occupations wherein detailed supervision and instruction to individual workers is required. The gang with foreman-interpreter system of rough labor developed in railroad construction, sawmill operation, and land-clearing, thus eliminating the language handicap in those occupations. Moreover, this system was economically

advantageous to the employers, and gave the Japanese preference and opportunity for a livelihood in that work. In farm labor not much detailed instruction is necessary, and many of the Japanese immigrants were already well versed in agricultural techniques, so there, too, they found a welcome and an opportunity. The welcome has been particularly warm because the pioneer landholders are becoming too old to work their farms, and their sons and daughters in many cases have moved to the cities to mechanical and commercial occupations. This occupational shift of the white population, with concomitant decreases in the economic return and prestige of farmers, has fitted in well with two other variations.

First, the Japanese culture has provided Japanese residents with a number of very advantageous methods which have given them a far larger return per capita from certain types of farming than white residents have been securing. These methods concern intensive cultivation, and include suiting soils and methods of treating them to various crops, fertilizing practices, drainage and irrigation methods, and willingness to do the requisite amount of hard physical labor involved with the care and regularity necessary for success. Second, the gradual opening of an economic outlet for products of intensive agriculture with the development of refrigerated railway transportation to extra-regional markets, brought about under the leadership of the Japanese, has made possible almost unlimited expansion of Japanese agriculture in the region. The combination of the occupational shift mentioned above with these two factors has resulted in strict specialization of Japanese rural activity in intensive agriculture. The total percentage of Japanese in the region engaged in agriculture of all kinds has always been, until after 1925, less than the percentage of the white population so engaged, but the Japanese have gone into three specific lines of agriculture, namely, the growing of vegetables, small fruits, and greenhouse products, with a little dairying left as a survival of the earlier years. For example, Table I shows the crop specialization of a typical Japanese farming community in the region for 1930 and 1920. During these ten years both the number of farms and acreage devoted to the production of vegetables increased by more than 800 per cent, and slight increases in berry culture took place, while dairying

decreased by more than 70 per cent, and poultry farming ceased altogether.

Comparative ability under economic competition, determined by cultural and personal differences, largely directed this specialization. The Japanese were unable to compete successfully in poultry-farming, growing of tree fruit, cereal, grain, and hay production, dairy-ing, and production of live stock. These are the agricultural special-

TABLE I
HOLDINGS BY TYPE OF CROP IN A TYPICAL JAPANESE FARMING COMMUNITY
IN THE PUGET SOUND REGION, 1930 AND 1920

CROP	1930*		1920†	
	Farms Report-ing Any‡	Acres Harvested§	Farms Report-ing Any‡	Acres Harvested§
Vegetables.....	18‡	940.0	6	109.25
Dairy.....	1	349.0	20	1122.3||
Berries.....	3‡	185.0	27	170.25
Poultry.....	9	0.0	1	(?)
Greenhouses.....	1	(?)	1	(?)
Total.....	23	1474.0	55	1401.80

* From the records of the secretary of the local Japanese Association.

† From the records of the Northwest American Japanese Association.

‡ Many farms produced several different types of crop, so that the totals do not represent the actual number of farms.

§ Acres harvested only. Does not include uncleared and uncultivated lands. Double cropped land reported twice.

|| Including estimates for incomplete returns.

ties of the whites. Thus, cultural differences have tended to create a complementary division of labor characterized by good-will and understanding and integrating Japanese and whites in a single, well-articulated economic organization.

The extraordinarily great difference between the languages of the Japanese and of the white population, the distinguishing racial characteristics, the divergences between the ceremonial customs and etiquette of the two peoples, the diversity in family relationships, especially in regard to the number of relatives included within the intimate group and the division of labor within the family, contrasts in food habits, and differences in culture-values, have all contributed

to the crystallization of a feeling of difference which both peoples have felt toward each other. The fact that a considerable amount of competition existed for a time between Japanese laborers and whites, and at first between Japanese farmers and white farmers, made distinguishing characteristics useful to both groups in identifying competitors. The feeling of competitive threat to economic status on the part of the whites was enhanced by their earlier experiences with the Chinese during work-shortage crises. The net

TABLE II
NUMBER OF FARM OPERATORS AND ACREAGE OF FARM LAND HELD
BY JAPANESE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, 1900-1930*

YEAR	JAPANESE HOLDINGS		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IN STATE	
	Number of Farm Operators	Acreage in Farm Land	Number of Farm Operators	Acreage in Farm Land
1930.....	523	12,636	0.74	0.09
1925.....	246	7,930	0.44	0.06
1920.....	699	25,340	1.39	0.19
1910.....	316	11,439†	0.69	0.10
1900.....	6‡	(?)	§	§

* Compiled from reports of the Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census: General Report on Agriculture*, Vol. IV, chap. iv, p. 10, and similar reports.

† Compiled from the records of the Northwest American Japanese Association by John I. Nishinoiri. The thirteenth census enumerated 9,412 (*Census Bull.* 127, p. 44).

‡ Estimated. The twelfth census reported none.

§ Estimated at less than one-hundredth of 1 per cent. The twelfth census reported none.

result has been a turning-in upon itself of the Japanese group, and the erection of a barrier by the white population against the threats, imagined and real, of the Japanese against white economic and social status. This barrier has been of various sorts, ranging from individual dislike to formal legal action designed to curtail the success of the Japanese economically by preventing them from leasing land for agricultural purposes. Those interested in erecting and maintaining this barrier were chiefly those groups in the white population who have felt they would benefit by opposition to the Japanese, and through their efforts its ramifications have extended into every walk of life. The success of these efforts to handicap the Japanese is exemplified in Table II, which shows that the Land

Acts of 1921 and 1923 reduced Japanese farms and acreage considerably, both in number and in proportion.

Since 1924 the barrier which has separated these two races into conflicting groups has been reduced tacitly and gradually. However, the habits and institutions developed during the period of isolation tend to persist. The Japanese Presbyterian church, the Japanese Baptist church, and the Japanese Methodist church remain separate units in the religious organization. Japanese are not often freely invited to festivities sponsored by the whites, and the Japanese are quite as backward about inviting whites to their own celebrations. Outside of economic organization, where little if any discrimination is made by either party, the Japanese have their own affairs and the whites have theirs, and few attempts are made to mix with each other. Two exceptions are to be noted—exceptions which are growing stronger every year. The first is that since Japanese and white men have found profit and pleasure in co-operating in economic enterprises, so too are they gradually finding advantage in other types of co-operation, especially in rural districts where economic relations have been well developed under the influence of capable Japanese leaders. Such Japanese serve on chambers of commerce committees, even as officers, take creditable parts in civic improvement campaigns, especially community-fund movements, and even serve on important reception committees at town celebrations.

Of late, this accommodation between the Japanese and the whites is being rapidly accelerated by the growing-up of the second generation. In the United States as a whole, more than 50 per cent of the Japanese population are native born, and this proportion holds true for the Puget Sound Region. The youngsters, both white and Japanese, who have grown up together through eight years of grammar school and four years of high school, know each other too well to believe concerning each other the false statements which their parents often accepted without serious question. More and more frequently they invite each other to their parties, games, and homes, gaining courage with each successful experience. Language barriers are down—many second-generation Japanese know little more Japanese language than do their white schoolmates. The

Japanese youngsters are very much like their white school-fellows in beliefs and habits. Despite the influence of the parents' prejudices and beliefs, social relationships between these young persons continue to increase in number and intensity.

In short, cultural differences have tended to isolate the Japanese and make of them a discrete unit in the region's social organization. In some cases, however, these very differences have resulted in the development of a complementary economic organization which has in turn brought into existence the beginnings of social acceptance of each other on the part of both Japanese and whites. The influence of public education of Japanese and whites in the same schools under conditions of practical equality has been to reduce cultural differences and to induce the development of understanding, respect, and acceptance of school-fellows on the basis of individual traits rather than racial characteristics. Despite the most careful search, no evidence can be found that racial characteristics in themselves are responsible for prejudicial attitudes. When these racial characteristics occur in combination with other factors, such as economic and social competition, they serve as distinguishing marks which identify Japanese and whites and permit each to develop distinctive responses to the other.

ON THE CRITERION OF OPTIMUM POPULATION

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ABSTRACT

Wolfe's economic criterion of optimum population disregards many aspects of social conditions essential in a criterion of welfare. The correlation between per capita income and elements and evidence of average wealth and welfare does not hold good. The highest possible longevity rather than the highest possible income is the criterion of optimal population. Optimum density can be maintained only with a high average length of life and a moderate reproduction. Longevity is an indication of economic prosperity and also of wise distribution of wealth, sane expenditure, rational use of leisure, "good morals, enlightenment and social peace." The highest duration of life is a simple quantitative measure, of conceptual and practical value.

Many writers are now dissatisfied with an economic optimum of population. Professor Wolfe, who contributes an able article on the subject in a recent issue,² instead of examining their arguments chooses the method of finding fault with the population policies their several countries represent. Yet the present widespread lack of interest in the notion of an economic optimum is chiefly due neither to a resurgent economic nationalism which identifies the power of the state with the number of soldiers a country can put into the field, nor to the shrinking acceptance of the exploitation of the masses of workers by the directive classes in an industrial civilization, but to the inadequacy of economics for furnishing the right criterion of the optimum.

Not to accept an economic optimum does not imply, though Professor Wolfe argues in this manner, that a quantitative standard is given up for the definition of the optimum,

On the other hand, the criterion of the optimum population in order that it may be an implement of advance in population theory must be objective, while at the same time it will not disregard the essential conditions of optimum or best living of a community that society identifies with progress.

There is no point in dilating on the difference in approach and attitude between price economics and welfare economics which chiefly accounts for the controversies that have raged so far regard-

²American Journal of Sociology, XXXIX, 585.

ing the optimum or goal of population. In spite of the emphasis of self-interest, rational behavior and purely pecuniary motives in classical economics, the conception that economics seeks some larger or broader ends than mere labor-saving and multiplication of consumers' goods is accepted even by the orthodox school. How else could we account for the increasing importance attached to the problems of distribution of wealth and its effects upon individual and public expenditure in all schools of economic thought? The recent doctrines of social utility and maximum net satisfaction are equally significant as well as the implications of these on national finance and welfare, and these have loomed large in the writings of economists who cannot be labeled as welfare economists and sociologists.

Given then that some social end or "good" must be envisaged when we have to define the optimum size of population, we cannot accept the criterion of the standard of living and comfort as the "good," since the criterion is subjective, group-determined, and indeterminate, and has to be analyzed into fresh objective ingredients which can be measured.

If the texture of economic life be observed in static cross-sections, there will be seen almost infinitely differentiated standards of living and social distances. Wicksell and Dalton envisage one composite index of economic welfare among the community which shows not one but a graded series of economic relationships and living standards that may be regarded as specific social distances, sometimes spatially evident. Even if it were theoretically possible to work this out through a series of graded preliminary indices, this will involve in many cases an ethical judgment (e.g., as regards the per capita production and consumption of certain commodities like medicine and beverage) by the economists with whom all ethics is quicksand. Professor Wolfe's criterion maximum per capita consumers' income is simpler. But such a criterion is also inadequate since the methods of industrial production and distribution of income determine in large measure favorable or unfavorable conditions of living of a community. Even a regimented industrial community cannot neglect the effects of work and consumption on health, leisure, and generally on the constructive impulses of the worker.

An industrial civilization, with the largest per capita production and consumption of economic goods, may yet stand for great disparity of wealth and opportunity, low vitality, bad morals, absence or misuse of leisure, and social unrest. Even from the purely economic viewpoint such a civilization may persist in a great waste of man power and natural resources which could have been avoided by technological changes, co-operation between classes and nations, and a re-education in individual motives and social aims of work and expenditure. Mere scientific expediency or common sense thus dictates the rejection of a purely economic definition of the optimum. A rational theory and a rational social policy with regard to population must rest themselves on a wider conception of the optimum than what price economics envisages. Professor Wolfe gives away his case for an economic optimum altogether when he admits that the use of material income and opportunity by individuals must enter into the social picture. No doubt with extremes of wealth and poverty, such as have been the outcome of modern standardized production whether in the West or in the East, the correlation between per capita income and elements and evidences of average wealth and welfare does not hold good.

A more direct reason, however, exists for choosing the highest possible average longevity rather than the highest possible "income" as criterion of the best size of population. The social sciences derive the concept of the optimum from biology, and the study of insect and animal numbers, which forms a branch of ecology, clearly indicates that both human and animal communities are subject to similar mechanisms of control of growth. In insect communities, the investigations of Pearl, Oscar Bain, and others show that there is a certain optimum density which does not depend upon the food or "income" factor and which, when overstepped, leads to a decrease of the span of life. Professor Wolfe quotes also my remark that among various animals there is a certain suitable optimum density which is determined mainly by their size, food habits and other characteristics, and the presence of their usual enemies. In an animal community the distinction between an equilibrium density and optimum density is important as I pointed out (in "The Criterion of Optimum Population," this *Journal*, XXXVIII, 689) many animals

approaching a stable density which is much greater than the optimum density. Professor Wolfe objects that to call a precarious balance an optimum is to rob the term of any economic significance. This is just what I have not done. On the contrary I have fully indicated that in the case of both animals and humans, "not every maximum is an optimum" but that the relationship between living communities and the food supply in the ecological territory is the result of a delicately adjusted balance created and maintained by a series of adaptations, which vary from time to time and from place to place and which extend beyond the lives of each species and touch the lives of others.

Professor Wolfe shows an unhappy ignorance of ecology when he speaks of a personified Nature traditionally always bent on placing as much life on a given area as possible. In a given ecological territory there is a rhythm and balance of growth of diverse inhabitants, each species of animals maintaining its numbers at a certain desirable density and establishing a numerical balance. That density has an obvious reference to the tenure of the animal's life. This last observation was mine though Professor Wolfe attacks me in not finding it either in Carr-Saunders, who has not utilized data of animal ecology, or in Pearl, who restricts his important studies to insect growths. Not merely in the case of many gregarious mammals in the forests but also in the case of close-packed human communities, a relation subsists, in spite of what Professor Wolfe says to the contrary, between the maximum density attainable by a population and average duration of life. The epidemic outbursts which decimate lemming, deer, rabbit, and other animal populations when they proliferate too much contribute toward securing a relatively high resistance power and longevity as these re-establish a suitable density. Figures of birth- and death-rates studied for over six decades in their relation to the density of population in some districts of Northern India, which represent some of the world's highest records of rural density, show that human communities, as they outstrip an equilibrium density, show a greater death-rate, lower vitality (and hence a lower average expectation of life), and lower birth-rate. The evidence has been marshaled by me in the *Indian Journal of Economics* (1931, 1932) as well as in a paper on "Popula-

tion Balance and Optimum" published in the *Proceedings of the International Congress on Population*, Rome, 1933. As populations, whether animal or human, overstep a suitable density, the average duration of life decreases, and sometimes the birth-rate falls. Optimum density can be maintained only with a high average length of life and a moderate reproduction.

Thus both ecological theory as well as demography indicate the highest average longevity of a living community as the suitable criterion of welfare. It includes the economic criteria of highest average productivity or income of consumers' goods, for high average length of life is an indication of economic prosperity, but it is an indication of something more—wise distribution of wealth, sane expenditure, rational use of leisure, "good morals, enlightenment and social peace."

A high average length of life can only be secured by combating both child mortality and premature senility. In the West the recent rise in the expectancy of life is due mostly to child-saving. Large mortality in early life and short span of vigorous middle age are equally detrimental to the race. As civilization fights against premature senility and seeks to extend as far as possible the active middle age, many "higher spiritual and cultural elements of welfare," which cannot be independently considered as too subjective valuations, will be found assimilated to the criterion of highest average expectancy of life. Economists since Malthus' day have done more harm than good to the subject of human numbers, and it is necessary for the sake of a fresh advance that their narrow and partial notions must not deflect a wise judgment of the standard of social welfare in defining the notion of optimum population, which has now become the pivot in modern theories of population. The highest duration of life is a simple quantitative measure, which may be accepted not merely as a purely conceptual ideal but also as a basis for a practical population policy as giving the greatest common measure of the ingredients of social well-being. For obviously, to accept a standard as a criterion of the optimum and give it up as a basis for practical population adjustment, as Paul Mombert has done, is to accept bankruptcy of thinking.

INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE AND GROUP MORALE

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ABSTRACT

Studies in the nature of fatigue led to similar inquiry in regard to monotony and to the question of morale, more specifically industrial morale. What is needed to sustain morale is a body of industrial folkways. The modern factory is not a society. Industrial fatigue and lack of morale are due to some interference or failure to preserve the organic and social balance. What is true with regard to industry applies also to industrial civilization generally. Increasing mobility and industrial expansion have broken up the traditional order and have not permitted the establishing of a new one. The ills of modern industrial civilization are cultural, not political, and are incident to the existing industrial régime.

Whatever its title—*The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*—may suggest to the sophisticated reader, the volume¹ of which this article is a review is not a contribution to contemporary social philosophy. On the contrary, it is a particularly lucid and illuminating account of a series of experiments into the nature of fatigue, and more particularly industrial fatigue, begun in the Fatigue Laboratory at Harvard University and continued in the shops of the General Electric Company at Cicero, Illinois.

The author, Elton Mayo, is Professor of Industrial Research, of the Graduate School of Business Research, Harvard University.

The problem of industrial fatigue, as here defined, had its origin in the emergency created by the World War and was first made the subject of systematic investigation in England. As originally conceived, it seemed to be a relatively simple affair. Attempts to measure physiological fatigue by laboratory methods had disclosed that it was associated with the production of various chemical products, certain of which were described as "fatigue toxins." This suggested to certain minds the possibility of discovering a specific drug, an antitoxin, in short, which would banish fatigue and, once and for all, solve a troublesome industrial problem.

It was even suggested that acid sodium phosphate might achieve

¹ Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. 194.

the result. But "the single discovery, the simple remedy, the one best way," after twelve years and numerous investigations, did not materialize.

These investigations, though they failed to find a remedy for fatigue, did reach one important conclusion, namely, that fatigue "cannot be defined as a single limited entity." That meant, among other things, that fatigue must be conceived less as a disease than as a symptom, or at any rate as a condition that arises in response to a number of interacting factors which, because of the nature of the living organism, cannot be isolated and dealt with singly.

It is this "organic" relation of the factors involved that complicates social as well as biological experiments. If it is not possible, in biological experiments, "to change a factor *a* while keeping factors *b c d . . . n* constant," the same principle seems to apply in social experiments.

If "living organism responds to changes as a totality," the same is probably true of societies and social groups. In any case, the author's "methodological note" on the difficulties of measuring fatigue reflects an insight and announces a principle of very wide application and one which has served to inform and direct the course of the whole series of investigations of which this volume is a record. It is interesting and significant that these investigations, as they have advanced, have brought new and more complicated problems into view. Thus a more thoroughgoing analysis of industrial fatigue suggested that it was connected with, or due to, monotony. An analysis of monotony, however, indicated that it, also, was a response to a variety of factors—factors, however, that might be described as psychological and social rather than physiological. They were psychological in so far as they were based on individual and temperamental differences, or due to changing moods and attitudes in the same individual. They were social in so far as they were determined by personal relations, i.e., the personnel relations of the employees to one another, and to the persons who directed and supervised their work.

Consciousness introduces, in the case of human creatures, factors which do not complicate the operations of robots. For example, employees in the factory become attached to a certain machine,

and they are annoyed if they are suddenly transferred to another and different one, particularly if the transfer is accompanied with very little explanation or consideration of their personal wishes. Furthermore, there is always in the factory or the shop what is described as morale, and this measurably affects turnover and output.

Thus, as the investigation continued, it encountered new and "untouched human problems at depths far below the superficial levels of current industrial organization." It is interesting, also, that an investigation which was undertaken in the first instance in the service of a purely practical purpose, namely, to increase output, was successively forced to face fundamental problems. Thus the attempt to measure fatigue raised a question as to the nature of the thing to be measured; it led next to a similar inquiry in regard to monotony; and led finally to the further and ultimate question: What is morale? more specifically, what is industrial morale?

In the attempt to answer this latter question, which turned out to be the crux of the problem, the inquiry which previously had been conducted under the experimental conditions of the test room took the form of a series of interviews in which each individual was encouraged to make his or her own comments on personnel and conditions in the industry.

What these interviews revealed was not that "deadening effect of the machine" which literary critics commonly suppose to be the chief problem of a mechanical age. What seemed to be the real source of difficulty was a lack of understanding among the workers in regard to the work itself and the manner of its performance; a lack of understanding which, finally, involved the workers and the management in "a degree of discord which no one could understand or control."

It is "the essential nature of the human," as the author puts it, "that, with all the will to co-operate, he finds it difficult to persist in action for an end he can but dimly see." If people are to work together, there must be some sort of consensus between those who direct operations and those who work under this direction. There must, in short, be some sense of participating in a common undertaking such as Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers sought to describe in the expression "citizens in industry."

Community of interest, in the ordinary sense of that word, is not enough, particularly if it takes the form merely of a participation in the profits of the industry. What is needed to sustain morale in industry is, in the language of this report, "a non-logical social code, which regulates relations between persons and their attitudes to one another," something that developed naturally in primitive societies, but seems to be absent in our more sophisticated modern industrial world, namely, a body of industrial folkways.

The trouble with industry is that, under the conditions imposed by modern industrial civilization, the factory is not a society. It is merely a place where a certain number of persons earn their living.

"Insistence upon a merely economic logic of production—especially if the logic is frequently changed—interferes with the development of such a [non-logical] code and consequently gives rise in the group to a sense of human defeat."

This diagnosis of a kind of trouble that "penetrates the whole fabric of one civilization" does not suggest to the author the necessity for any species of political remedy. On the contrary, in spite of the considerable political changes that have taken place since the end of the World War, "the human problems of industrial organization remain identical for Moscow, London, Rome, Paris, and New York." Here, "as ever in human affairs, we are struggling against our own ignorance and not against the machinations of a political adversary."

What emerges as a result of these investigations of industrial fatigue and industrial morale is the insight that both are due to some interference or failure to preserve the organic and the social balance. There remains, however, the further and more general question, namely, How far do conditions in the factory reflect those in the world at large? In the light of previous investigation it was evident that life in a modern industrial center in some unrealized way predisposed workers to "obsessive response." What is here described as "obsessive response" had been recognized in the course of the previous investigations as a symptom, in the individual, of disequilibrium in the group.

In searching for light upon the larger and more general question,

the author and his associates were impressed by Clifford Shaw's studies of *Delinquency Areas* in Chicago, and by Ruth Shonle Cavan's investigations of suicide in relation to personal and communal disorganization in the same city. These studies indicated a definite correlation between the rate of crime and of suicide—and the incidence of communal disorganization.

Since both the delinquency and the suicide studies were carried so largely in the central core of a metropolitan region where the demoralization of the population is notoriously widespread, it seemed advisable to make further investigations in smaller and more stable communities which had been less exposed to the disorganizing effects of industrial civilization.

This task has actually been undertaken by Lloyd Warner, of the department of anthropology at Harvard University. He has just returned from an investigation of a tribe of Australian Blackfellows, and is now, with the assistance of graduate and undergraduate students in anthropology, studying Newburyport, Massachusetts. In assigning this task to an anthropologist, it was assumed that that method, "developed by functional anthropology in the Andaman Islands, the Trobriands and Australia," could be adapted, at least in the beginning, to the purposes of the study of a typical New England town.

Although the "adventure" begun at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company has now moved outside the works and is still incomplete, enough has been learned to make it possible to draw some general inferences.

These investigations of fatigue and morale throw a new and unexpected light, for example, on the doctrines of laissez faire economy which ushered in the present-day industrial régime, as well as upon the policies of political liberalism which has been associated with it.

At the time when, as the author points out, Quesnay was proclaiming the existence of "certain natural principles" capable of regulating human association, and was advising that industry be left free to work out its own destiny, France possessed "a vigorous and highly integrated society much hampered in its industrial development by governmental over-regulation."

When Adam Smith later advocated similar principles in England,

the British Empire was also in a position to profit by them. As a result of the rapid changes and the greater complexity of human relations which followed the expansion of industry and trade, government regulation was extended by successive stages to regions of life where control had, up to that time, rested in general upon consensus and the mores, rather than positive law.

The consequence of this extension of political control was that "as other functions of social control diminished or disappeared and the political functions alone survived, political control again emerged as the sole organ in actuality of social organization." This extension of political control took place at a time when in England and America political philosophy still clung to the maxim that "the government that governs least is the government that governs best."

The result has been that in a period in which society has been undergoing changes which have undermined traditional institutions, political activity and social theory have been multiplying by an ever increasing number of legislative enactments designed to prop up and patch a decaying constitutional structure. The author's comment is: "An unduly abstract political theory has permitted important social changes to pass unnoticed." Things have moved faster than thought. The changes which have undermined the traditional structure of society have been associated with the inevitable migration and movement of people incident to a rapidly expanding industry. This mobility has everywhere broken up the traditional order and has not permitted a new order to establish itself. The automobile is the most obvious symbol of this increased mobility, and of the speed with which these changes have come about. In increasing the mobility of the individual man, it has multiplied the difficulties of maintaining a stable social order. It has at the same time undermined what is in every society the primary source of control, namely, the vigilance of neighbors and the desire of every individual to retain the respect and esteem of his local community. It has made it possible for ubiquitous gangsters and bandits to be classed as public enemies abroad and continue to play the rôle of friend and benefactor among their neighbors, friends, and relatives at home.

These are, however, merely the grosser and more obvious con-

sequences of existing conditions. The ultimate causes and effects are more pervasive and less easy to come upon.

It is true enough, as the author says, that "ills elsewhere in the social organism reflect themselves immediately in political disequilibrium." It is, however, equally true that "ills cannot be understood or alleviated so long as their political symptoms alone are studied."

The stability and health of any society, tribe, nation, or industrial group depend upon its ability to develop a tradition, a body of mores, and a code which represent at once the consensus and common understanding as well as the accumulated wisdom and common sense of the group. If changes are so rapid as to make it impossible to maintain and transmit this tradition, the social equilibrium and the *esprit de corps* which this tradition has supported will inevitably be dissipated and lost.

"If a specialist group develops scientific knowledge and applies it to technical practice at too high a speed for general social adjustment to the change, one effect is to transform a non-logical social organization into irrational social disorganization."

If so-called "pressure groups" formulate and impose upon the community legislation which cannot be enforced because it is not understood, accepted, and adequately embodied in the mores of the community, the effect is to increase the ills which it was intended to diminish.

The main point is this: The ills from which an industrial civilization is suffering are not fundamentally political; they are cultural—ills that can be cured not by legislation but by concert, collective action and leadership. The most pressing problems of present-day industrial society are: "better methods for the discovery of an administrative élite; better methods of maintaining working morale."

The problems that arise in industry are in the last analysis identical with the problems of industrial civilization generally. "The country that first solves these problems will infallibly outstrip the others in the race for stability, security, and development."

As its title suggests, this volume surveys within the limits of its 194 pages a wide field and arrives at conclusions of very general bearing. It starts, however, from a real problem and remains, on

the whole, within the limits of an eminently pragmatic point of view. In his efforts to indicate the implication of the experiments here recorded, the author has displayed an extraordinarily precise knowledge of a wide range of scientific theory, ranging from Lawrence J. Henderson's experiments in biochemistry to Pareto's theory of the rôle of the élite in maintaining social equilibrium. The concept of equilibrium, and particularly social equilibrium, has gained a new, a wider, a more precise significance as a result of the discussion in this volume.

One of the obstacles to social research hitherto has been the difficulty of analyzing concrete social problems in such a way as to fit the categories or compartments of the existing social sciences. This is true, in part, no doubt, because the present organization of social science has largely grown up to meet the necessities of an orderly exposition of the accepted facts and principles rather than to serve the purposes of research and social experiment.

Actual social problems are complex and invariably arise in conditions that make it difficult if not impossible to isolate and deal with them separately. The attempt to apply social science to actual problems has necessitated an amount of collaboration between men in the different disciplines that has hitherto not been regarded as either practical or possible. One thing that this report demonstrates is that it is possible for investigators representing scientific disciplines as diverse as biochemistry, medical psychology, and anthropology to work together over a long series of diverse but interrelated problems, with the best possible results.

TESTING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COMPARISONS IN SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

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University of Michigan

AND
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ABSTRACT

To explain the difference in parole violation rates of lone and group offenders, a large group of parole cases were successively subdivided as native or foreign born, as having or not having a previous criminal record, and, finally, as group or lone offenders. Among the foreign-born first offenders the difference in violation rates was significant; it was not significant, however, for recidivists. But a comparison between these two differences indicated that the absence of a previous criminal record was definitely associated with the lower violation rate of group offenders. A similar treatment of native cases showed that there was no such association between criminal record and presence or absence of associates. However, the difference in these differences as between native and foreign-born cases was significant and therefore would warrant further subdivision with an additional variable. This process of successive subdivision is suggested as a fruitful method of sociological analysis.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate, with an example from data on parole violations, a new technique for the analysis and comparison of data which are classified in non-quantitative categories. This technique supplements certain procedures previously discussed by the writers.¹ It is believed that the methods here outlined should be of considerable practical value, not only to statisticians working in the field of sociology, but also to sociologists not engaged in statistical research who are interested in exploring the logical basis of conclusions drawn from comparison of differences among any number of factors each classified into two categories.

The present problem is of a type quite common in sociological research. Interest in it arose when the writers were studying the violation rates of 306 foreign-born white parolees from the Illinois State Reformatory, aged nineteen to twenty-five years, who had only a casual work record before going to prison and whose sentences were

¹ Stouffer and Tibbits, "Tests of Significance in Applying Westergaard's Method of Expected Cases to Sociological Data," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVIII (September, 1933), 293-302.

for burglary or larceny.² It appeared that those who were lone offenders, i.e., who committed their burglary or larceny without associates, were worse risks on parole than group offenders who committed their crimes in the company of others. This conforms with the theory that, on the average, group offenders are less likely to be criminally disposed than lone offenders. It is thought that many amateur group offenders may have yielded to an impulse to follow a criminal

TABLE I
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAROLE VIOLATION RATES OF LONE AND GROUP
FOREIGN-BORN OFFENDERS, WITH AND WITHOUT
PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD

	Total	Violators	Proportion of Violators
Without a previous criminal record			
Lone offenders.....	53	26	.4906
Group offenders.....	121	28	.2314
Difference.....	.....	.....	.2592
With a previous criminal record			
Lone offenders.....	47	21	.4468
Group offenders.....	85	36	.4235
Difference.....	.....	.....	.0233

leader, while lone offenders have ordinarily determined their behavior independently. This hypothesis would be more demonstrable if it were found that the difference between parole violation rates of lone offenders and group offenders was more pronounced in the case of prisoners with no previous criminal record than in the case of prisoners who were old offenders. Among the latter, both types of offenders (lone and group) would be recidivists, and, as such, presumably fewer of them have acted impulsively the second time. Indeed, the data in Table I seem to suggest support for the hypothesis.

As expected, the difference between violation rates of lone offenders and group offenders who had no previous criminal record is

² It is important to keep in mind that "violators" means "caught violators." The "true" violation rates may be much higher than those reported. Nevertheless, a study of "caught violators" is likely to yield much of interest to sociologists and to parole boards.

greater than the difference among those who had a previous criminal record.

These rates are based, however, on a rather small number of cases, as is inevitable in a sociological study in which so many factors, such as age, nativity, work record, and type of crime have been controlled before the analysis began. This raises the question as to whether the differences are great enough to exclude the likelihood that they might be due to chance.

The conventional procedure is to test each difference separately, referring it to its standard error $\sqrt{P_1 Q_1 \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}$ where P_1 is the ratio between the total number of violators and the total number of parolees, $Q_1 = 1 - P_1$, and n_1 and n_2 are the total number of parolees in each sub-group. The difference .2592 is 3.4 times its standard error of $\sqrt{\frac{5.3}{174} \left(\frac{1.21}{53} + \frac{1}{121} \right)}$ and, therefore, almost certainly not attributable to chance. The difference .0233 is only 0.3 times its standard error and might easily be a chance difference.

However, what is really important in the present inquiry is not the fact that one difference is significantly large and the other negligible, when each difference is considered alone. We are concerned, rather, with asking, "Is one difference significantly larger than the other?" At first glance, a test of the comparison itself may seem to the reader to be superfluous. But it is entirely possible that one difference may be significant and the other not; and yet the difference between the two differences may not be significant. Conversely, it is possible, if differences have opposite algebraic signs, that neither may be significant when considered alone, but that the excess of one difference over the other will be significantly large. In our problem, our initial hypothesis is not substantiated unless the significance of previous criminal record is shown by comparison of the difference between the two differences already obtained and is found to be large.

A simple formula has been needed to provide an evaluation of the significance of the excess of one difference between two proportions over another difference between two proportions, such as the excess of .2592 over .0233. Such a formula is now available, constructed by a method analogous to the formula for the difference between two

differences in *means* already discussed by one of the writers in a recent issue of this *Journal*.³ The development is straightforward:

In general, the squared standard error (or sampling variance) of the difference between any two independent values is $\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2$, where σ_1^2 is the sampling variance of the first value and σ_2^2 is the sampling variance of the second value. The first value, $d_1 = p_1 - p'_1$, has a sampling variance of $P_1 Q_1 \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n'_1} \right)$, and the second value, $d_2 = p_2 - p'_2$, has a sampling variance of $P_2 Q_2 \left(\frac{1}{n_2} + \frac{1}{n'_2} \right)$. Ordinarily, the "parent population" values of $P_1 Q_1$ and $P_2 Q_2$ are unknown, and a good estimate is obtained by substituting for each the value $P_o Q_o$, where P_o is the sum in the four sub-groups of the cases having the attribute studied, (for example, the total of violators) divided by the total number of cases (for example, total of parolees), and where $Q_o = 1 - P_o$. The standard error is the square root of the variance. Hence the standard error of the difference between the difference in two proportions may be written

$$\sqrt{P_o Q_o \left[\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n'_1} \right) + \left(\frac{1}{n_2} + \frac{1}{n'_2} \right) \right]} \quad (1)$$

Substituting in (1) the values indicated in Table I, we find that the standard error is

$$\sqrt{(\frac{1}{3})\left(\frac{1}{6}\right)[(\frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{2}) + (\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8})]} = .118$$

The excess of .2592 over .0233, namely .2359, is approximately twice the standard error, indicating by reference to a table of the normal curve that such a difference would be exceeded by chance about once in 40 times. Therefore, it may be considered significant, although it is not strikingly large.

This result, it is hardly necessary to say to a sociological audience,

³ Stouffer, "A Technique for Analyzing Sociological Data Classified in Non-Quantitative Groups," this *Journal*, XXXIX (September, 1933), 180-193. The formula for testing the significance of the difference between the differences in two proportions is introduced in a paper by Dorn and Stouffer, "Criteria of Differential Mortality," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVII (December, 1933).

does not prove or disprove the theory advanced earlier to account for the difference. It merely gives one confidence that something other than chance may have been responsible for the difference, and the investigator is given a green traffic light, as it were, to advance to the consideration of whatever explanation seems plausible.

In our sample of 306 foreign-born whites, discussed above, the difference between the violation rates of lone and group offenders was significantly greater among those who had no previous criminal record than among those who were recidivists. Let us now see whether

TABLE II
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAROLE VIOLATION RATES OF LONE AND GROUP
NATIVE-BORN OFFENDERS, WITH AND WITHOUT CRIMINAL RECORD

	Total	Violators	Proportion of Violators
Without a previous criminal record			
Lone offenders.....	128	41	.3203
Group offenders.....	311	73	.2347
Difference.....	.....	.....	.0856
With a previous criminal record			
Lone offenders.....	66	31	.4697
Group offenders.....	133	42	.3158
Difference.....	.....	.....	.1539

or not this is true with respect to 638 native-born white parolees, selected with the same restrictions as to age, work record, and type of crime. We have the data in Table II. As before, we find a higher violation rate for single offenders than for group offenders. But we find also a curious reversal, as compared with our former findings. Among native whites the difference between the violation rates of single offenders and group offenders is greater in the group with a previous criminal record than in the group without a previous criminal record. Before speculating too long on reasons why, it may be worth while to see whether the "reasons" subsumed under the name of "chance" might have produced such an excess. We find that each difference between the violation rates of single offenders and group offenders is apparently significant, but on applying (1) we find that

the excess of one difference over the other is not significant. The ratio of the excess to its standard error is only 0.7—a deviate of this size would be exceeded by chance about one time in four or five. Therefore, there is no point in advancing a theory to account for the difference between .1539 and .0856.

We have, then, one story from our group of foreign-born whites, and still another story from our group of native whites. The one shows an excess of one difference over the other which is probably not due to chance; the other shows an excess (in the opposite direction) which might very likely happen by chance. The two stories invite comparison, and this implies a test of the significance of the *new comparison*. The excess of the differences in the foreign-born group was $.2592 - .0233 = .2359$; the excess in the native white group was $.0856 - .1539 = -.0683$. The difference between these two figures is .3042. Is this difference significant?

By a direct extension of the logic which leads to (1), it can be shown that the standard error of k independent differences between proportions is

$$\sqrt{P_0 Q_0 \sum_{i=1}^k \left(\frac{1}{n_i} + \frac{1}{n'_i} \right)} \quad (2)$$

where P_0 is obtained by dividing the aggregate number of violators in the $2 \times k$ subgroups by the aggregate number of parolees. The computation is quick and easy, with the aid of a table of reciprocals. Substituting in (2), we have

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\left(\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{4}\right)\left(\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{4}\right)\left[\frac{1}{53}\left(\frac{1}{121} + \frac{1}{47} + \frac{1}{85} + \frac{1}{128} + \frac{1}{311} + \frac{1}{66} + \frac{1}{133}\right)\right]}$$

= .149, whence the difference .3042 is twice its standard error and therefore probably significant. We conclude that the discrepancy in the respective stories told by our data about the foreign-born whites and native whites, with reference to the question "Is the difference between the violation rates of single offenders and group offenders greater among those with no previous criminal records?" is large enough to justify further speculation as to its cause.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to enter into a debate on the causes of the discrepancy. Various theories might be advanced. One plausible theory, for example, might develop the possibility that the category "group offenders" has a different meaning among native whites from what it has among foreign-born whites, since the latter may come more predominantly from the Chicago area, where recidivist group offenders are likely to be hardened gangsters. Further light then might be had by subdividing each group into "Chicago" and "downstate." Such a process of successive subdivision has obvious limits, because the data soon thin out. Nevertheless, it is perhaps the most direct and fruitful method of statistical investigation in sociology, and often yields surprising facts which are distorted or concealed when the factors are considered in the mass.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

The American Sociological Society will hold its Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, December 26-29, 1934, with headquarters at the Hotel Morrison. Meeting in Chicago during the same time are the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Farm Economics Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Central Topic: "Human Problems of Social Planning"

*(All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, will be held
at the Hotel Morrison.)*

GENERAL SESSIONS

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26

2:00-4:00 P.M. Registration.

3:00-5:00 P.M. Joint Session of Section on Rural Sociology and the Purnell Conference: E. D. Tetreau, F.E.R.A., presiding.

"The Development of Research in Rural Sociology," T. B. Manny, U.S.D.A.

"Appraisal of and Outlook for Research in Rural Sociology under the New Deal," James T. Jardine, U.S.D.A.

Paper—Mordecai Ezekiel, A.A.A.

4:00-6:00 P.M. Division on Social Research. George A. Lundberg, Columbia University, chairman.

6:00-8:00 P.M. Section on Rural Sociology: Dinner Honoring Charles Josiah Galpin.

General Theme: "Looking Ahead in Rural Sociology." Papers by J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin; C. E. Lively, Ohio State University; E. D. Tetreau, F.E.R.A.; C. C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

8:00-10:00 P.M. Joint Meeting with the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Political Science Association. Edmund E. Day, Rockefeller Foundation, chairman. *Palmer House*.

Recent Economic, Social, and Political Changes

"The Paths of Social Change: Contrasting Tendencies in the Modern World," Calvin B. Hoover, Duke University.

"Man and His Changing Institutions," William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

"Post-war Changes in the Structure and Function of Government, and Some of Their Economic and Social Consequences," Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

9:00-10:00 A.M. Business Meeting for Reports of Representatives of the Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on General Sociology: Sociological Theory and Social Planning. "Human Nature and Social Planning," Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

"Problems of Social Planning in a Democracy," Lewis L. Lorwin, Brookings Institution.

"Social Theory and Social Practice," Leopold von Wiese, University of Cologne.

12:00-3:00 P.M. Joint Luncheon session of the Section on Rural Sociology and the American Farm Economic Association. W. I. Myers, Farm Credit Administration, presiding.

The Land Planning Program of the A.A.A.

1:00-3:00 P.M. Section Meetings

3:00-5:00 P.M. Division on Social Biology: Population and Social Planning.

"Population Factors Determining Economic and Social Organization," Edgar T. Thompson, Skidmore College.

"Factors Conditioning a Population Policy for the United States," Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation.

"Social Planning and the Medical Sciences," Michael M. Davis, Julius Rosenwald Fund.

5:00-6:00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

8:00-10:00 P.M. Joint Session for Presidential Addresses. Jane Adams, Hull House, chairman.

"Social Planning and the Mores," Ernest W. Burgess, American Sociological Society.

"Democracy in Transition," Walter J. Shepard, American Political Science Association.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00-10:00 A.M. Business Meeting for Reports of Committees.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Section Meetings.

Section on Rural Sociology: Sociological Aspects of the New Deal.
E. H. Lott, Louisiana State University, presiding.

"The A.A.A. and Rural Youth," E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin.

"The Influence of Acreage Reduction upon Employment and Mobility of Farm Labor," Wilson Gee, University of Virginia.

"The Probable Social Effects of Retiring Submarginal Land from Cultivation," C. Arnold Anderson, Harvard University.

"The A.A.A. and the Cropper," H. A. Hoff Sommer, Alabama Polytechnical Institute.

General discussion of papers.

Business Meeting of Section.

Joint Session of Sections on Social Statistics and on Sociology and Social Work with the American Statistical Association and the American Association for Labor Legislation: Economic Insecurity and Social Insurance.

"Social and Economic Aspects of the Problem of Insecurity in Modern Life," Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago.

"Functions of Social Insurance in Relation to Economic Security," R. Clyde White, Indiana University.

12:00-3:00 P.M. Section on Rural Sociology: Luncheon and Round Table Session. Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University, presiding.

"Status of and Prospects for Research in Rural Life under the New Deal," Dwight Sanderson, F.E.R.A.

Discussion led by: O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Lowry Nelson, Brigham Young University; N. L. Sims, Oberlin College.

1:00-3:00 P.M. Section Meetings.

3:00-5:00 P.M. Division on Human Ecology: Regional Research and Regional Planning Shelby M. Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation, chairman.

- "The Development of Regional Research," the chairman.
"The Implications of the Concepts 'Region' and 'Regional Planning,'" Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina.
"Planning Personality and Cultural Research in the Tennessee Valley," William E. Cole, University of Tennessee.
"Sociological Phases of the Proposed Southwestern Regional Study," Luther L. Bernard, Washington University.

7:00-9:30 P.M. Annual Dinner: American Pioneer Sociologists and Their Conceptions of Social Planning.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00-10:00 A.M. Annual Business Meeting of the Society.

- 10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on Social Psychology: Collective Behavior and Social Planning.
"News and Social Control," Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas.
"The Molding of Mass Behavior through the Motion Picture," Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago.
"The Radio and the Creation of a New Social Order," Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota.

SECTION MEETINGS (Time to be arranged)

Section on Criminology: Local Community Programs for the Prevention of Delinquency. Edwin H. Sutherland, University of Chicago, chairman.

Local Community Programs for the Prevention of Delinquency. Edwin H. Sutherland, University of Chicago, presiding.

"The Local Co-ordinating Councils of Los Angeles," Erle F. Young, University of Southern California.

"The Area Projects in Chicago," Clifford R. Shaw, Institute for Juvenile Research.

"Organized Recreation," H. W. Waltz, Jr., Chicago Probation Project.

Section on Criminology: Problems of Prediction in Criminology. Sanford Bates, United States Bureau of Prisons, presiding.

"Prediction Methods Applied to Problems of Classification within Institutions," George B. Vold, University of Minnesota.

"A Technique for Developing Criteria of Probability," F. F. Laune, Division of Pardons and Paroles, Illinois.

"Problems of Reliability and Follow-Up," C. C. Van Vechten, Jr., Division of Pardons and Paroles, Illinois.

"Prediction Methods and Probation," Charles H. Young, New York.

"Experience in Application of Prediction Methods to Parole Work," John Landesco, Division of Pardons and Paroles, Illinois.
Business Meeting.

Section on Educational Sociology: The Sociology of College Life. Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan, presiding.

Section on Educational Sociology: The Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. Gerald Barnes, Bard College, Columbia University, presiding.

Section on the Family: Methodology of Family Research. Robert G. Foster, Merrill Palmer School, chairman.

"Some Methodological Problems To Be Considered in Planning Family Research."

"Significant Types of Current Research Evaluated and Discussed."

"Critique of Typical Family Research in Light of Our Changing Social Philosophy."

Section on the Family: Application of Research to College Teaching and Counselling.

"What Use Can the College Teacher Make of Current Research Studies in Teaching Courses on Marriage and the Family?"

"Needed Viewpoints in Family Research from the Standpoint of General Education."

"What Is the Function of the College Teacher as Counsellor on Student Problems Relating to Pre-marital and Marriage Considerations?"

Section on Sociology and Social Work: Recent Social Change and Social Work. Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, chairman.

"Institutional Changes of Special Significance for Social Work," James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania.

Section on Educational Sociology: Educational Programs in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. James W. Woodward, Temple University, presiding.

Joint Session of Section on Social Statistics and the American Statistical Association: Presentation and Discussion of Research Carried on under Auspices of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration: Dorothy S. Thomas, Yale University, presiding.

Papers by: Frederick F. Stephan, Co-ordinator of Statistical Proj-

ects; Dwight Sanderson, Co-ordinator of Rural Research; Clark Tibbitts, Co-ordinator of Urban Research; Howard B. Myers, Assistant Director, Division of Research and Statistics.

"Recent Changes in Popular Opinions and Sentiments of Special Significance for Social Work," Pauline V. Young, Los Angeles.

"The Response of Social Work (Actual and Potential) to These Changes," C. C. Stillman, Ohio State University.

Section on Sociology and Social Work: What, if Anything, Are Social Workers Contributing toward Fundamental Social Reorganization? Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, chairman.

"Evidences of Social Disorganization and Types of Responses There-to," E. B. Harper, Kalamazoo College.

"Social Workers' Efforts toward Social Reorganization," Ellery F. Reed, Miami University.

"Limitations of Social Work in Relation to Social Reorganization," Grace Coyle, Young Women's Christian Association, New York.

Section on the Sociology of Religion: Critiques of the Institute of Social and Religious Research's "Study of Inter-faith Relationships," H. Paul Douglass, Institute of Social and Religious Research, chairman.

Historical: Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., University of Detroit.

Sociological: Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

Practical Problems: Rabbi Bernard Heller, B'nai B'rith Foundation, University of Michigan.

Section on the Sociology of Religion: H. Paul Douglass, Institute of Social and Religious Research, chairman.

"Some Results of Quantitative Analyses of the Institutional Pattern of Churches," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

"Organized Religion in the Tennessee Valley," C. C. Haun, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.

"Christianity in the Third Reich," Paul F. Douglass, Green Mountain Junior College, Poultney, Vermont.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the September issue and up to September 15 are as follows:

- Anders, Nell, 3325 Milton St., Dallas, Tex.
Bartlett, Edith, Wadsworth, Ill.
Cooper, Charles I., 404 South Eighth St., Minneapolis, Minn.
Daykin, Sam, 1011 East Elm St., Taylorville, Ill.
Dodson, Dan W., McMurry College, Abilene, Tex.
Frisbee, Margaretta, 1101 East Tenth St., Sheldon, Iowa
Gam, Samuel King, Kissam Hall, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Garthune, William M., Flandreau, S.D.
Halbert, Leroy A., Emergency Relief Division, Board of Public Welfare, Fifth and H Sts., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Havice, Charles W., Northeastern University, Boston, Mass.
Hazard, Helen H., Dwight, Ill.
Heard, Mrs. Charles S., 126 Babcock St., Brookline, Mass.
Henderson, Donald E. V., College of Marshall, Marshall, Tex.
Irwin, Edwin F., Lusk, Wyo.
Keneipp, Tressa Leota, 440 East Twenty-sixth St., New York City
Lee, Tai Hua, John Jay Hall, Columbia University, New York City
McAleer, James, 105 Highland Place, Ithaca, N.Y.
Parke, Mrs. Agnes Hunt, Chandler, Ariz.
Plopper, Curtis C., 27 Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Reed, Dorothy, Dept. of Sociology, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
Stevenson, Arthur L., 202 Hamilton Ave., Petersburg, Va.
Stullken, Edward H., Montefiore Special School, 655 W. Fourteenth St., Chicago
Tobe, Lillian Jean, 408 Randolph St., Knoxville, Tenn.
Victorine, Sister M., Mercyhurst College, Erie, Pa.
Waddell, Mrs. Emma B., 13c Haven Road, Elmhurst, Ill.
Waitt, Russell E., 1015 Harrison St., Syracuse, N.Y.
Warren, Leslie C., 5555 Ingleside Ave., Chicago.

District of Columbia Sociological Society.—The charter of the District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society was formally presented to the Chapter by Professor E. W. Burgess, President of the Society, at a dinner meeting in Washington, D.C., on September 27, 1934.

In presenting the charter, Professor Burgess observed that in many respects the Washington Chapter was national in character, and he issued a charge to the membership to perform the unique functions in stimulating and guiding sociological research which such a chapter might perform. Dr. Stuart A. Rice responded to the charge by reviewing the sociological functions of a number of federal departments and agencies. Professor Burgess was elected an honorary charter member by the forty-two charter members present.

The meeting was opened by Professor D. W. Willard of George Washington University, under whose leadership as president pro tem the chapter was organized. He introduced the president, Dr. Stuart A. Rice, Assistant Director of the Census, who introduced in turn the following officers: vice-president, Professor D. W. Willard; secretary-treasurer, Frederick F. Stephan of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; and elected members of the Executive Committee, Elwood Street, Director of Public Welfare of the District of Columbia and Dr. Emma Winslow of the Children's Bureau. The President also announced the appointment of a Program Committee with Dr. E. D. Tetreau of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration as Chairman and a Committee on Research with Dr. Joseph Mayer of the Library of Congress as Chairman. Greetings to the new chapter were read from Jerome Davis, H. P. Fairchild, H. W. Odum, W. F. Ogburn, N. L. Sims, C. A. Ellwood, R. E. Park, James Q. Dealey, E. S. Bogardus, E. A. Ross, W. I. Thomas, H. A. Miller, and Geo. E. Vincent.

Rural Research in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.—The Research Section of the F.E.R.A. is carrying on a number of surveys in rural research with a staff of sociologists in the Washington office. The staff consists of: Dwight Sanderson, Co-ordinator of Rural Research; E. D. Tetreau, Research Analyst, P. G. Beck, Associate Research Analyst, and J. O. Babcock, Associate Research Analyst, on Rural Problem Areas Survey; C. E. Lively, Research Analyst in charge of Survey of Open and Closed Cases; J. C. McCormick, Research Analyst in charge of Survey of Rural Relief Households; Conrad F. Taeuber, Associate Economic Analyst; A. R. Mangus, Assistant Research Analyst; Kenneth H. McGill, Assistant Research Analyst; J. H. Kolb is acting as Consultant; Wilson Gee served as editor during the summer.

The rural research program comprises the following studies:

1. "A Study of Rural Relief Households and of Their Self-Supporting Neighbors," covering nearly 20,000 cases in fifty-one commercial agri-

cultural counties in twenty states, was undertaken to afford a comparison between these two groups on the basis of such factors as size and composition of the household, occupational history of the head, farm tenure and mobility, and economic status as reflected in ownership of land and live stock, indebtedness, and receipt of various types of government assistance. This was taken as of October, 1933. Field work was carried on during the first half of the year, and final tabulations are now being made.

2. "A Study of Opened and Closed Rural Relief Cases." This covered approximately 90,000 schedules in fifty counties in twenty states. These schedules were designed primarily to show the effect of the Civil Works employment on the relief load. They included household composition, occupational history, present employment status, reasons for opening and closing cases, and means of locating jobs obtained. The field work was also conducted during the first half of the year, and tabulations are now being made.

3. The first of these studies was supplemented in May and June with a reconnaissance survey of the same counties to show changes in the relief situation and the probable relief load as of August first. The final report was prepared by Dr. T. B. Manny of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and a mimeographed abstract has been issued.

4. The "Survey of Rural Problem Areas" was commenced in July. Through this study it is hoped to get a bird's-eye picture of six large areas in which economic conditions are especially bad and the proportion of families receiving unemployment relief is unusually high. In this study attention is centered on: (1) an analysis of the relief population; (2) an estimate of the reasons for their distress in relation to the economic background of the area; (3) an inventory of the resources potentially available for rehabilitation; and (4) an evaluation of local relief administrations and personnel.

The survey is being carried on by the field staffs through interviews, schedules, and existing data, particularly those accumulated and analyzed in the past by the state agricultural experts and other trained individuals and by the bureaus in Washington. Complete county reports are sent weekly to the central office where they are co-ordinated and summarized for release to state and federal relief administrators. All field work is to be completed by October 1, at which time comprehensive reports will be prepared for each of the large regions.

The field staff in charge of this survey consists of: B. F. Coen, Director Short Grass-Winter Wheat area, Kenneth H. McGill and O. S. Rayner, Assistant Directors; Paul H. Landis, Director Short Grass-Spring Wheat area, Gordon Randlett and Geo. W. Hill, Assistant Directors; E. L.

Kirkpatrick, Director Lake-States Cut-over area, Carl F. Kraenzel and Nellie Holmes, Assistant Directors; T. G. Standing, Director Appalachian-Ozark area; L. B. Tate and M. T. Matthews, Assistant Directors; Harold G. Hoffsommer, Director Cotton-Growing area of Old South; B. F. D. Runk and Phillips B. Boyer, Assistant Directors; Z. B. Wallin, Director Western Cotton-Growing area, Louis L. Rupert and Sam R. Carter, Assistant Directors.

5. The F.E.R.A. is now appointing state rural research supervisors in about twenty states. Most of these are rural sociologists at the state colleges of agriculture, who have been in charge of the surveys above mentioned. These state supervisors will have charge of surveys to be conducted for the F.E.R.A., will conduct local projects of particular interest to their state administrations, and will assist the state administration in conducting any rural research desired.

Municipal University of Akron.—The Department of Sociology, which was formerly the Department of Economics and Sociology, has been made a separate department with Dr. H. O. DeGraff, Professor of Sociology, as head.

Dr. Earle E. Eubank, Head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Cincinnati, recently conducted a two-day Social Welfare Institute in the City of Akron. The Institute was under the direction of the Department of Sociology and is a part of the community welfare policy of the University.

Alabama College for Women.—Mr. William Paul Carter has been appointed to the position of Associate Professor of Sociology.

University of Beirut, Syria.—Professor S. C. Dodd is on leave of absence in the United States and is engaged in making a study of research methods, particularly as they may be applied to community research.

Bucknell University Junior College.—Dr. Wilfrid H. Crook, formerly on the faculty of the Bradford Junior College, Massachusetts, has accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Bucknell University Junior College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

University of California.—Professor T. D. Eliot of Northwestern University taught courses in sociology during the summer.

University of Chicago.—Professor Robert E. Park, who has returned to residence, will teach a course in Collective Behavior during the Autumn Quarter.

Professor E. B. Reuter, of the State University of Iowa, will be Visiting Professor of Sociology during the Spring Quarter, 1935.

Mr. Philip M. Hauser, Instructor in Sociology, has been granted leave of absence during the Autumn Quarter to engage in research under the F.E.R.A. In his absence Mr. Leland C. DeVinney will serve as Instructor in Sociology.

Dr. Herbert Blumer, Associate Professor of Sociology, spent two months during the summer in Germany as representative of the University of Chicago on a tour sponsored by the Carl Schurz Foundation, the German American Institute, and the German Student Exchange Service.

University of Cincinnati.—Professor Earle E. Eubank spent the summer making a study of present-day sociology in Europe, visiting leading sociologists in Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, England, Germany, Poland, and Russia.

Columbia University.—Professor Robert M. MacIver spent the summer in Europe. At the School of International Studies at Geneva he delivered a paper on the subject "International Planning and International Society." Professor Theodore Abel was also in Europe during the summer, mainly studying the Nazi movement in Germany.

Mrs. Elsa Butler Grove, Lecturer in Social Science, Teachers College, Columbia University, was the official delegate of the American Sociological Society to the Annual Conference of the American Home Economics Association held in New York, June 25-30, 1934.

Dr. Gerald Barnes, formerly of Smith College, is now lecturer in sociology at Bard College at Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, an affiliated college with Columbia University.

Columbia University Press announces the publication of a volume by Professor George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerny on *Leisure, A Suburban Study*, which is based upon their study of Westchester County made under a two-year grant of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University with the assistance of the American Association for Adult Education and Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Chairman of the Westchester County Recreation Commission.

Dartmouth College.—Professor William J. Rose has returned to the United States from Europe after a three-year study of the Upper Silesian question, which was conducted under the supervision of Professor J. T. Shotwell of Columbia University.

University of Denver.—Dr. Eugene T. Halaas has recently been appointed Assistant Professor in Economics in the University of Denver

School of Commerce. Dr. Halaas was formerly Instructor of Economics at Drake University.

University of Minnesota.—Professor Robert Murchie has been appointed by Governor Olson as Director of Rural Rehabilitation for the State of Minnesota. Mr. Murchie will have charge of all phases of this large program and especially in relation to the rehabilitation of the drought areas and to relief and movement of population.

Oberlin College.—Miss Mildred H. McAfee has been appointed Dean of Women, to begin residence Autumn, 1934.

Smith College.—During the summer Professor Gladys Bryson was in England and Scotland engaged in completing her research on "The Science of Man in the Eighteenth Century as Seen in the Scottish School of Philosophy."

University of Southern California.—Professor Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina gave courses in sociology during the summer session.

Stanford University.—Philip E. Keller, Acting Assistant Professor of Sociology, is spending the Autumn Quarter at Columbia University, working on a study of Simon Patten as sociologist. Professor R. D. McKenzie, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan, was Visiting Professor of Sociology during the Summer Quarter.

University of Texas.—Clarence Glick will teach during the year 1934-35 in the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas, to take the place of Dr. Carl M. Rosenquist, who is on leave of absence to undertake work in the F.E.R.A. at Washington.

Washington University.—Professor L. L. Bernard spent the summer in Mexico.

Westminster College.—Harmon Hayes has been appointed to teach sociology during the year 1934-35, in the absence of Dr. E. J. Webster, who is engaged in special work under the F.E.R.A.

CORRECTION

In the July issue of the *Journal*, Paul W. Shankweiler was reported as expecting to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1936. The degree was conferred in the summer of 1934 by the University of North Carolina.

BOOK REVIEWS

Émile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society. By GEORGE SIMPSON. (Translation of Durkheim's *De la division du travail social* with an estimate of his work.) New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xliv + 439. \$3.50.

Elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal* appears an article on Durkheim's *Division of Labor*, and this review may well be brief. Published when the author was thirty-five years old, the work accepts as accurate the crude misconceptions of the 1880's concerning the life of primitive man as set forth in the books of those who were no more competent to describe them than a botanist would be to write a treatise in his field without ever having seen a plant.

The whole argument of the book rests, essentially, on three propositions: (1) there is no division of labor among primitive people; (2) primitive people are all alike and have no differentiation of personality; (3) primitive people have only punitive "law."

All of these are now known to be untrue. Dr. Watson, studying only thirty tribes, has listed 1,435 different occupations of these primitive peoples.¹ The striking differences of personality among them are familiar to anyone who has done even a week of field work, and the presence of other forms of "law" among them is known and recorded the world around.

Not to be severe with a writer who, forty-one years ago, accepted as true what is now known to be untenable, it would at least seem that extended discussion of an argument based on abandoned premises might be considered an unnecessary expenditure of energy.

As to the translation, it is hard to speak with restraint. Incredible as it may seem, the author actually translates *conscience* by the English word "conscience" throughout. The result is sometimes amusing and sometimes ludicrous. In comparing this translation with the fifth French edition, there was hardly a page of a score of pages taken at random which did not contain a mistranslation, sometimes a complete reversal of meaning. The work is the effort of an earnest and ambitious young man who attempted a task for which he lacked adequate preparation. Durkheim

¹ Walter T. Watson, "A New Census and an Old Theory: Division of Labor in the Preliterate World," this *Journal*, XXXIV, 632-52.

has been familiar to American scholars for a generation. No European author is more frequently quoted and referred to by our writers. And yet the translator expresses his ambitions in these words: "This volume I hope marks the *beginning of interest* in this country in Durkheim's work." (Italics mine.)

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Rasse und Staat. By ERICH VOESELIN. Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933. Pp. iii + 227. M. 8.70.

What Voegelin has given us is essentially a monograph on a particular form of ethnocentrism. For the function of the idea of race, as he presents it, has been to give groups of people, at certain critical points in their history, a social myth in terms of which they might conceive their relations to each other and their separation from other men. In tribal life, ethnocentrism—although mystical—needs no great transcendental myth, for the cultural distinctiveness and "community of fate" of the "in-group" are obvious. Civilization, says Renan in a passage quoted by Voegelin (p. 201), is "la grande force supérieure aux races et destructive des originalités locales." The author seems to suggest that when civilization has done, or half-done, its work, men perforce seek to create some new and larger "particular community" in which their lost souls may take shelter. In a world where one cannot put physical distance between the "we-group" and the "others," "one has need of the spiritual distance created by belief in one's own 'election' and the satanic character of the 'others'" (p. 153). The racial myth performs this function of creating social distance and giving a spiritual basis for national unity in times of stress and confusion. It is but natural, says Voegelin, that this idea should play its part most vigorously in Germany; for Germany, however old its culture, lacks the long and rooted tradition of political unity which England, France, and even the United States have.

The author regards this work as a sort of excursus from his larger systematic work on the theory of the state, an excursus justified by the following thesis: "Conceptions of the state [Staatsideen] do not constitute a science of the state, but an essential part of the very reality of the state." The case in point is the racial conception of the state, especially as it has operated in modern Germany.

Even in Part I ("Der systematische Gehalt der Rassentheorie"), in which the author deals with the assumptions and limitations of scientific studies of race, his interest is essentially in the social setting and function

of the concept. Part II ("Die Rassenidee und der Aufbau der Gemeinschaft") deals directly with the idea of race in relation to the building of a sense of community. Race thus falls into the same class of great social myths as do "the body of Christ" and the "clan state" of antiquity. The three are treated in terms of the situations in which they arose and of the social functions which they performed. The older myths seem to differ from that of race in that their adherents were content with a mystical basis of their "community of fate," while modern believers in race seek scientific justification. But they take their science lightly, as indicated by a recent warning, the gist of which is that social scientists had better act as though they believe the potent myths of national-socialism even though they know better.

In a chapter entitled "The Jews as a Contrary Conception" (*Die Juden als Gegenidee*), the author attempts to show the function of anti-Semitism in Germany. He reviews German literature on the Jews to show that the Jew has rarely been studied except with the purpose of showing that he is the negation of all that the Nordic German ought to be. The Jew is foot-loose, adaptable, a racial mixture, a believer in nothing—not even in himself. Even though all this is true, the function of anti-Semitism is not to reform or even remove the Jew, but to set out more sharply, by contrast, what the Nordic ought to be. The author suggests that if there were more reality in the Nordic type—as idealized in the racial myth—there would be no need of this contrast. The Jew is, in short, a symbol whose function is not unlike that of the medieval devil.

This book is essentially a contribution to the study of a potent social myth. Although it is something of a historical review of the literature on race, and although it contains the author's systematic statement of the logic of studies of race, as such, most readers will be more interested in it as an objective study of the conceptions so ardently upheld by German national-socialists. So far as I know, no other German (Voegelin is Viennese) has treated these conceptions in a similar way; indeed, few scholars outside Germany have attempted to do more than "debunk" national-socialism.

As a study of the rise and operation of social myths, it is less brilliant than Sorel's two works (*Reflexions sur la violence* and *Les illusions du progrès*), but is nevertheless a bold and thorough treatment.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

China's Geographic Foundations: A Survey of the Land and Its People.

By GEORGE BABCOCK CRESSEY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. Pp. xvii+436. \$4.00.

The Chinese: Their History and Culture. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. 2 vols. Pp. xiv+506+389. \$7.50.

These two works will be received with enthusiasm by everyone interested in the Orient, and will be welcomed by the rapidly increasing group of sociologists who seek a world frame of reference for their study of culture. By the aid of tables, graphs, statistics, maps, and photographs, Dr. Cressey, an expert in geology and geography, gives a vivid picture of land and people, resources and climate, communications and commerce. One puts down the book feeling that he has been on a journey, so vivid and clear is the writing.

The six opening chapters deal with the background furnished by history, topography, climate, agriculture, and foreign trade, after which come fifteen chapters on the fifteen geographic regions, the delimitation of which the author regards as his chief contribution to the subject. In opposition to P. M. Roxby and others who distinguish only five, Dr. Cressey includes in China Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, and the highlands of Tibet.

But even with this inclusion, the area south of the Great Wall has about double the conventional number. A curious outcome is the inclusion into one region of three non-contiguous areas which are made to form the region called the mountains of Shantung, Liaotung, and Jehol. Whatever the geographers may say of this, it seems a bit indefensible to the reviewer, almost as if one should include in a geographic region Florida, Cuba, and Yucatan.

The book is splendidly done, the style is attractive and lucid, and the treatment reflects the most careful and accurate methods of geographic scholarship.

Dr. Latourette's two volumes are outstanding. Since the publication of *The Middle Kingdom* fifty years ago, nothing in the English language has appeared that is comparable to this clear and dispassionate account of the history and culture of China. It is addressed to the general reader, not to Sinologists, and is therefore an indispensable volume for sociologists who wish to know something of the people, the government, art, language, education, religion, and economics—all of which are given separate chapters in the second volume. The first volume is a chronological record, and

though this makes some repetition necessary, it is repetition that is in no sense unwelcome to the reader.

Sociologists will find much valuable material in this book. This is particularly true of the second volume, where the cultural aspects are treated topically, but the same remark applies also to the historical account of the political events in the life of our oldest contemporary civilization.

China remained a cultural and political entity longer than any other nation, great or small. This cannot be due to her isolation, for she has been invaded over and over, through the centuries. It is not due to homogeneity of population, for she has assimilated many stocks. She is to be credited with the most important political invention in the history of man. The fact that the written language is independent of phonetics may be important. In an area comparable to Europe, she is not cursed with the notion of a balance of power. But there are many aspects of the question to be solved, and much work is needed. Therefore sociologists will welcome this book.

There is a forty-page Bibliography, helpfully annotated.

We are told that as late as 1800 it is possible that in sheer bulk there were more pages, written and printed, in the Chinese language than in all other languages put together. In the discussion of ceremonies it would appear that the Chinese have been more successful than others in erecting ceremony into an instrument of control and order.

Sociologists realize that there is much that we can learn from China. Here is a good book with which to start.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants. By THEODORE ABEL. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. Pp. 143. \$1.00.

This brief study is an interpretation of the fundamental processes involved in conscious attempts of an aggressive cultural group to assimilate a relatively passive group. The aim of the aggressive group was "Americanization through evangelization." The investigation shows that the influence of evangelization has been largely negligible, but that relief activities and social programs have been moderately successful, although much hampered by the fact that they have not generally been accepted as objectives, but only as means to increase church membership. Little progress has been made in proselytizing, and certain social facts limit rather definitely the possibilities in this direction.

The volume is a concise study of the sociology of missions and such other forms of social work as exist because of a wide gap between social agents and their clients. Its analysis and conclusions apply as fully to foreign as to home missions. "The Story of an Immigrant Minister," which occupies more than a quarter of the volume, is an illuminating case study of the social complexes involved in both active and passive groups in which the missionary or social worker finds himself implicated.

The book is to be commended as a detached though sympathetic analysis of the psychology and technique of "welfare work" under conditions usually described as missionary, but in large degree characteristic of all organized attempts to change the culture of any group.

GUY W. SARVIS

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Rethinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years.

By WILLIAM E. HOCKING. New York: Harper & Bros., 1932. Pp. 349. Cloth \$2.00; paper \$0.35.

India-Burma. ("Supplementary Series," I, Part I). Pp. xvii+258.

China. ("Supplementary Series," II, Part I.) Pp. xxiii+225.

Japan. ("Supplementary Series," III, Part I.) Pp. ix+216.

India-Burma. ("Supplementary Series," IV, Part II.) Pp. xxiii+762. *China.* ("Supplementary Series," V, Part II.) Pp. xxviii+725. *Japan.* ("Supplementary Series," VI, Part II.) Pp. xxi+316.

Home Base and Missionary Personnel. ("Supplementary Series," VII, Part II.) Pp. 199. Edited by ORVILLE A. PETTY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1933. \$1.50 each, \$8.00 for 7 vols.

In the autumn of 1930 the Institute of Social and Religious Research sent a staff of thirty-eight persons to India, China, and Japan to gather facts concerning missionary work in those countries. These "fact-finders" were divided in nearly equal numbers between the countries named, and spent from eight to ten months at their task. They submitted individual reports to the Appraisal Commission, a body of fifteen eminent educators and specialists headed by Dr. William E. Hocking. The Commission then visited all three of the countries in question with the purpose of making such judgments and recommendations concerning foreign-missionary policies as the facts seemed to warrant.

Technically, fact-finders and appraisers were charged to study and re-

port on the work of the sever co-operation mission boards; actually, they studied, as opportunity occurred, all Protestant mission work and some Catholic. The report of the Appraisal Commission is embodied in the volume *Rethinking Missions*. Later there were issued three supplementary volumes containing most of the reports submitted by the fact-finders, one volume on the *Home Base and Missionary Personnel*, and three volumes of *Regional Reports* by the appraisers. In the present review it will be impossible to treat any of the volumes in detail; a general sociological evaluation of the entire material will be attempted.

Briefly, it may be said that the volume *Rethinking Missions* consists of a closely reasoned and somewhat philosophical discussion, in a style of great distinction, of the rationale of missions. These four chapters, written by Dr. Hocking, have been the focus of most of the controversy that has raged about the report. The position taken is essentially that because missions are the expression of an altruistic interest in our fellow-men which is inherent in humanity, they will inevitably be continued, but that they must be modified so as to avoid unpleasant implications of superiority on the part of missionaries. "Propaganda" is deprecated and infiltration suggested. The second and main part of the book deals with specific criticisms and recommendations which constitute an excellent summary, the details of which are already familiar to students of missions. In the final section some very drastic changes in mission administration are proposed, the most revolutionary suggestion being the establishment of a single "superboard" for the direction of all missions—meaning, presumably, American Protestant missions. Volumes IV, V, and VI, containing the reports of the fact-finders, are of most interest to sociologists because they contain what amounts to a cross-section of contemporary society in the countries studied. The method followed made a considerable amount of repetition unavoidable, and the individual reports are by no means even in quality; but the amount of carefully selected and sifted information in these monographs, covering rural life, industrial problems, education, religion, the church, and women's interests, is impressive. Much of the material will be useful to anyone who seeks an understanding of the currents of life in the Orient today.

What of the sociological significance of the study? The subject of the investigation is one of the most striking social phenomena in history. Indeed, missions can be properly appreciated only when they are thought of as a part of the expansion of Euro-American civilization; and their values and disutilities can be assessed only when they take their place in the total complex of forces and processes involved in the interaction of cultures.

Father Ricci finally succeeded in entering Peking in 1601. He was a scientist, a scholar, a mechanic, and he became a profound student of Chinese and largely adopted the Chinese way of life. He and his confrères won and held their position by teaching Chinese officials and intellectuals the knowledge and ways of the West and casting cannon for the emperor to use against his enemies. In return they were allowed to build churches and preach. The process was essentially an attempt on the part of the missionaries to introduce certain aspects of Western culture, at the price of adopting certain elements in the culture of China—although the idea of cultural exchange was of course not in the minds of the missionaries; and the outcome in their case was largely personal and opportunistic, while that for China was to some degree national and fundamental.

Such has always been the actual missionary process. Wherever an expanding culture is found, missionaries are found—not necessarily missionaries of religion, but those who seek to change the behavior patterns in the culture upon which the expanding culture impinges. The essence of this social process is the same whether the effort is to induce people to adopt kerosene instead of bean-oil or to adopt a Christian instead of a Buddhist devil. The outcomes should, of course, be judged on their merits. Standards for such judgments are not easy to establish; but we may say that ideas, commodities, and activities which contribute to the increment of the group numerically and qualitatively are "good."

Fundamentally, the changes which result from the impingement of cultures are the result of man's efforts to satisfy his wants—and men will normally adopt that course of action which seems to promise the greatest variety and intensity of want-satisfaction. Since the West offers such satisfactions in excess of the East, and since missionaries have been channels through which such satisfactions have come, a greater or less degree of success has attended their efforts. In fact, as one looks at the whole drama of modern history, he is inclined to feel that the thousands of missionaries scattered over the Orient have had a profoundly significant part in stimulating and satisfying human wants.

The story of missions—and, in fact, the story of modern civilization—remains to be told in such terms. Until it is so told we shall have no really basic "rethinking missions." The volumes under review are almost completely destitute of such interpretation. Useful as they are in a limited way, a very great opportunity for genuine social analysis has been lost.

GUY W. SARVIS

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

The Costs of Medical Care. By I. S. FALK, C. RUFUS ROREM, and MARTHA D. KING. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xviii+623. \$4.00.

This *Journal* has reviewed separately earlier reports of which this volume is a summary. The present work of condensation and interpretation was itself a monumental task and deserves appraisal as such. The original objectives of the Committee on Costs of Medical Care were to ascertain the extent of need, i.e., of illness, disability, and other conditions calling for care; the existing facilities (physical, social, and personal) for service; what adequate care requires; the proportion of unmet need; the potential outlay; the actual outlay for facilities and for services; the procedures and channels of payment or support: the income of practitioners and of health agencies; the degree of adequacy of the current state of affairs; the experiments and possibilities in the way of reorganization. The findings show these points covered, with some fairly definite conclusions to be drawn.

1. Need is constant for a total population. It also varies slightly by classes, inversely with income, but unpredictably from family to family.

2. Total hospital beds (955,859 in 1930) are not only inadequate in number but maldistributed in place, function, or availability.

3. Adequate care should include preventive services, health education, physicians, nursing, hospitalization, convalescent and remedial work, medicine and appliances. Estimates for these elements are given.

4. Adequacy of care now increases with income. Existing facilities are not fully utilized.

5. If needs, incomes, or sanctions should change, far more could be afforded so as to provide adequate care for all. Because of inaccessibility, local inadequacy, ignorance, apathy, or cost, existing facilities fail to meet many needs. Adequate care would not require larger total expenditure, but would require it to be so spent as to provide added personnel and equipment: double the hospital beds, 21 per cent more physicians, twice the nurses, two or three times the dentists. Realization of total potential effective demand awaits, of course, the redistribution of wealth and income. Only 60 per cent of the population actually hired medical service in 1929.

6. The nation spent (1929) \$3,656,000,000 for its medical care: \$30.08 per capita, \$123 per family. The channels of payment were traced and reported both in detail and in bulk. Even the 60 per cent who paid the \$2,900,000,000 of private fees paid with great unevenness, because of un-

even distribution of illness and of wealth and income. The individual savings for individual payments are wasteful, uneconomical, and chaotic both for patients and for those who render services. Expenditures bear little relationship to size of family. They are seldom budgeted in advance.

7. Medical practitioners netted an average income of \$5,300 in 1929; but this includes many specialists and many poverty areas, and covers a relatively short working prime. The median for general practitioners was only \$2,900; 33 per cent of them are considered to have incomes inadequate for their profession; 18 per cent fell below \$1,500 in 1929. Hospitals for chronics are largely tax supported: \$300,000,000, or nearly one-half of all hospital operating costs, were derived from taxation.

8. The general state of affairs is summed up in the following:

Medical service should be more largely furnished by groups of physicians and related practitioners, so organized as to maintain high standards of care and to retain the personal relations between patients and physician.

The costs should be distributed over groups of people and over periods of time.

Methods of preventing disease should be more extensively and more effectively applied, as measures both of service and of economy; and should be so financed as to minimize the economic deterrents to their extension.

The facilities and services should be co-ordinated by appropriate agencies on a community basis.

9. Studies of many experiments along these and other lines, involving new ways of evening and distributing costs and services, are summarized and appraised.

Despite his statement that the essence of medical care is a personal service, President Wilbur's emphasis in the Foreword, on medicine as an industry, may account in part for the sharp response on this issue on the part of the Bureau of Medical Economics of the American Medical Association. In view of the constructive spirit of the Committee's work and reports, it is not easy for a layman to diagnose the visceral vigor of reactionaries' reactions in other than terms of unconscious motivations and resistance.

This volume, together with the final report, *Medical Care for the American People*, will be the most important books of reference in their field for many years.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The Family and the State: Select Documents. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xiv + 565. \$3.50.

This volume is one of a series intended to provide documentary material for basic courses in social work. It is expected that the course in which this book will be used will be in addition to a course in family social work and one in social work and the courts. Hence the field of interest is rather narrowly confined to those aspects of substantive law which deal with important family situations. The attempt throughout is to give the embryonic social worker an appreciation of the stream of thought embodied in law relative to family difficulties. This is done by presenting the documents under each head in chronological order. For the most part the materials are drawn from statutes and judicial decisions in England and America. The chief topics covered are the abolition of clandestine marriage, child marriages, uniformity in marriage laws, reciprocal rights of husband and wife each in the person of the other, property rights of husband and wife, parent and child, guardianship, adoption, illegitimacy, and the termination of the marriage tie. To those familiar with legal case-books in domestic relations, these are expected topics, but the judicious selection of materials with the view to the particular interests of the social worker, and the careful introductory statements preceding each group of documents in this volume, give it a unique place in socio-legal literature.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Abortion: Legal or Illegal? By A. J. RONGY. New York: Vanguard Press, 1933. Pp. 212. \$2.00.

This book, popular rather than learned, argues that laws against abortion are an unenforceable heritage of Christianity, and, in many cases and situations, unwise and antisocial; hence they ought to be repealed. The author's purpose seems to be to convince the intelligent layman that it is about time we faced realities in this field. Dr. Rongy estimates that there are two million abortions in the United States annually. Dr. F. J. Tausig's minimum figure is seven hundred thousand, with fifteen thousand deaths. Some large cities probably have more abortions than births.

It is reported that Russia has had only two deaths in forty thousand cases when the interruption was performed under aseptic conditions in skilled hands. In this country the maternal mortality resulting from unskilled interruption is a national scandal.

Rongy rather successfully compares the present abortion situation with prohibition before repeal. The reviewer is of the opinion that he has, on the whole, made out a good case, although there are several statements, or phrases, to which he would take exception. Several of these relate to birth control. The argument for widening indications for abortion is mainly sound.

The cases presented in the chapter on "The Abortion Racket" are of special interest.

The book lacks indexes, references, and a bibliography.

NORMAN E. HIMES

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

An Introduction to Homemaking and Its Relation to the Community.

By WILLIE MELMOTH BOMAR. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1931. Pp. 241.

This little volume should successfully introduce the young student to the problems of the homemaker. It is attractively written and shows a wide range of learning in the social and economic field. The chapters on "Some Social Influences Affecting Family Life" (chap. ii) and "Some Civic Interests Which Are Reflected in Home Life" (chap. iii) show a specially intelligent and liberal use of material from the fields of law and governmental organization. The chapter, too, on "The Care of the Child" is comprehensive. "Planning the House," "Putting System in Household Routine," and "Prevention of Disease and Health Building" are the three other chapters. Each discussion, which presents the various aspects of homemaking as a serious professional undertaking worthy of the serious consideration of the competent student, is supplemented by a set of skilfully framed questions and a carefully selected bibliography. The omission which attracts the notice of the reader is the subject of sources of income and the relation of adequacy and regularity to successful homemaking. Perhaps Mrs. Abel is supposed to have adequately dealt with this, but her volume on *Successful Family Life on a Moderate Income* is of years long gone by, and there is much to be said now on various aspects of family finance and budgetary. The reader of these chapters knows that a discussion by Dr. Bomar would be thoroughly competent.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Education for Home and Family Life, Part I; "In Elementary and Secondary Schools." (White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.) New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. xii+124. \$1.00.

The goal of education for home and family life is conceived by the Subcommittee on Preparental Education as threefold: to help the child adjust himself in the parental home; to aid him in achieving in adolescence the necessary independence of that home; and to assist him in maintaining the proper balance of interdependence involved in the forming of a new family of his own. The problem is approached in two ways: by a summary of the needs of youth as seen by psychologists, youth themselves, and school administrators; and by a survey of courses and less formal methods used by schools in the attempt to educate children for family life. The latter part of the report has many suggestions for school administrators and teachers who are interested in devising courses for education for home and family life.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Child Psychology. By JOHN J. B. MORGAN. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931. Pp. ix+474. \$4.00.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more adequate introduction to child psychology than this small volume. Although the author's aim is to present in systematic form the latest findings of others, he has done much more than this. His own contribution is the welding of a wide range of facts and values into a unified work which is enjoyable and worth-while reading for anyone interested in human behavior. To students entering the field it should prove actually exciting. Directness, clear, non-technical language, balanced presentation of opposing views, and a salt of humor characterize the author's style; and he cites throughout the most recent data from the research laboratories. It seems a little strange, however, to find no mention of Dr. Charlotte Buehler's *The First Year of Life*. The chapters on the development of meanings, emotional and social development, and the child's adjustment to his family are of sociological interest.

RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Delinquent Child. (White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.) New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. xx+499. \$3.50.

This book consists of a series of chapters concerning delinquency, each chapter prepared by a subcommittee of the general committee. After a summary of the general report, chapters are devoted to the delinquent in relation to himself, and (with a change in terminology) the child in relation to his family, the school, the church, industry, community influences, and the state and the municipality. The committee which prepared the report contains the names of many of those eminent in the fields of child welfare, juvenile-court procedure, and theoretical interest in adolescent problems. Many different points of view, types of training, and backgrounds of experience were represented by members of the committee.

The committee made a valiant effort to arrive at a common point of view regarding the adjustment of the child, which may at times take the form of delinquency. Two principles are set forth: that "delinquency is a symptom, in that it is a rather naturally expected expression of some earlier, deeper or more pervasive maladjustment," and that "it is the delinquent rather than the delinquencies which requires and merits study."

The committee further posited two basic needs: the need for security and the need for development, common to all children. The discussion indicates that security pertains principally to emotional security and to the feeling that the child has of belonging to a family and of being loved by its family. Development concerns the growing independence and self-reliance of the child as he matures. It is stated further that institutions, such as the family and the state, have these same two needs, for security (stability) and for development (through the maturing of new units or persons). The child strives to secure satisfaction for his two basic needs; at the same time the various institutions and groups in society bring certain pressures to bear upon the child in order that institutional security and development also may be secured. In this situation the child may find a happy adjustment or he may become involved in clashes of interests and become maladjusted or delinquent.

The subject receiving the most complete discussion concerns the relation of the delinquent child to official agencies, such as the police, the juvenile court, child-caring agencies, and the parole system. Factual material is presented, and various principles are stated. The discussions of some of the other subjects covered by the report tend to be sketchy and superficial. There are several reasons for their superficial character: the

space allotted to each subject was insufficient for a thorough discussion; the attempt to explain everything in terms of two basic needs inhibited the interpretation; and the lack of adequate factual data prevented the development of a sound argument. There is, for instance, a general "feeling" evident in the discussion that industry and broken homes are two factors in the development of delinquency, but there exists very little organized factual material to support either contention. In fact, the book might almost be recommended to researchers in the field of delinquency to show the many phases of the problem which have as yet received no, or very inadequate, study.

The book closes with an Appendix of certain factual material relating to the subjects covered and with an adequate Bibliography.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Resistant Behavior of Preschool Children. By RUTH KENNEDY CAILLE.

New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. xv + 142.

Several studies of the social behavior of young children, begun under the direction of Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, have recently appeared. The present author states clearly her assumptions: first, that overt behavior is highly indicative of personality, especially during the first few years of life; and, second, that objective methods can be devised for the study of certain aspects of this behavior. The results go far toward justifying these assumptions.

Thirty-six children in the nursery school of the Child Development Institute of Teachers College were observed during free play periods, 1,002 five-minute records being taken, in 67.7 per cent of which no resistance appeared. A common-sense definition of resistant behavior was built up, and acquiescence and aggression were also studied. It is explicitly recognized by the author that a person who never resists may become a completely submerged personality.

Data from a two-day stenographic record of each child's language and from stenographic reports of his behavior during intelligence tests were also considered. A low negative correlation was found between resistance in free play periods and in the intelligence-test situation, indicating that resistant behavior may be quite specific. This is a step forward toward a goal which the reviewer holds to be most important—the study of a child in all the social situations he habitually enters. Such all-round analysis is

apparently the only means we have of getting at the facts concerning personality rôles at this level, and could be developed to the point where it would yield useful indexes of trait stability.

Dr. Caille found that it was not possible to classify the children studied, on the basis of her data alone, into definitely resistant or acquiescent types. This too is encouraging!

RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Behavior of Young Children, III: "Children with Materials"; "Children with Other Children." By ETHEL B. WARING and MARGUERITE WILKER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. xiv+198. \$1.25.

This book, consisting of two distinct parts, is well organized and simple; it would be very useful for a study group of mothers without previous background in child psychology. The section, "Children with Materials," opens with brief descriptions of the behavior of children with playthings, continues with brief quotations from child psychologists and educators, and ends with a long series of questions to guide the mother or teacher in training the child to independent and effective use of material objects. The second part, "Children with Other Children," follows the same plan and emphasizes the adjustment of children to other children and to adults. Of great interest is the introduction by Patty Smith Hill, which sets forth in simple terms a conception of child psychology which views the child as engaged in experimental and random activity, which must be organized along socially approved lines; out of his experiences in making these adjustments comes his conception of life and of his rôle in the world.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

The Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association. By GRACE H. WILSON. New York: Teachers College, 1933. Pp. 156. \$2.00.

An organization which has its chief peculiarity in being all things to all men has difficulty in explaining to its own workers, to its patrons, and to its members the relations between its various activities and its stated purposes. If one judge from this record (it is a record of apologetics, not a philosophy) the Y.W.C.A. worker wakes up every morning wondering

what is today's reason for carrying on the day's work, which latter, I suspect, is not so much different from yesterday's. One also suspects that the discussions here recorded have not impinged deeply on the young women who eat, sleep, swim, do their exercises, and attend classes in the Y.W.C.A. building in Middletown. That suspicion may be unjustified, but there is nothing in the book to enlighten us on the point.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan. By JAMES T. FARRELL. New York: Vanguard Press, 1934. Pp. 412. \$2.50.

This novel deals with the leisure-time activities of a young man living in a middle class Irish-American community in Chicago at the time the area was being invaded by the Negroes. Written in the argot of the young hoodlum the story reveals the wide range of both the conventional and delinquent activities in which this young man and his friends engaged. Most clearly depicted is the fact that the spontaneous, undirected, neighborhood groups, whose activities centered around the local recreational institutions, exercised far more control over the activities of these individuals than did their homes, the church, or the school.

Although this novel portrays certain aspects of city life vividly, it does not contribute significantly to our understanding either of young men in particular or human behavior in general. The characters are not sharply drawn, and at times the dialogue seems quite unreal. Unfortunately the author's interest in attempting to shock his readers appears to be greater than his interest in an accurate characterization of the young men around whom this story is developed.

HENRY D. MCKAY

BEHAVIOR RESEARCH FUND
CHICAGO

The Development of American Commerce. By JOHN H. FREDERICK. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932. Pp. xx+390. \$3.00.

The genesis of this book, like that of many another in the field of social science, arose from the desire on the part of an instructor to make the subject matter of his course more accessible to his students. The book is largely a compilation of secondhand materials brought together from scattered sources for classroom convenience. Throughout, the author leans heavily on the standard works of Bogart, Lippincott, Johnson, and other

students of economic history. The materials are classified under three general headings, viz., foreign commerce, domestic commerce, and commercial policy, each subject being treated separately by convenient periods.

The extensive time span—from Colonial times to the present day—and the wide range of subject matter dealt with have necessitated rigorous condensation. The author shows considerable skill in the selection and presentation of data. He has brought together in a clear, compact form a vast amount of factual information on the development of American commerce. So loaded is the book with tables, charts, and other factual data that little space is left for theory or interpretation. Perhaps it is intended that theory should be built up from the facts in classroom discussion. Of the threefold classification of subject matter that of internal commerce receives the least adequate treatment. In the absence of statistical information by which to measure the trend of domestic commerce, Professor Frederick has largely restricted his data in these chapters to general facts on population, production, transportation, and coastwise trade. But even with the limited sources of information at hand, a much more cogent description of tendencies might have been given. This pertains particularly to developments since 1900. On the whole, however, the author has performed a worth-while service in making the scattered materials in this field more readily accessible.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Die Geschlossene Wirtschaft. By BERNHARD LAUM. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933. Pp. vi+503.

The character and tendency of the book are well hinted at in a few personal remarks in the Preface, dated September 20, 1933—after Hitler's coming into power:

I do not belong to the old guard of the Nationalistic Socialistic movement. . . . And I must confess, that it was for me a deeply shattering experience to realize that, although externally I still stood far outside of National Socialism, within myself I had already belonged to it for a long time. . . . I have confidence that even those who became converts by the road of scientific research will not be turned away" [from entrance into the Nazi ranks].

Indeed, what the author, who did not succeed in getting a university professorship under the old German régime and who, we hope, will succeed under the present one, drives at is a quasi-scientific presentation of

economic ideas current among the Nazis. In his methodological discussion he emphasizes the influence of non-economic motives on economic actions; of irrational forces as against rational ones, and of *Tatsachenschilderung* as against theoretical discussion. It emphasizes the description of the *seelischen Kräfte der unteren Volksschicht* and the importance of *Volkstum* as well as of *psychologische Einfühlung*. Of course, in matters economic as well as cultural, he is for national autarchy, and the book is written to show the different forms in which self-sufficiency (political, economic, cultural, etc.) rules the lives of nations, and to argue for the higher "value" of the autarchic type of social institutions.

He then analyzes the "motives" leading to closed social groups. The force of "blood" and of *Erdverbundenheit* (association with the soil?), magic, and religious influence, mystical relations of human beings to animals and plants, etc., are many factors mentioned as leading (primitive) communities into isolation. Taboo concepts, for example, are interpreted as "autarchy" phenomena; so are all isolations of individuals such as those of boys and girls at the time of puberty, etc. By this "method" the author succeeds in uncovering a wide range of "autarchic" social processes, emphasizing always their sentimental, mystical, and irrational aspects, and neglecting any attempt at serious interpretation. Nor is any attempt offered to evaluate the relative importance of these alleged "autarchic" phenomena as compared with non-autarchic ones; on the contrary, the impression is conveyed to the reader that almost any aspect of social life, with the exception of intertribal and international commerce, might be classified as an example of the author's construction.

It would be difficult, however, to say what the author means by "autarchy." He does not attempt a definition, but uses the word obviously as synonymous with isolation and privacy of any kind. What he argues for is partial isolation, allowing for the advantages of some amount of intercourse, without defining the limits. Of course it is difficult to interpret in rational and articulate terms the flow of irrational thoughts, or rather words, which intends to create the impression of a specific type of social relations in accordance with Nazi ideals of national and racial isolation. What does it mean, for instance, if the *seelische* contact between the worker and the means of production is stressed, or the "labor honor" praised as a factor of self-sufficiency? Obviously it is Bergson's concept of the "closed" personality as opposed to the "open" one, which is used here to propagandize the ideology of middle-class workmanship as against the capitalistic commercial unit.

That religion as well as private property creates some sort of isolation

is patent, and an amount of material drawn from secondhand sources gives the author a good chance to indulge in the praise of religious irrationalism, on the one hand, and anticommunistic propaganda; on the other. The application of the same points of view to the modern state, and its politico-economic policies, differs from the discussion of the primitive and precapitalistic by the ignorance even of secondhand literature and material. One is not surprised to find (pp. 210-76) that the mercantilistic policy of complete social control, as well as the idea of governmental "social education" and of governmental "social justice," lead—like nationalism, and like the linguistic, racial, and cultural community—to the practice of isolation. France, the author thinks, is the classical case for a modern autarchic political unit (which is very characteristic of the Nazi ideal of "modern," as well as of France).

In a last section the author discusses the present crisis as caused by rationalism, specialization, individualism, and other "eccentricities." His crisis theory sounds like that of the technocrats, and his methods of liquidating the crisis by returning to "organic entities," by "re-integration," by return to "sound naturalism," etc., are almost verbally identical with the phraseology of the Nazi propaganda. In other words, bigger and better autarchy is what Germany needs, autarchy or isolation being the way to higher development of physical forces, of which the author thinks Japan is a good example, to psychic progress such as better self-control, to higher morality, and, no doubt, to cultural supremacy of the self-sufficient "inland" and agrarian unit, as compared with the modern "coastal," colonial, and urban culture.

MELCHIOR PALYI

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Internationalism. By CLARK FOREMAN. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1934. Pp. x+154. \$1.75.

The term "autarchy" was a dud. Some appetizing name for the new mercantilism had to be invented, and what could be more enticing than "the New Internationalism"? Most of this pamphlet was written under the impact of the Roosevelt message to the World Economic Conference of July, 1933. The administration itself now views these problems in a more sober light, and the organized equity gamblers are thoroughly disgruntled with the limits that seem to be imposed on "monetary" nationalism. The literary backwash of the crest of the wave is still coming in, however. Elizabethan mercantilism is described as "the first attempt at national planned economy." Adam Smith—thoroughly misinterpreted—was the

spokesman of "capitalist internationalism," although the author fails to clarify the curious inconsistencies in the behavior of the "capitalists" and the theories of their spokesman. Economists are described as teaching a "so-called economic law that efficiency in production and distribution demanded that everybody buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," and they are supposed to hold this law "more powerful in motivating human conduct than the spirit of nationalism." The "old internationalism"—whatever that may be—is viewed as the cause of our present difficulties, and in the current trend all countries have insisted "that the co-operation be among nations rather than international, in the old supranational sense." Just what does "supra-national" mean? The League of Nations—says Mr. Foreman—is no longer entitled to be called a "world-affair." But does he really believe that it ever had "supra-national" authority? And, incidentally, has he ever read the agenda for the World Economic Conference? If he has, can he honestly claim that it was a program of "laissez-faire" with its succession of proposals for *organization* of international economic relations? The book ends quite properly with a plea for a more favorable view of fascism in all its various forms and with a denunciation of "self-styled liberals," the "Don Quixotes of today."

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sociology and the Study of International Relations. By L. L. and JESSIE BERNARD. St. Louis: Washington University, 1934. Pp. 115.
\$1.25.

If there is any branch of public affairs and intellectual discipline which requires the broad and comprehensive approach to be found only in the sociological viewpoint, it is the field of international relations.

Most of the classic works on world-politics and international relations have, however, been written by historians, political scientists, international lawyers, and publicists—who are, for the most part, very innocent of sociology.

Nevertheless, the sociologists themselves have made many important contributions to the field of international relations, though they have been mainly scattered fragments in larger sociological enterprises.

Professor and Mrs. Bernard have made a very important and useful contribution both to sociology and to international relations by executing a very scholarly and searching investigation of the sociological contributions to the clarification of the field of international relations. There is also

included a brief summary of the sociology courses in the United States which deal with one or another aspect of international relations.

It is to be hoped that this splendid bibliographic summary can find its way into the hands of the conventional writers in the field. A greater infusion of sociological thought and methods into the international field is bound to broaden and freshen our approach to the study of world-politics.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Peace by Revolution: An Interpretation of Mexico. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. 317.

Abandoning the heavy paraphernalia of factual statistical analysis which characterizes his earlier book, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*, Tannenbaum has widened his horizon and attempted an interpretation of not only the agrarian phases of the 1910-21 revolution and its aftermath, but of all Mexican history, *the revolution, agrarian and otherwise*, included. The author's two leading hypotheses are: first, throughout Mexican history there has been a fundamental conflict between the culture of the city and that of the *campo*, between the indigenous Indian village and the imported Spanish and *mestizo* urban center; and, second, the "best key" to Mexican history is to be found in the oft-repeated attempts (of which the 1910-21 revolution was the final effort) to "liquidate the consequence of the Spanish Conquest."

With two axes to grind and a lay audience in mind, it is perhaps inevitable that the author should find the strictness of careful documentation too binding for his purposes. If this detracts somewhat from the scientific value of *Peace by Revolution*, it in no way affects its interest or provocativeness.

EYLER N. SIMPSON

Mexico City, Mexico

The War for the Land in Ireland. By BRIAN O'NEILL. New York: International Publishers, 1933. Pp. 201. \$1.50.

All the traditional Irish characteristics are exhibited in this little book: imagination, vituperation, exaggeration, pathos, and illogicality. It is an attempt by a young Irish communist to show that Ireland is ready for a communist revolution of the strict Marxian sort. The absurdity of the

idea can be shown in two sentences: The Irish Free State has barely three million inhabitants. It has more than four hundred and forty thousand agricultural, landowning families—pious Roman Catholic peasants.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Paradox in Hawaii. By DAVID LIVINGSTON CRAWFORD. Boston:
Stratford Co., 1933. Pp. iv+262. \$2.00.

The paradox which gives the title to President Crawford's volume on the industrialization of the Hawaiian Islands is in reality a conflict of economic interests and doctrines, on the one hand, and of educational policy and practice, on the other. The development and existence of a large-scale plantation agriculture calls for a large number of unskilled and low-cost laborers. The maintenance of a free and compulsory school system has resulted in a supply of educated young people, in excess of the number of skilled and semiskilled jobs available in the present type of industrial structure, who are unwilling to live as plantation laborers. The author presents three possible solutions: (1) It would be possible to destroy the plantation system of agriculture. This he rejects on the ground that it is the best, if not the only possible, system in the natural conditions. (2) It would be possible to abandon the American system of universal education. This is rejected on the grounds of its being contrary to American ideals and that the people would not accept it. (3) It would be possible to bring industry and education into harmony by modifying each. This is the solution proposed and advocated. In reality, the tendency of the concrete scheme advanced involves major changes in the educational system and minor ones in the plantation economy. President Crawford's assertion that the correct way to meet the problem can be discovered only by trial and error should be vigorously challenged. Such a statement is a frank admission of intellectual bankruptcy. It is quite possible that the solution will be reached by trial and error. This, however, is not because trial and error is the correct way to meet this or any other problem but because the forces contending in the situation may prevent a solution by intelligence rather than by major force.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Alabama in the Fifties: A Social Study. By MINNIE CLARE BOYD.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. 263. \$4.25.

This study presents an intimate picture of life in the South in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War.

It brings out the fact that Alabama in the fifties was still more or less in the frontier stage of development, with a new and rapidly expanding cotton area. Commerce and industry were adjuncts of agriculture. Cotton production dominated the economic, political, and social life of the state. One gets from the reading of this volume something of a cross-section of the extension of the cotton area to the southwestward.

In the thirties and forties Alabama was receiving a large number of immigrants, with a predominance of cotton planters from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In the fifties it is pointed out that there was a large emigration from Alabama of cotton planters, especially to Mississippi and Texas, and in a lesser degree to Arkansas and Louisiana.

The section of the book on religion is particularly illuminating. The two chief denominations in the state were the Baptist and the Methodist. Among the distinctive features of the religion in the state in the fifties were intolerance, the efforts of the denominations for reorganization after the splits in the previous decade over slavery, and the responsibility which the churches assumed for the welfare of the slaves. It was stated that the churches regarded the slaves as a definite responsibility. Whites and Negroes usually belonged to and attended the same church. In many instances, especially in the Baptist and Methodist churches, the Negroes outnumbered the whites. The theory back of the responsibility which the churches assumed for the welfare of the slaves appeared to be that religion would not only make the slaves better morally, but also more contented with their lot, that is to say, this responsibility was not altogether altruistic.

MONROE N. WORK

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Valenge Women. By DORA E. EARTHY. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. Pp. xii+251. \$10.

This carefully documented little monograph on the life of girls and women among the Valenge tribe of South Africa has been written in a fine tradition, that inaugurated by H. Junod, in his *Story of a South African Tribe* and other studies of peoples to whom the Valenge are closely related. Miss Earthy, as a missionary, worked among the Valenge for thir-

teen years, and had incomparable opportunities for studying the culture from the woman's point of view. Availing herself of all the assistance, the illumination which could be thrown upon her task by the work of Junod, and adhering persistently to the feminine aspect of her study, she has produced a careful and valuable piece of work. Comparative students will perhaps value it most because it fills in the gap which male students were forced to leave in the ethnography of this region; the most striking specific contribution is probably the description of the girl's puberty ceremonials, in which the girls are ceremonially deflowered by the older women of the tribe.

MARGARET MEAD

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK CITY

A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria. By STUART CARTER DODD. Beirut, Syria: American Press, 1934. Pp. xv + 336.

This three-hundred-page book describes itself as a study in the measurement of rural culture patterns and social forces. The survey was made by the American University of Beirut with the co-operation of the travelling clinic of the Near East Foundation. It is perfectly evident that a great deal of careful work went into the set-up of the experiment and into the execution of it. The detailed steps are reported so that the procedures as well as the findings may be appraised by students and critics. A readable account of the survey is followed by voluminous appendixes and an Index. In spite of the impressive tables and of the possibly too slavish copying of the techniques and verbalization of the natural sciences, one still has some question as to the value of statistical appraisals, however "scientific," which are based on data as haphazard as answers by illiterate Arabs and Armenians to elaborate questionnaires as to their personal practices.

EDWIN R. EMBREE

ROSENWALD FUND

Československá Vlastivěda ("Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects"), Vol. II: *Clověk* ("Man"). Prague, Czechoslovakia: "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1933. Pp. 624. Kc. 300.

Under the auspices of the Masaryk Academy of Work of Czechoslovakia, a series of volumes is now being published which is to include a comprehensive description of all phases of Czechoslovak social, political, his-

torical, and economic life, especially since the formation of the republic in 1918.

The present volume, edited by Jiří Horák, Jindřich Matiegka, and Karel Weigner, covers well the physical anthropological background of the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia. Special chapters are devoted to the anthropological studies of the Czechoslovak minorities (Ruthenians, Germans, Magyars, Jews, and gypsies). Finally, some twenty chapters deal with the health conditions and policy of the country in its social aspects.

Possibly the most interesting chapter is that by Jiří Malý, analyzing the physical changes which occur in the second generation of the Czechoslovak immigrants. Though Malý employs extensively the research done in this field by B. T. Baldwin, H. P. Bowdit, Aleš Hrdlička, and Jan Auerhan, he adds much new material of interest to the American observer of our immigration problems.

This is the most ambitious gathering of encyclopedic information on the subject. In fact, it can be claimed that the whole series resembles *Recent Social Trends*, though it does not limit itself to the social aspects. The work marks a definite progress in the interest of social sciences in Central Europe, which, truly, lag behind the advance made by American social scientists; but the publication of this book proves that the Czechoslovak students in this field aim to catch up with the American advance.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

The Discovery of Europe. By PAUL COHEN-PORTHEIM. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932. Pp. 296. \$3.00.

The broad thesis maintained in this study of present-day Europe is not by any means new in contemporary discussion. It is Mr. Cohen-Portheim's belief that European civilization is threatened, on the one hand, by Americanism with its worship of the machine and mass production, and, on the other, by Communism with its faith in regimentation and socialization. Thus Europeanism, in order to remain true to itself, and in the name of human individuality, must place the spiritual values which it has developed through the centuries above the rampant materialism which has come through the rise of the industrial order. Inevitably, England must take the lead in the rediscovery of Europe, in the recovery of her heritage.

Mr. Cohen-Portheim is, undoubtedly, a well-traveled scholar and a gentleman, and this impressionistic study contains many entertaining as well as illuminating experiences which come to an individual privileged to.

mingle with the upper strata of society. One is inclined to pass over lightly the fact that the author has little or no first-hand knowledge of the United States or Russia. The failure to recognize the significance of social and economic factors which condition the development of culture, however, cannot be glossed over so readily. Rediscovery is linked up so thoroughly with economic recovery—the achievement of an equilibrium of social classes—that realistic contemplation of the former may not neglect careful diagnosis of the latter.

S. MCKEE ROSEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Inquisition. By A. HYATT VERRILL. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932. Pp. 352. \$3.00.

Many are shocked by the reports of savagery and sadism in the Hitler régime in Germany. If, however, one turns for a moment to the Inquisition of the Middle Ages and early modern times, he discovers such a staggering record of savagery and blood lust as to give a decided impression that we have made headway toward tolerance and decency even in present-day Germany.

While there has been a vast body of descriptive information on the Inquisition in the voluminous works of Henry Charles Lea, we have lacked a good one-volume account in English. The brief summary by Mr. Maycock was a pro-Catholic apology designed to whitewash the Inquisition.

Mr. Verrill has brought out an extremely readable survey of the background, history, methods, and spread of the Inquisition.

While not a monument of historical scholarship, the book gives evidence of wide reading in the field and is generally reliable in its general picture of the times and tortures of the Inquisition. The author neither attempts to make the picture any darker than it really was nor to minimize the savagery and cruelty of the Inquisition. It is a first-rate and extremely convenient bit of historical popularization.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861. By HOWARD R. MARRARO. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xvi+345. \$3.50.

The expressions of opinion by Americans upon the successive episodes of the Italian *risorgimento*, from 1846 to 1861, are here summarized in a

well-ordered narrative. The author has made very extensive use of newspaper and magazine opinion and reporting, and of the pertinent parts of diaries, letters, speeches, and biographies of prominent American personages. The resulting representation of American comment and controversy over Italian matters is made lively and intimate by abundant quotation. The interpretations given are clear and little controversial.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the story is the division of American opinion upon almost every phase of political conflict in Italy. Some issues over which battles were being fought in Italy were live issues in the United States, and not merely because the United States had a leading rôle in the career of democracy in the world. Several Italian episodes aroused vehement controversy in the United States. Incipient mass movements took place. The conservative as well as the liberal side found strong advocates. These controversies are excellently reported in this book, and some attempt is made to analyze them. As in Italy, the aim of national unity and independence gained the support of monarchs and came into ascendancy over republican ideals, so in America, also, popular support was won away from the ideals of Garibaldi and Mazzini by the constitutional monarchical leaders, who had more evident power to attain independence and unity for Italy.

HARMON HAYES

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

Reflections on the End of an Era. By REINHOLD NIEBUHR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xii+302. \$2.00.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr has established himself as one of the three or four most courageous Christian critics of capitalistic greed and racketeering in the United States.

In the present volume Dr. Niebuhr surveys the collapse of capitalism and democracy and raises the question of what religion can do in the premises. He calls for a more thoroughgoing political and economic radicalism than most modernist clergymen would approve or risk. At the same time, he repudiates much of the theological liberalism of the contemporary modernist.

Dr. Niebuhr has never been distinguished for radicalism or clarity of thought in the field of religion. In the present volume he reverts still further toward intellectual fog and theological conservatism in his discussion of religion.

The book very admirably illustrates the old figure of the beam and the mote. Dr. Niebuhr berates the modern business man for his inability to

come realistically to terms with the facts and to adjust the business order to considerations of humanity, decency, and generosity. But he shows an almost equal incapacity himself to cast aside his religious stereotypes and come to terms with reality in the theological field.

Nothing short of humanism of a very radical type could be the religious counterpart of Dr. Niebuhr's economic radicalism. Yet he calls for a revival of premodernistic religious seriousness.

In spite of this intellectual inconsistency, fair-minded readers will do homage to Dr. Niebuhr's economic insight, social progressiveness, and personal courage.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

La fin du Moyen Age: La désagrégation du monde médiéval (1285-1453). By HENRI PIRENNE, EDOUARD PERROY, AUGUSTIN RENAUDET, MARCEL HANDELSMAN, and LOUIS HALPHEN.

La fin du Moyen Age: L'annonce des temps nouveaux (1453-1492). By the same authors. ("Peuples et civilisations: Histoire générale," publiée sous la direction de LOUIS HALPHEN et PHILLIPPE SAGNAC.) Paris: Félix Alcan, 1931. Pp. 569 and 324.

The tide of collaboratively written historical series which was inaugurated in 1894 by Lavisse and Rambaud's brilliant *Histoire générale*, continued in Lavisse' equally brilliant and successful *Histoire de France*, and imitated in the massive and Palladian tomes of the Cambridge quadruple (or is it quintuple?) series shows no sign as yet of receding. The series of which these two volumes are a part is a distinguished one, to be completed in twenty volumes, of which the foregoing works form the seventh volume (in two parts). That remarkable sense of form for which French literature is distinguished has enabled the five contributors to integrate their several parts so closely and compactly that the reader is hardly conscious of the plural authorship, and in spite of the diversity of the subject, the unity has been preserved. In the distribution of responsibility M. Pirenne has written those chapters which deal with economic and social conditions in the period; religious, intellectual, and aesthetic history has fallen to M. Renaudet; M. Handelsman, who is professor of history in the University of Warsaw, has properly taken Eastern Europe as his field; and M. Perroy has been chiefly responsible for the history of France, Germany, and Italy. The services of M. Halphen seem to have been almost wholly of an editorial nature. To his deep scholarship and deft hand the unity of

the books is due. Specific references are few, and quite justly so in a work of this sort. On the other hand, the bibliographies are full and up to date, and the indexes admirable. It would be inapposite to enter into a particular criticism of these two works in a mere review. Suffice it to say that they are a happy example of sound scholarship and popular presentation. One is glad to learn that an English translation of them is in preparation.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Roosevelt Revolution: First Phase. By ERNEST K. LINDLEY.

New York: Viking Press, 1933. Pp. viii+328. \$2.50.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of the New Deal, it is bound to constitute an important epoch in American social experimentation. Therefore, sociologists will welcome Mr. Lindley's clear and authoritative summary of the achievements of the Roosevelt administration in the first six months of its power. Mr. Lindley has been on intimate terms with members of the President's official family and writes as a trusted insider. His book is the most satisfactory and readable summary we have on the opening months of the New Deal. It is not likely to be surpassed or superseded until the passage of time gives us a better historical perspective on the events chronicled.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xv+468. \$4.00.

Professor Cole takes up his story at the beginning of the booming prosperity of the fifties—a prosperity based upon expanding transportation facilities, techniques of production, and the settlement of unoccupied areas. The manner in which this development accentuated the division of sectional characteristics and interests is skilfully indicated. War-time work of recruiting, supplying, and relieving the armies and the effect of the struggle on the civilian populations are considered. In the same balanced tone are portrayed the immigrant, the progress of reform movements, and changes in religious and cultural institutions. The book fully measures up to the high standard set by other published volumes of this series and to the expectations justified by the previous works of the author and his known familiarity with the field.

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Aspects of the Social History of America. By THEODORE SIZER, ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, DIXON RYAN FOX, HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. 120. \$1.50.

As the title implies, there is little unity in the four lectures at Mount Holyoke College which are published in this volume. It is, indeed, only by courtesy that the volume can be entitled "social history" at all. Professor McLaughlin's interpretative paper on the American Revolution is a scholarly essay on constitutional history. Henry Seidel Canby's lecture on "Thoreau and the Machine Age" is provocative and not without social implications, but it is too subjectivistic to be social history. Theodore Sizer's lecture on the development of American art endeavors to relate our artistic achievements to the broad stream of our cultural history, but the social influences on our art and its social implications are suggested only in the most general way. Dixon Ryan Fox's delightful lecture "Are We Better than Our Ancestors?" alone is representative of the best work of the contemporary school of American social historians. Rich and colorful in detail, Professor Fox's essay concludes that while it is difficult to say whether or not the individual American of 1930 is better than his ancestor of 1830—that is, more brave, more generous, more true—it is clear that in many ways "the social mind has become more sympathetic and more just."

MERLE CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward. By THOMAS FRANCIS CARTER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. xxvi+282. \$5.00.

This excellent, well-written, clear, and reliable *magnum opus* of the late Thomas Francis Carter is here presented in an almost exact reprint of the 1925 edition. It is not, as the back of the title-page states, a revised edition, the only changes from the 1925 edition consisting of one correction on page 12 and of a few bibliographical additions on pages 272 and 274 (see p. xii).

Carter died far too young and "himself considered this volume as only the first results of a research which he intended to carry much farther" (p. xii). As it stands, the book is, nevertheless, a classic of its kind and a worthy monument to keep alive the author's memory. Fresh youthfulness of research, carefully weighed and phrased statement of results, and

a thoroughly scholarly attitude in general rarely combine, as they do here, with so clear, fascinating, and forceful presentation. It is a book that is fully as necessary for the history of culture and science as is George Sarton's great *Introduction to the History of Science*; for the layman and the undergraduate it is more readable. Its range goes far beyond the title. As a reliable and attractive book on the interchange of cultural values between Eastern, Central, and Western Asia, and Europe and America it compares not unfavorably with the well-known publications of Berthold Laufer.

Carter was in living communication with great scholars in practically all of the wide and varied fields which he had to cover to write this book. He was himself at home in Chinese studies, and he clearly knew Greek, Latin, and other Indo-European languages well enough to check statements made in them on his own account. He was less at home in the Semitic and Islamic world. Much of his knowledge in these latter fields derives from excellent authorities, such as Grohmann, Margoliouth, and Moritz. In spite of this, it is in this field, rather than in Chinese, that a thorough revision and a number of additions would have been most necessary. Arabic and Syriac names appear in curious, sometimes almost unrecognizable, forms, e.g., *Juhith* for *Jāhīz* (p. 97); *Cauma* (from a French *c* with cedilla?) for *Sauma* (p. 127); the names of Mongol Ilkhāns and others. The statement on page 112 that "up to today the Koran has never been printed in any Mohammedan country except by lithography" was no longer true in 1931. Note 6 on page 241 needs re-writing. In case another reprinting of this invaluable book becomes necessary, not only a Sinologist but above all an Arabist and thorough student of Islamic culture should be consulted. For our own and other classes in survey courses on the rise and growth and interchange of human culture, science, and the arts, and for the growing number of educated Americans interested in a new view of a new present in the evolution of civilization, it is hoped that such a new, more carefully revised and corrected edition of this classic of youthful American science may soon appear.

M. SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

An Introduction to Library Science. By PIERCE BUTLER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xvi+118. \$1.50.

A book of small compass and with excellent chapter headings, as this one, promises much in presenting the salient features of an important subject to the reading public. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that

the author saw fit to devote two-thirds of his treatment to generalities, which in addition do not appear to bring him very much nearer to his main theme, and for the rest sketched all too hastily certain more pertinent phases of his problem.

Beginning with an assertion that the "librarian apparently stands alone" in possessing "a unique immunity" to things modern, then suggesting that the modern and the scientific are virtually synonymous terms (*pace* modernistic jazz and painting!), following this with comments on social institutions in general and education in particular (with practically nothing about the library as such), the reader is told that "by opening a book he can read in an hour more than was often taught him in days of classroom instruction!" Similar observations ensue for the most part, although in the last third of the treatment something of concrete worth is said about the development of the book, the art of printing, the American library system, certain so-called "historical aspects of knowledge," and the practical values of creating a professional philosophy of librarianship and a scientific attitude toward the library's problems. These values may be whole-heartedly admitted, but one may nevertheless be pardoned for being somewhat skeptical that a mixture of inadequate analysis and conventional generality will bring them nearer to realization.

Nor is it proper to reply that no materials for a more adequate analysis are as yet at hand. With the same chapter headings—sociological, historical, psychological, and practical aspects of librarianship (not "library science," which is a misnomer)—and a judicious selection from recent library literature and library-school developments, a much more adequate *Introduction* could very readily have been gathered together. Thus could have been indicated: the various social forces which brought the library into being and which continue to nourish it; the governmental, educational, philanthropic, and other interests which in the last seventy-five years have produced the American library; the geographical, population, and technological changes in the United States which are now making for specialization among libraries and for their more widespread usefulness as a result of increased leisure; the significance of certain psychological and other studies of readers and reading habits, to determine the character, quantity, distribution, and sources of adult reading in various cities of the United States; and the bearing of such practical developments as widespread bibliographical aids to reading, studies in library administration, and the need for centralized planning with definite powers of control.

JOSEPH MAYER

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Bibliothèques populaires et loisirs ouvriers: Enquête faite à la demande du Bureau International du Travail. Paris: Société des Nations, Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1933. Pp. 333. \$1.60.

We have here by far the most satisfactory description of the modern public (popular) library. Competent authorities in most nations of Europe, plus Japan, Mexico, and the Soviet Union, have described the nature, scope, patronage, and problems of the many sorts of libraries that supply reading to the masses. The book is admirably edited for reference use.

To the sociologist, however, or to anyone seeking more knowledge of social forces from data on popular reading, the report is less satisfactory. The study was initiated by Albert Thomas to define an additional cultural service to the labor population which the International Labour Office might foster. Hence one expects some effort to meet the question—What can we learn from the reading of the laboring classes about their dominant hopes and fears, about the similarity of their attitudes in different countries toward problems of international concern, or about the uses made of particular sorts of reading to the end of larger personal satisfaction or toward a better solution of labor problems? On such matters there is scarcely a shred of evidence in the whole book.

What the sociologist can extract from the book, however, is the conviction that some workers take reading seriously, that each group reads after its kind, and that some time in the near future public librarians may in self defense be obliged to record mass circulation in qualitative terms. When they do, they will not merely compete on even terms with the schools for the taxpayer's dollar, because they have defined the reading needs to be met, but they should also supply enough useful data on social problems and social trends to make public librarianship a reputable social science.

DOUGLAS WAPLES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Ritual: Psycho-analytic Studies. By THEODOR REIK. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1932. Pp. 367. \$5.00.

This authoritatively translated collection of Reik's contributions to the psychology and sociology of religion is prefaced by Freud, and deals with the "Couvade and the Psychogenesis of the Fear of Retaliation," "The Puberty Rites of Savages," "Kol Nidre," and "The Shofar." The hypothesis put forward by Freud in 1912 in *Totem and Tabu* has been taken

by Reik as the basis of his work, and however one may be impressed by the literary facility, industry, and acuteness of the investigator, one cannot escape regret that he has remained uninfluenced by the devastating methodological criticisms which have been leveled against his procedure. Much sounder views are to be found in the writings of Erich Fromm, which may be found in two methodological articles published in the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* and in his book on *Die Entwicklung des Christusdogmas* (Vienna, 1931).

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sorcellerie et religion, du désordre dans les esprits et dans les mœurs aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. By HENRI PENSA. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1933. Pp. 384. Fr. 20.

Between a pedantic and largely irrelevant "Avant-Propos" and a somewhat less pedantic but even more irrelevant conclusion, M. Pensa has sandwiched a story that will be of some service to students of religious irregularities in France. He might easily have been less episodic, for he makes almost no effort to indicate the association of some of these religious disorders with others, the common social factors from which they sprang, or the light they might shed upon the psychology and thought-patterns of their day. Instead, M. Pensa prefers to be shocked at the barbarities of witchcraft persecutions and the stupidities of theological disputes in the seventeenth century, and to scorn the excesses of convulsionaries and other misguided spirits of the eighteenth. One reflection alone stands out as significant among many didacticisms, viz., that witch-hunting and clerical wranglings were often fomented by governmental authorities for purely political motives. The book's chief value lies in the numerous documents which the author has culled from several departmental archives. Unfortunately, they are too infrequently interpreted with sufficient critical acumen.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Reformers: Adam Smith to John Dewey. Edited by DONALD O. WAGNER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xvii + 749. \$3.50.

These selections from some of the classics of modern social thought serve as an excellent introduction to the historic antecedents of the "new social order." Although no attempt is made to encompass the total philosophy of the thirty-odd thinkers quoted, the selections do show the impact

of each upon subsequent thought. Chronology, similarity of viewpoint, and evolution of doctrine have been carefully observed in the arrangement of the materials.

Recognizing the difficulty of classifying such a varied group, Dr. Wagner calls them all "social reformers." Since the range of thought presented includes such divergencies as are to be found in Smith, Owen, Kingsley, Godwin, Spencer, Bakunin, Sorel, Lenin, and Tolstoy, this is not entirely satisfactory. Without taking too seriously the circumstances under which the issue was recently raised in the United States, there are distinctions both between reform and revolution and between reformers and revolutionists of sufficient importance to merit recognition. However, the failure of the editor to take these into account will not detract seriously from the book, which will be exceedingly valuable to those who wish to re-examine their heritage in this long line of social leaders.

EDWARD JEROME WEBSTER

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

The Philosophy of Henry George. By GEORGE R. GEIGER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xx+581. \$3.00.

This book contains all the information anyone can desire about Henry George. It gives his life; the background of his single tax theory; his relation to socialism, to economics, to religion, and to ethics. It follows the history of the single tax to date.

George was perhaps the greatest social philosopher ever produced in America. He overemphasized the importance of land rent, but his criticism of the existing social order will always stand as a challenge, until the scandal of poverty in the midst of plenty is abolished.

For the sociologist George is a type of the social reformer ahead of his generation. His analysis of social and economic forces is inadequate and one-sided. His reform, if it comes, will be included as a detail in a more comprehensive scheme of social reorganization.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the single-tax theory is the way in which it appeared independently in various countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is an excellent illustration of the multiple origin and cross-fertilization of a cultural element. The author brings out a part of this story very well. He neglects another, and very interesting, part of it—that played by the economists Walras and Gossens and the scientist Alfred Russell Wallace.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

BARD COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France. By SAMUEL BERNSTEIN. New York: Elliot Publishing Co., 1933. Pp. x+229. \$2.50.

No one who has not attempted for himself to trace the infiltration and development of the Marxian philosophy in the French labor movement can really appreciate the enormous labor and molelike research which has gone into the making of this book. One need only point to the fact that French material on this theme is scarce and inadequate, and that the only German brochure on the subject was published as late as 1930 and offers merely a bare sketch of the period covered in such detail by Dr. Bernstein.

Indeed, the chief criticism which can be leveled against Dr. Bernstein's study is that it is a little too detailed. The reader is so swamped by the number and minutiae of references that only one who is already somewhat acquainted with the different schools of French socialism can keep his head above water and follow the exciting conflict of principles in the French labor movement. Dr. Bernstein would have been better served if he had adopted an easier narrative approach and interrupted it only for the sake of doctrinal exposition of the views of Proudhon and other French radical thinkers. As it is, the systematic character of Proudhon's philosophy is obscured by the chronological analysis, and in no place do we find a logical confrontation of Proudhon's views (or of any other person's, for that matter) with those of Marx.

Nevertheless, Dr. Bernstein's book provides a rich store of material for every student of French history, and more particularly for every student of Marxism. Chapter i is a valuable introduction which treats of the chief movements of French socialism before the Paris Commune, and of the nature and effects of the Commune. The discussion of Blanqui is illuminating. Although there are some dubious points of interpretation in Dr. Bernstein's treatment of the Commune, on the whole it is very adequate. Chapter ii concerns itself with the labor movement in France during the years immediately following the Commune, and it is only in chapter iii that the coming of Marxism into France is discussed. The two events which may be said to herald the birth of Marxism in France were the translation of Marx's *Capital* in 1875 and the winning-over of Guesde to the Marxist position. Chapter iv treats of the organization of the Socialist party, the evolution of its program, and the victory in 1880 of the Marxist minimal program over the anarchists, mutualists, and various Proudhonian grouplets.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Bernstein will soon bring his study down to the present.

SIDNEY HOOK

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

The Development of Economics. By WILLIAM A. SCOTT. New York: Century Co., 1933. Pp. xii + 540.

Teachers of the history of economic thought have known for years that Professor Scott was at work on a book in the field and have awaited the result with interest. They should not be disappointed. The author's long years of labor and of going over the material in the classroom and the ability as an expositor for which he has long been well known are both reflected in the high quality of the work. The space is devoted chiefly to the price and distribution phase of economics, and to the historical and socialistic schools since the founding of modern economic thought by the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*. A brief but very carefully compacted (sixty pages) survey of the mercantilistic background and the reaction against it, including a chapter of ten pages on the physiocratic system, is given as an introductory part. The reviewer would express particular approval of the relative "deflation" of the physiocrats, which might well be carried even farther. On the other hand, Hume deserves a more conspicuous place in the typographic arrangement, although Professor Scott is generous in what he says, in a few paragraphs in the chapter on Smith. Within the field covered, endless questions might, of course, be raised as to details in the selection of material and the proportion of space, but in the main the choices made will probably be as generally acceptable as any course which could have been followed. Many names will be missed by the reader familiar with other works in the field, as the author's policy has been to give either a usable account of an author or else bare mention or even complete omission. This is thoroughly defensible, but at one point a protest is surely in order. That a book of this length should barely mention the name of Jevons, and omit even that attention to Cournot and Walras and the entire mathematical group, seems really anomalous. It means in particular that a seriously disproportionate attention is given to the "Austrian" school in the narrow sense of the Viennese triumvirate, Menger, Wieser, and Böhm-Bawerk.

From the standpoint of textbook use, the first issue suggested by the book is that of the general character of the reading matter to be put in the hands of students. If they read these five-hundred-odd closely packed pages "about" the work of the various writers, even allowing for the copious use of citations, sometimes in fairly considerable blocks, they will not have much time for the more consecutive reading of the works themselves. These summaries are masterly from the standpoint of accurate, sympathetic, and readable exposition. But, in the second place, question might be raised as to the amount and character of criticism desirable.

Professor Scott has been heroically modest in presenting what the original authors thought, without using them to teach his own lessons. The reviewer inclines to much briefer and more critical treatment in text material or lectures, with more extensive reading from the leading makers of economic thought as it has come down to us. The nature of the criticism will naturally depend on the teacher's own doctrinal position, but this can hardly be concealed in any case. In this connection Professor Scott is again a close follower of the "Austrians," who in our opinion have been misleaders on some of the most fundamental questions.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Economics of Welfare. By A. C. PIGOU. 4th ed. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1932. Pp. xxxi+837. \$6.50.

This fourth edition of what has become in the last fifteen years an economics classic differs only in slight details from the third edition of 1928. Nevertheless, the mere reissuance of this work is particularly timely for American readers who are faced with the prospects of larger assumption of welfare responsibility by governmental agencies. While the work is based upon English conditions, its application to the American situation is clear to any discerning reader. The author holds that economic welfare is promoted by minimum standards of living, by subsidies up to a certain point from the national dividend or national income to permit workers to maintain at least a welfare minimum—that is, a level high enough to make impossible "the occurrence to anybody of extreme want." But he finds there is a limit beyond which it is impossible to go, and concludes that, although the national minimum may rightly be set up now much higher than it could have been set fifty or a hundred years ago, "with the *national average* no larger than it is, it is inevitable that the *national minimum* must still be set at a deplorably low level." In other words, as things are in Britain, it is literally impossible, "by any manipulation of distribution, to provide for all its citizens a really high standard of living." So far as America is concerned, this conclusion should be accepted not as a sentence but as a challenge, particularly under a régime professing to sponsor a new deal. In carrying out that new deal Professor Pigou is in a position to offer detailed counsel, which would include the necessity for international labor legislation, the right use of piecework and collective bargaining, and the use of the principle of rotating work rather than the out-and-out cutting-down of force by discharge in times of slack.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Unemployment Insurance and Relief in Germany. Compiled by VASO TRIVANOVITCH. New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1932. Pp. xvi+107. \$2.00.

This volume was compiled on the basis of official publications and interviews with leading personalities in the management of unemployment insurance and welfare relief in Germany. It gives a well-organized presentation of the statistical material, of the most important administrative details of unemployment insurance, of the emergency and welfare relief, and of the measures to "provide work" in Germany during the depression until the late fall of 1932. The emphasis is on the study of unemployment insurance in particular, which was introduced in 1927 and practically broke down in the fall of 1932. The contributions of the insured and their employers have been gradually raised from 3 to 6½ per cent of the basic wages; the benefits paid to the insured have been reduced to about half (from a minimum of over eighty marks to about fifty marks a month per person, i.e., to the level of charity pay); most of the unemployed have been removed automatically from the care of the insurance fund to that of some sort of charity or relief; the length of time for which the benefit was to be paid has been diminished from twenty-six to twenty weeks, and tests of need were introduced. In spite of all this, and in spite of an additional tax on every wage- and salary-earner's income to save the insurance fund, its deficit could not be eliminated. A main contention of the book is to show that unemployment insurance, trying to insure a non-actuarial risk, is bound to break down in a major depression. The author, however, entirely overlooks the fact that the introduction of this insurance shortly before the beginning of a depression made it practically impossible to build up substantial reserves. What his analysis shows is not, as he concludes, the plight of unemployment insurance, but rather the necessity to organize it in "good times," and not at the last moment before the crisis.

The study of charity for the unemployed, in the form of emergency and welfare relief in Germany, is much less exhaustive than that of the insurance. Its "physiological" shortcomings are left undiscussed, just as are the economic and social ones. Still less satisfactory is the analysis of the "measures to decrease unemployment by provision of work." The book lacks references to other literature but the official and quasi-official, and the points of view of the author show his one-sided choice of sources. He seems to lack insight into the social implications of insurance as compared with charity, and his treatment of unemployment relief by subsidized private or public work is necessarily incomplete since it does not visualize the complicated interrelations of this type of policy with others, such as commercial policy, agrarian subsidies, etc.

The contribution of the study consists in the compilations of statistical and administrative data on its subject; it would not have been diminished by leaving out most of its valuations and conclusions as to the results of the German experiment.

MELCHIOR PALYI

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Government by Judiciary. By LOUIS B. BOUDIN. New York: William Godwin, Inc., 1932. 2 vols. Pp. xvi+583 and 579. \$10.

When one looks back over the revolutionary changes of the first New Deal year, it seems incredible that anyone could ever have written two portly volumes on the subject of *Government by Judiciary*. Unprecedented statutes of at least doubtful constitutionality have been passed by Congress and enforced by the administrative officers for a year and a half, while the courts have been getting around to pass on their validity. The streamlined, 1933 high-compression administrative machine has left our lumbering, ox-team courts so far behind that they seem hopelessly outdistanced in the race for governmental precedence.

The cold fact of the matter is that the courts, as agencies for reviewing statutes, are more powerful in the fear they inspire than in the chastisement they administer. A vigorous executive and a subservient legislature can always defy them for a time, and if these are strongly backed by general public opinion they may continue to defy the courts indefinitely. The two-tenths of 1 per cent of federal laws which have been declared void may bulk large in the opinion of certain interests, but their elimination is not likely to rank with the ten plagues of Egypt as a public calamity.

Of course, Mr. Boudin might remind us of the fable of the hare and the tortoise. He might infer that while the courts may proceed more slowly, their action is much more sure, much more decisive. But such a statement would disregard—as do the 1,160 pages of his volumes—another important fact about judicial review. The courts have never governed except when they have been able to carry the preponderance of influential opinion with them. It is of little consequence whether Marshall “usurped” his powers; whether the courts have represented the “interests”; or even whether they embody, dragon-like, an outmoded social philosophy. If these assertions are true—as the author tries so laboriously to prove—they only make the real problem increasingly significant and increasingly baffling. A tyranny backed by military force is comprehensible; one based on rationalizations is an anomaly and needs to be accounted for.

There is a second important consideration which Mr. Boudin has ignored. Every successful and enduring government has had the benefit of

a stabilizing element, and these stabilizing forces have never failed to give special attention to their own interests and the interests of the classes they represent. Witness the Levites in Israel, the Senate in Rome, the House of Lords in Great Britain, and the Communist party in Russia. No government—as a whole or in any of its important parts—has ever reached the goal of “disinterestedness” which Mr. Lippmann has set before us. The problem is not to secure perfection but to approach it. Americans have found that calm deliberation, post-legislative consideration, reasoned argument on both sides, reference to established principles, and the defense of decisions in carefully prepared opinions have enabled the courts to take an initial step toward the neutralization of special interests. A rule which may favor the utilities today may favor the consumers tomorrow.

Of course, one may frame a vigorous and elaborate opposition to numerous court decisions—as Mr. Boudin has done so successfully in this volume. Not only are judges quite fallible human beings, but necessarily some interests are favored, or injured, by every decision. However, a political scientist knows—what may not be evident to a lawyer—that the total effect of this practice may differ vastly from the effects of its component parts. The very legislative intimidation which has resulted from this judicial review is a testimony to the fact that a series of fallible decisions may create an infallible myth.

In conclusion, the author desires to point out that there are other, more serious, disadvantages in government by judges than those stressed in these volumes. The use of the ax on an occasional legislative measure, and even the resulting intimidation of the lawmaker, are minor vices compared with the perversion of the routine administration of the law by pettifogging trial judges with a stubborn blindness to the facts to social science. The hamstringing of the whole machinery of justice by a narrow and hypertechnical view of its function is the inevitable result. If we have a government by judiciary in the United States, it is located in our petty judiciary, not our supreme courts.

RODNEY L. MOTT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Growth of the Federal Government, 1915-1932. By CARROLL H. WOODY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. Pp. xiii + 577. \$5.00.

This volume is a supporting document for the report of President Hoover's Research Committee: *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. It is a history of the growth of the federal government (1915-32) arranged

under the following heads (mainly functional in character): "General and Financial Administration"; "Conduct of Foreign Relations"; "General Law Enforcement"; "Regulation of Currency and Banking"; "Administration of Indian Affairs"; "Administration of the Public Domain"; "Promotion and Regulation of Commerce and Industry"; "Promotion, Regulation, and Operation of Marine Transportation"; "Promotion and Regulation of Land Transportation"; "Postal Service"; "Promotion and Regulation of Agriculture"; "Promotion and Regulation of Fisheries"; "Promotion of Labor Interests"; "Immigration and Naturalization"; "Promotion of Public Health"; "Promotion of Public Education"; "Science and Research"; and "Public Improvements." Under each head the organization of materials, as a rule, is according to administrative divisions. For example, in dealing with the regulation of agriculture, the author does not make a new classification of agricultural functions with reference to any scheme of his own but surveys separately the various bureaus and establishments in the field, such as the bureau of animal industry and the bureau of dairy industry, gives the principal functions assigned to them by law in 1915, and then lists the additions made to those functions year by year until 1932 (inclusive). The sources of information drawn upon are principally statutes, orders, and official reports.

After collecting materials of this nature and organizing them along lines indicated, Mr. Woody draws certain conclusions in a final chapter. He shows the share of the civil functions of the government in the general growth of functions and considers the extent to which the expansion of functions was due to the creation of new bureaus and to the appearance of new activities in the older agencies. He also inquires into the growth of federal functions attributable to federal co-operation with the states and to activities of a "business" character. Finally he devotes a few lines to the question: What light do the changes of this period throw upon the need for the reorganization of the federal administrative structure?

From his survey of functional growth Mr. Woody has excluded the Army and Navy, apparently because he holds that "the main purposes served by military functions (other than the newer services for veterans) have changed but little in recent years" (p. viii). Only seven pages are given to foreign relations, listing activities added by law and official order to those existing in 1915. It is thus evident that the functional nature and purposes of foreign policies, so fateful for the nation, receive little consideration here, as indeed in the great report of the Research Committee on Social Trends. In view of the fact that foreign relations (for instance, in the struggle for outlets for alleged "surpluses" of industry and agriculture)

have a close connection with the agricultural and industrial functions of the federal government, and in view of the additional fact that during the period covered by this volume the General Board of the Navy for the first time defined the functions which the Navy must be "adequate to," these omissions will seem unfortunate, if not wholly arbitrary, to those concerned with public policy in any large sense of the term.

The omissions can scarcely be justified on the ground presented by the President's Committee in its Foreword: "To safeguard the conclusions against bias, the researches were limited to the analysis of objective data"; for "objective data" exist in immense quantities in the areas of foreign policy and naval policy for the period 1915-30.

Given, however, the limitations which the Committee and the author have set for themselves, this volume is exceedingly useful to students of the federal government. It sets forth legal facts in an orderly and systematic fashion never before attempted in exactly this manner. Yet, it is sad to relate, if a statesman had possessed this clear and accurate picture of "trends" in the summer of 1932, he would not have had the slightest inkling of the most startling "trends" to come in 1933-35. This is not Mr. Woody's fault or the fault of his method. It is to be ascribed to the unpredictable nature of the movement of ideas and interests in history. With respect to the validity of the assumptions on which the President's Committee proceeded and the validity of its findings, it is unnecessary to add anything to the article by Julian Gumperz on "Recent Social Trends in U.S.A.; *Gesichtspunkte zur Kritik des gleichnamigen 'Report,'*" in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, II, No. 2 (1933), 213-34.

CHARLES A. BEARD

NEW MILFORD, CONNECTICUT

Crime, Criminals and Criminal Justice. By NATHANIEL F. CANTOR.
New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. xvii + 470.

Here is an unusual book in this field. While the raw material of which it is composed is scattered through a variety of fields (as is inevitable in criminology), it has nevertheless a degree of integration that is uncommon. The materials are not compiled and arranged in a neat series of bundles, but they have been digested, critically evaluated, and set forth with a nervous, animated style of writing. The book is further distinguished by a very definite legal orientation. The first chapter is entitled "Law and the Social Sciences"; the fourth, "The Legal Offender"; Part III, "The Administration of Criminal Justice" (six chapters); chapter xxii, "The Prisoner and the Law."

Professor Cantor's position is that of American criminologists in general. He believes in the polygenesis of crime, with special emphasis on the fundamental importance of our whole socio-economic system in this connection. He is frank to point out both the shortcomings and the hopeful prospects of the study of crime causation. In the field of the administration of criminal justice his discussion of the courts is unusually clear and forceful. He points out their defects, administrative and procedural, but is of the opinion that "for better or worse the present forms of criminal procedure are the only mechanisms available. Until another system is devised, the present rules will remain. The only hope left is that some progress may be made by supplying obvious deficiencies." This section gives him room to demonstrate how necessary it is that any reforms to be made will have to take account of existing machinery, which is not easily changed.

The discussion of penal methods is adequate. The author is very careful to keep before the reader the vast difference between enlightened American theory and actual American practice. He criticizes the shortcomings of prisons, probation, and parole unsparingly but fairly.

One could perhaps quarrel with his position that "the chief task of criminology, however, is to remedy, as far as possible, the generating conditions of crime." The reviewer has thought of the criminologist as one who sought to ascertain rather than to remedy. This is perhaps only a quibble since it is evident that the ultimate purpose of the knowledge is in social results. Nevertheless this is a task which most criminologists would hesitate to undertake!

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

The Problem of Crime. By CLAYTON ETTINGER, JR. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932. Pp. viii + 538.

"This book," says the author, "has its origin in the author's realization of a textbook in Criminology based on his experience as a teacher and his observations as psychiatrist." Like practically all textbooks, particularly in criminology, it is a compilation of data from a wide range of sources. Its justification lies in the quality of the material presented. The reviewer found, for example, the chapters on "The Mechanics of Crime," "The Psychiatric Approach," and "Scientific Methods of Crime Detection" to be very interestingly written. There is much case material, some of it apparently from the author's own professional experience. The book is

written generally in an interesting style and follows the familiar divisions of "The Criminal," "The Machinery of Justice," and "Society's Reaction to the Criminal." It should be of value as a textbook, particularly in college classes, as the author combines in an unusual degree the sociological and the psychiatric approach. The student, however, is not sufficiently made aware of the fact that very few questions in criminology have emerged from the controversial sphere. There are also occasional slips, such as the reference of "hari kari" to the Chinese (p. 195), the misspelling, "meldwesen" (p. 228). The logical arrangement of materials within the individual chapters is not strongly emphasized.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

The Jails of Virginia. By FRANK W. HOFFER, DELBERT M. MANN, and FLOYD N. HOUSE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933. Pp. xvi+453. \$5.00.

The jail system of Virginia is the oldest and, apparently, the most archaic in America. In a day of rapid transportation the maintenance of a jail in every county is no longer necessary, as this excellent study of 114 local prisons clearly shows.

This monograph summarizes the results of an exhaustive survey of the Virginia jail population and the local jail system which controls it. The authors have marshaled a mass of evidence which ought to convince Virginians once and for all that it is better and cheaper for the state to maintain whatever prisons are necessary to deal with local offenders.

While the book adds nothing new to the philosophy of crime and punishment, it does form an admirable basis for the belated revision of the prison system in Virginia.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Some Basic Statistics in Social Work. By PHILIP KLEIN and RUTH VORIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv+218. \$3.50.

Here is presented an exploratory analysis of social-work statistics which should be valuable in demonstrating again the inadequacy of statistics of social work to show either the need for social work in the community or its relation to other facts of community importance. For the purposes of the study the data were obtained from the four large-family

case-work agencies in New York City. Intake and case load have been used to measure the volume of work and have been compared with current economic indexes. The work has been done with technical competence and critical acumen.

R. CLYDE WHITE

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Administrative County Government in South Carolina. By COLUMBUS ANDREWS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. ix+245. \$2.50.

This thorough and thoughtful study is based upon a journey through the jungle of special legislation by which county affairs are regulated in South Carolina and field work in six of the forty-six counties. What the author finds is, in a general way, much the same sort of thing that every other painstaking survey of county affairs turns up plus some goings-on peculiar to South Carolina. The chief evil emphasized by the author is the fact that the state legislature does not enact general laws for county government. "Instead there are forty-six miniature legislatures passing many local laws for their respective counties by virtue of the courtesies which they extend to each other in the meetings of the General Assembly" (p. 186). These "miniature legislatures" are the county delegations in the Assembly. Each county has one senator and there is one member of the House for each one one-hundred-and-twenty-fourth of the state's population. By statute many things may be done locally only on the approval of the local delegation, and it is easy to see that it is desirable to consult these local dignitaries on many others.

The possibilities in the way of log-rolling, inefficient administration, and political skullduggery inherent in this system will suggest themselves to the least cynical. The study is full of examples, e.g., the Assembly of 1930 passed between three and four hundred local acts in addition to the forty-six county supply bills (p. 44). One of these provided that the ladies' rest room in the Barnwell County court house should be placed in charge of a particular lady, who was to receive a salary of one hundred dollars for maintaining the same (p. 40). The Laurens County act authorizes the county delegation to name the courthouse janitor and to fix his duties and salary (p. 43).

The review of administration reveals a situation which might be expected from a county organization dictated by the political exigencies of the local panjandrums convened in General Assembly. "Local government in any responsible sense has never existed in the state and does not

now exist" (p. 90). "The whole tax system discourages honesty and promptness" (p. 113). "There is no executive state supervision over the expenditure of county funds," nor is expenditure effectively centralized or controlled within the county (p. 117). "Generally speaking the counties have no purchasing policy" (p. 124). "The care of the poor in many of the counties is not above the level of that of colonial days" (p. 170), etc., etc.

In a chapter of constructive suggestions, Mr. Andrews makes the recommendations which emerge from most surveys of county affairs, that serious consideration be given to the possibility of county consolidations; that the machinery of county government be reorganized in the direction of greater integration and more adequate internal control; that state control be strengthened and exercised through the executive department rather than through the legislature; and that approved administrative practices be introduced in the performance of local functions. An addendum contributed by Mr. M. A. Wright, chairman of the Committee on Government of the South Carolina Council, makes substantially the same suggestions for reform. There is a Selected Bibliography on county affairs and an adequate Index.

LANE W. LANCASTER

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Training Youth for the New Social Order. By RUDOLPH R. REEDER. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1933. Pp. 248. \$2.00.

The author, who has had wide experience in schools for dependent children, sets forth the program and principles upon which he works. The discussion is simple, amply illustrated with brief sketches, but somewhat discursive.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Emergency Work Relief. By JOANNA C. COLCORD, WILLIAM C. KOPLOVITZ, and RUSSELL H. KURTZ. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932. Pp. 286. \$1.50.

This book is a summary of experience in setting up and operating work relief programs in twenty-six American communities during 1930-31. There is a section on the development of work relief, and there is also presented, in outline, procedures and forms usable in setting up and operating a work-relief program.

This is a valuable summary for workers in this field. But American communities have moved rapidly since the spring of 1932, especially in the work-relief field, and much has been learned of the values of work relief that was not so evident when this book was published. The conclusions of this book need checking with later experience in our work-relief program in America.

M. H. BICKHAM

ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION

Status and Social Welfare Organizations. A Psycho-Sociological Study. By SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934. Pp. 48. \$0.60.

In this summary of his doctoral dissertation the author applies the concept of status to social welfare organizations and makes a serious attempt to segregate the major factors which determine status and to establish the relative importance of each. From a study of 108 organizations, fifteen criteria were selected as the desiderata by which status is achieved. The executives of 160 social welfare agencies in various parts of the country rated these criteria in terms of their relative importance. Around these data the author centers his lucid analysis of the sociological phenomenon of status as it exists among welfare organizations. The whole study is a laudable effort to break up one of the many mysterious concepts of sociology into its constituent elements, resting ultimately upon the verifiable data of human behavior.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Newspaper Reference Methods. By ROBERT W. DESMOND. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933. Pp. x+221. \$2.50.

The peculiar problem of the newspaper reference library is that of speed in answering questions. An enormous amount of information is needed to build the background of the news in an intelligently edited newspaper, and it must be available instantly. This manual, written by a professor of journalism, is addressed to the newspaperman librarian, who tends to file too little material, and the library-school librarian, who is inclined to keep everything. It is a handbook of technical instructions for classifying and cataloguing, for reorganizing existing libraries and for building up new ones.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Industrial Labour in India. By S. G. PANANDIKAR. Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1933. Pp. ii+299.

The development of the modern factory system in India is producing serious industrial and social consequences. The author discusses the exploitation of peasant workers, the high mobility of labor, and the unsanitary conditions of factories and industrial housing. He gives no analysis, however, of the social significance of these problems or of the general cultural processes involved in the impact of the Western industrial system upon the historic civilization of India. The book is marred by such patriotic, but unscientific, claims as that India's "natural resources, vegetable, animal and mineral as well as forest wealth are unparalleled in the whole world" (p. 11).

PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY

WHEATON COLLEGE,
NORTON, MASS.

Education in Ancient India. By A. S. ALTEKAR. Benares: Indian Book-Shop, 1934. Pp. 386. Rs. 3/-.

The personal relationship between master and disciple is apparently the elementary form of education in all civilizations. In ancient India the depend-

ence of the student upon his teacher was emphasized by ceremonial rituals and caste restrictions. Sacred literature formed the chief topic of study, with educational centers developing around Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples.

PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY

WHEATON COLLEGE
NORTON, MASS.

Government in a Depression. Edited by THOMAS H. REED. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. \$1.00.

These are reprints (with no consecutive numbering of the pages) of addresses delivered in two series sponsored by the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, of which Thomas H. Reed is chairman. The content of the speeches is far above usual political discussion in quality. *Government in a Depression* is especially useful for its presenting to a popular audience of ideas of experienced governmental research and public officials on improvement in government as against uncritical and uninformed talk by the press and business.

JOHN M. GAUS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin. By A. V. ALTMAYER. University of Wisconsin Studies, No. 17. Madison, Wisconsin, 1932.

This is an unusually fine study of an administrative agency by a merit-system career official. He has prepared it as a doctoral dissertation under the guidance of the father of this type of labor-law administration, John R. Commons. After a brief history of labor administration in Wisconsin, each of the major activities of the Commission is surveyed and a critical appraisal made. In the conclusion certain general principles of labor-law administration as suggested by the experience in Wisconsin are set forth. This discussion by an experienced and well-educated administrator is most valuable, and should be studied carefully by those seeking new functions of government, or interested generally in social problems.

JOHN M. GAUS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Duranty Reports Russia. By WALTER DURANTY. New York: Viking Press, 1934. Pp. xii+401. \$2.75.

For more than a decade Duranty's contributions to our understanding of contemporary Russia have placed him easily in the forefront of the journalists who have attempted to interpret the Russian scene. His work has been a monument to his own intelligence and integrity and a tribute to the tolerance and sound journalism of the *Times*.

In the volume under review, some of Duranty's most important dispatches to the *New York Times* are reprinted. They are arranged topically and then in rough chronological manner under each subject.

The book not only provides a model of journalistic reporting in handling a very difficult set-up in modern historical development, but also provides a large body of authoritative material on Russia under the communistic régime.

Since much of descriptive sociology depends upon good reporting, the book also has a real methodological interest for the sociologist.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

Prisoners: Their Crimes and Sentences. By the COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE PRISON ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTRUCTION. Albany: New York State, 1933. Pp. 88.

New York penal policies in a well-documented case study; it is shown that there is no consistency to the procedure of committing felons with regard to acceptance of lesser pleas, length of sentence, or type of institution to which sent. Fewer limitations on indeterminant sentences, abolition of city and county prisons, and centralized control of assignment of individuals to institutions are recommended.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

ILLINOIS STATE REFORMATORY

The New Psychologies. By RUDOLF ALLERS. London and New York: Sheed & Ward, 1933. Pp. xx+81. \$1.00.

A reader in psychiatry at the University of Vienna considers Adler's individual psychology and Freud's psychoanalysis in relation to Christian philosophy and psychology, concluding that their fundamental ideas are often to be found expressed therein. Individual psychology is found on the positive side to be very near Christian anthropology; psychoanalysis is "too closely allied to materialism and hedonism to satisfy the demands of a real and metaphysical anthropology."

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Osborne of Sing Sing. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. xiv+343. \$3.00.

Thomas Mott Osborne was undoubtedly the most important and colorful penologist of our time. His reforms at Auburn and Sing Sing, and at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, constitute the few bright spots in the otherwise dreary waste of American prison administration. Mr. Roosevelt, who was assistant secretary of the navy when Osborne was commanding officer at the naval prison, said: "You have taught the navy and the country that prisons are to mend men and not to break them."

Mr. Tannenbaum has brought together a lot of valuable material dealing with the life and work of Osborne, the details of whose political persecution are here essayed for the first time. The book is hardly a biography; it is, rather, a posthumous defense of a courageous pioneer. While the book is not intended as a contribution to the scientific literature of criminology, it is, nevertheless, a valuable human document.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

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THE ASSUMED INCREASE OF MENTAL DISEASE

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ABSTRACT

The assumption has been widespread that the rate of mental disease is constantly increasing. This has been cited as an illustration of man's lack of adjustment to a complex culture. Data for various sections and states of the United States indicate that an upward trend is not always found. While the data are limited, there is sufficient evidence to lead one to question the assumption of an increasing rate of mental disease throughout the United States. When the investigation is carried into the foreign countries for which data are available, it is found that there is no general upward trend in the annual admissions for mental disease in the various countries considered. Rather, subject to differing conditions, there is great diversity in actual rates and in trends. On the basis of these data, it appears that the theory of an increasing rate of mental disease is at least open to question.

The entire question of mental disease is intimately associated with the problem of man's ability to adjust to the increasing complexities of present-day culture. If mental disease is increasing, it may be regarded as an important criterion of failure in adjustment. Various authorities maintain that the human organism is not adapted to modern life and hence is unable to withstand the strains of the complex civilization of today. The increase of mental disease is said by them to be one indication of this fact. The dangers existent in such a trend are self-evident.

But, is the rate of mental disease increasing? The proportion of persons receiving institutional care is certainly mounting in many countries. Does this denote a real increase in the incidence of mental disease or is the explanation to be found in contributory factors

which lend themselves to analysis? Historically there has been a variety of opinion with regard to the question of the increase of mental disease. It is only recently that sufficient data have accumulated to make possible an investigation based on actual comparative admissions.

There has been a progressive movement toward concentrating the mentally diseased in institutions, both in the United States and in foreign countries. This has been due to various factors. The old type of care has given way, in general, to modern methods of treatment. States are providing institutions on a much more adequate scale, and the capacity of the various hospitals is being enlarged to meet the needs of a growing population. Attitudes are being developed which are in the direction of providing institutional care. As the public regards the insane from the more rational and correct point of view as those persons with mental diseases, it is willing to place them under adequate care where such patients will perhaps recover. A further point to be considered is the fact that as persons are placed in hospitals and given more adequate care, their lives are prolonged. This also operates to increase the number of persons in hospitals for mental disease. In this same connection, prolongation of life in the general population serves to increase rates because the incidence of mental disease increases with age.¹ An additional point is the fact that segregation of the mentally diseased in hospitals is largely an urban practice, and the proportion of urbanization is constantly increasing. As the conditions of life require more complex reactions, moreover, the definition of the term "insanity" tends to widen and include many individuals who might have been considered sufficiently well adjusted in a simple environment. Perhaps a further factor should be emphasized which is not always taken into account. This is the important one of transportation, for it operates in conjunction with all the other factors which have been cited. The more adequate the means of conveyance, the more likely it is that an individual will be placed in an institution.

It is obvious that analysis of the total number of patients in hospitals for mental disease does not offer a sound basis for determining whether mental disease is increasing, for many factors deter-

¹ E. Winston, "Age, a Factor in the Increase of Mental Disease," *Mental Hygiene*, XVI (1932), 650-52.

mine the mounting number of persons so cared for. The most feasible approach to the problem is by means of first admissions as this group forms the most accurate measure of the annual incidence of mental disease. The data for the institutions in the United States as a whole are limited, nor are they wholly adequate for the present purpose, owing to the lack of uniformity in provision among the various states. Hence data for individual states must also be considered. Furthermore, such data must be taken for a fairly recent period so that relative uniformity of conditions within each state may be assumed for all practical purposes.

Because of the many factors contributing to wide variations in the rates of first admissions, direct comparison of actual rates from state to state, or country to country, are not valid. On the other hand, trends form a reliable basis for such comparison. If, in analyzing trends for various parts of the world, there is seen to be a fairly general movement either upward or downward, a comparative basis is available for coming to a definite conclusion as to whether there is any real and general increase in mental disease today, irrespective of differences in rates due to differences in procedure in the various states and countries.

Annual data for the United States as a whole are available for state hospitals only, and the period is short due to the comparatively recent beginning of the yearly census of such institutions. From Table I it is evident that first admissions to state hospitals are tending to increase from year to year when the entire United States is considered. A significant contrast is presented when the data are analyzed by divisions. When this is done, it is noted that there is no apparent trend toward an increasing rate during the five-year period for the New England, East North Central, Mountain, and Pacific divisions, areas which have at least as satisfactory, if not more satisfactory, provision on the whole for the mentally diseased than those divisions which still show increasing rates. These four divisions, comprising more than one-third of the population of the United States, and ranging from predominantly rural to highly urban, are evidence which leads one at least to question the assumption of a trend toward an increase in the incidence of mental disease within the United States.

Data are also available over a period of years for several states in

which there is but one important hospital or in which a joint report is prepared for all of the institutions. New York State may be studied first, as it has a high rate of mental disease, excellent hospital

TABLE I

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS OF MENTAL PATIENTS TO STATE HOSPITALS PER 100,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1922-31*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Population
1922.....	66.7
.....
1926.....	65.1
1927.....	68.0
1928.....	70.7
1929.....	70.8
1930.....	72.1
1931.....	76.4

* *Mental Patients in State Hospitals, 1929 and 1930*, Bureau of the Census, Table 26A, and unpublished data for 1931. *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Vol. II, Table 14. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1932*.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS OF MENTAL PATIENTS TO STATE HOSPITALS PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1926-30*

YEAR	GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION									
	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	
1926....	61.1	43.7	43.5	37.3	44.7	37.4	.....	.....	60.5	
1927....	58.6	46.6	43.4	39.4	46.9	40.2	36.1	41.3	61.4	
1928....	61.7	48.2	44.7	40.4	49.4	41.4	35.9	38.8	58.4	
1929....	59.6	46.8	43.9	39.9	49.5	42.6	41.5	38.1	54.7	
1930....	58.3	49.7	42.8	41.3	.....	43.0	43.1	39.9	59.1	

* *Mental Patients in State Hospitals, 1929 and 1930*, Table 9.

service, and an intensification of the social factors that are currently supposed to heighten the rate of mental disease. Since 1909, first admissions in this state have been carefully separated from readmis-

sions. The rates of first admissions per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over,² are found in Table III.

Taking into account the fact that the population is gradually aging³ and that a certain amount of annual fluctuation in the rates is to be expected, there is no steady rise with the exception of the period 1928-30, which is probably affected to some extent by compli-

TABLE III
NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO NEW YORK STATE HOSPITALS
PER 100,000 POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER, 1909-31*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Popula- tion	Year	Rate per 100,000 Popu- lation
1909.....	88.7	1920.....	95.6
1910.....	89.5	1921.....	95.1
1911.....	92.2	1922.....	93.2
1912.....	91.8	1923.....	91.9
1913.....	95.5	1924.....	89.0
1914.....	96.0	1925.....	92.5
1915.....	93.2	1926.....	89.4
1916.....	96.7†	1927.....	96.0
1917.....	100.2	1928.....	101.4
1918.....	98.0	1929.....	100.1
1919.....	97.5	1930.....	101.2

* Annual Statistical Review of Patients with Mental Disease in the State Hospitals and Licensed Institutions, 1930 (New York), page 168.

Fifty-Second Annual Report of the (New York) State Department of Health (1931), Vol. II, Table I.

Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, Table 13.

Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, Table 24.

† Admissions were for 9 months due to change in fiscal year; rate estimated for 12 months.

cated factors associated with the business cycle. When such factors are taken into consideration, it appears that the upward trend is not as marked as it appears and probably should not be regarded too specifically as indicative of an increasing rate of mental disease, counteracted as it is by data for other states.

For much the same reasons cited for New York, data for Massa-

² Fifteen years of age and over is utilized as a more accurate population base than the total population due to the rarity of mental disease in childhood but the large proportion of children in the general population.

³ For New York State the percentage of the population, 50 years of age and over, was as follows: 1910, 15.0 per cent; 1920, 16.5 per cent; 1930, 17.7 per cent.

chusetts are significant in determining the trend of mental disease. As shown in Table IV, even when the rate is computed on the basis of the general population,⁴ there is no increase to be noted. When it is again pointed out that the proportion of older people in the population is increasing,⁵ it is evident that this lack of increase becomes even more significant.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF FIRST COURT COMMITMENTS (FIRST ADMISSIONS) TO MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE AND EPILEPTIC PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1904-30*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Population	Year	Rate per 100,000 Population
1904.....	80.9	1918.....	72.5
1905.....	72.4	1919.....	78.8
1906.....	67.3	1920.....	77.6
1907.....	76.8	1921.....	84.5
1908.....	78.3	1922.....	88.4
1909.....	76.5	1923.....	75.0
1910.....	79.4	1924.....	78.8
1911.....	78.4	1925.....	77.4
1912.....	79.9	1926.....	73.5
1913.....	92.6	1927.....	69.8
1914.....	87.1	1928.....	80.3
1915.....	90.6	1929.....	73.4
1916.....	87.8	1930.....	76.4
1917.....	82.6		

* *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Mental Diseases, for the Year Ending November 30, 1930, Table 13.*

New Hampshire, with a comparatively long series of data available, appears to have had an increasing rate of first admissions within the last few years.⁶ Whether this increase is more apparent than real could only be determined by a careful survey of affecting factors within the state. Pertinent to this is the fact that more than 30 per cent of the first admissions are sixty years of age and over.

In Illinois, another state which has a large number of first admis-

⁴ Since the data were so clear in this case, it appeared unnecessary to go to the considerable labor of recomputation on the basis of the population 15 years of age and over.

⁵ For Massachusetts the percentage of the population, 50 years of age and over, was as follows: 1910, 16.2 per cent; 1920, 17.9 per cent; 1930, 20.3 per cent.

⁶ *Biennial Reports of New Hampshire State Hospital.*

sions each year and which publishes a comprehensive report, the rates indicate no progressive upward trend. Rather, the peak years for first admissions in terms of the annual population, 15 years of age and over, for the comparatively short period available, were 1920-23.⁷ The somewhat higher rates of the depression years still are considerably lower than for these early years.

While total first admissions over a long period of time are not yet available for many states, additional data would not controvert the present evidence that leads one definitely to question the assumption of an increasing rate of mental disease throughout the United States. It is true that for various states and sections the trend is still upward. Since this type of trend is counterbalanced by other data for various sections of the United States, however, the conclusion appears justifiable that such increases as are occurring are due to other factors rather than to a general and increasing lack of ability to withstand the pressure of modern complex life.

The question of the increase of mental disease in countries other than the United States cannot be answered by direct comparisons owing to the variety of factors which operate to cause differentiation.⁸ Legislation, institutional provision, and type of care may be mentioned as factors. While actual rates are unsatisfactory for these reasons, comparisons of trends may be legitimately considered if one proceeds with care.⁹

Not all countries have reliable statistics for admissions extending over a period of years. Satisfactory annual statistics for varying periods are available, however, for Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, England and Wales, Scotland, France, and Germany, and these countries are sufficiently diverse and scattered to offer an adequate series of comparisons.

⁷ Illinois Department of Public Welfare, *Reports of Statistician; Annual Reports of the Illinois State Department of Public Health; Fifteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. II, Table 24.

⁸ The present status of the data has been adequately summarized by Dr. Frederick W. Brown in "A Statistical Survey of Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease and Institutions for Feeble-minded and Epileptics in 32 Countries," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene* (Washington, May, 1930), II, 777-97.

⁹ Trend lines have not been fitted to the curves as the actual curves are found sufficient for the analysis.

In Australia the method of compiling insanity¹⁰ statistics has been fairly uniform throughout the various states for a number of years. The increasing provision for the mentally diseased is shown by the fact that the number of beds in institutions increased from 14,978 in 1910 to 20,951 in 1929. Yet, according to a statement repeated in the *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* from year to year, "the proportion of insane as well as the total number returned as under treatment has changed very little during recent years." When



FIG. 1.—Number of admissions to hospitals for the insane in Australia per 100,000 population 15 years of age and over, 1911-29.



FIG. 2.—Number of first admissions to hospitals for the insane in New Zealand per 100,000 population 15 years of age and over, 1916-31.

the number of admissions, including readmissions, is computed in terms of the rate per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over, the data in Table V result. It is evident that the data appear to point to a decreasing rate of admissions in Australia in spite of the fact that the official reports call attention to a "greater willingness in recent years to submit afflicted persons to treatment at an earlier stage." In addition there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of old people and in the proportion of urbanization in Australia,

¹⁰ Since the older term "insanity" is still in general use outside of the United States, it is utilized here. Again it should be emphasized that the trends for the given countries rather than the definitions of the mentally diseased are the important considerations.

both of which factors tend to increase the number of admissions, and yet no increase has been noted.

In New Zealand the rates for first admissions show no particular upward trend, although there has been a somewhat higher rate for

TABLE V
ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND PER 100,000 POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

YEAR	RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION	
	Australia* (Total Admissions)	New Zealand† (First Admissions)
1911.....	98.49	.....
1912.....	91.99	.....
1913.....	94.28	.....
1914.....	98.27	.....
1915.....	91.82	.....
1916.....	97.25	97.7
1917.....	89.72	94.9
1918.....	91.95	91.8
1919.....	91.72	93.1
1920.....	94.73	88.1
1921.....	86.49	86.8
1922.....	83.86	79.6
1923.....	85.11	74.8
1924.....	82.90	75.4
1925.....	84.09	80.0
1926.....	82.72	81.7
1927.....	81.40	80.5
1928.....	81.74	82.2
1929.....	79.24	81.4
1930.....	.....	92.6
1931.....	.....	89.0

* *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* and "Australian Demography," Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

† New Zealand, *Official Yearbook*

1930 and 1931 than for the years immediately preceding. On the other hand, the rates are still lower than they were during the period 1916-19 so that one appears justified in stating that there is no significant upward trend at the present time.

Data for Sweden indicate a steady increase in the rate of total admissions in conjunction with improving facilities. It should be emphasized that here also total admissions only were available.

In contrast, data for Norway give a remarkably stationary picture over the period for which they are available. Within the limited number of years for which data could be secured, no upward trend was discernible.

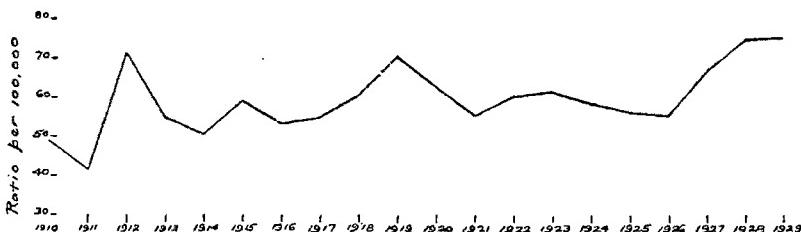


FIG. 3.—Number of admissions to hospitals for the insane in Sweden per 100,000 population 15 years of age and over, 1910-29.

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE IN
SWEDEN PER 100,000 POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS
OF AGE AND OVER, 1910-29*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Popula- tion	Year	Rate per 100,000 Popu- lation
1910.....	49.66	1920.....	62.61
1911.....	41.87	1921.....	55.30
1912.....	71.08	1922.....	60.02
1913.....	54.64	1923.....	61.59
1914.....	50.61	1924.....	58.65
1915.....	59.04	1925.....	56.03
1916.....	53.41	1926.....	55.39
1917.....	54.79	1927.....	67.00
1918.....	60.26	1928.....	74.98
1919.....	70.26	1929.....	75.88

* *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige.*

England and Wales show a definite trend toward a decrease in first admissions as revealed by the data in Table VIII. This decline is the more significant inasmuch as the population (with the exception of the period of the World War) has been steadily increasing. Since the trend of the data is self-evident, the computation of rates is unnecessary for the present purpose.

In Scotland, the "patients who had never previously been registered and who were admitted for the first time to establishments for the insane" have also been failing to increase as the general popula-

tion has slowly mounted. It may again be stressed that populations are tending to have a larger proportion of old people and that the

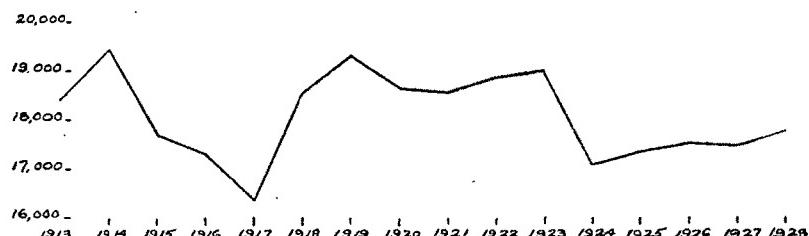


FIG. 4.—Number of first admissions to hospitals for the insane in England and Wales, 1913-28.

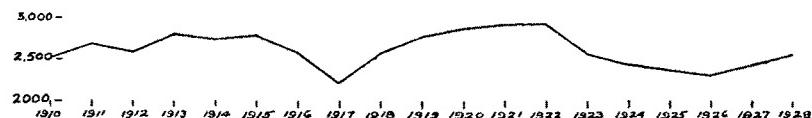


FIG. 5.—Number of first admissions to hospitals for the insane in Scotland, 1910-28.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS
FOR THE INSANE IN NORWAY PER 100,000
POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER, 1913-24*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Population
1913.....	51.49
1914.....	56.16
1915 }	56.96
1916 }	56.96
1917.....	46.01
1918.....	45.67
1919.....	55.03
1920.....	47.69
1921.....	48.64
1922.....	46.65
1923.....	50.78
1924.....	52.18

* *Statistisk Årbok for Kongeriket Norge.*

capacity of hospitals for mental disease is expanding. The regularity of the data for Scotland, as well as data cited in other tables, refutes the argument sometimes made to the effect that the lack of notice-

able increase in patients in recent years is due to the number of aged cases gradually absorbed in earlier years.

French data are difficult to evaluate due to the uncertain effect of the aftermath of the World War. A short series, in terms of the rate per 100,000 of the total population,¹¹ is given in Table IX. It ap-

TABLE VIII
NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR THE
INSANE IN ENGLAND AND WALES,
AND IN SCOTLAND

YEAR	FIRST ADMISSIONS	
	England and Wales*	Scotland†
1910.....		2,513
1911.....		2,693
1912.....		2,593
1913.....	18,407	2,806
1914.....	19,407	2,730
1915.....	17,710	2,793
1916.....	17,302	2,578
1917.....	16,362	2,208
1918.....	18,561	2,572
1919.....	19,328	2,791
1920.....	18,659	2,889
1921.....	18,584	2,926
1922.....	18,844	2,926
1923.....	18,934	2,593
1924.....	17,086	2,446
1925.....	17,345	2,394
1926.....	17,517	2,304
1927.....	17,468	2,418
1928.....	17,766	2,534

* *Annual Reports of the Board of Control.*

† *Annual Reports of the General Board of Control for Scotland.*

pears probable that there is a slightly increasing rate at the present time.

German data likewise present unusual difficulties in the way of interpretation. It is evident, however, that the upward trend for total admissions is fairly constant over the brief period of post-war data.

In viewing the data for the various foreign countries, it is observ-

¹¹ Sufficient data were not available to estimate the percentage of population under 15 years of age. If that is decreasing, as it is believed, the rates for the latter years of the series are proportionately too high.

able that the evidence is comparable with that for the United States in the fact that there is no general increase. For both the United States and foreign countries it has been found that the rates of first admissions are increasing in some cases, but in many others the trend

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS* TO HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE IN FRANCE PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1920-26†

Year	Rate per 100,000 Population
1920.....	49.08
1921.....	46.28
1922.....	47.34
1923.....	46.42
1924.....	48.17
1925.....	50.17
1926.....	48.08

* Admissions with idiocy, cretinism, and imbecility have been subtracted.

† *Annuaire Statistique*.

TABLE X

NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE IN GERMANY PER 100,000 POPULATION, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1923-29*

Year	Rate per 100,000 Population
1923.....	25.06
1924.....	28.79
1925.....	31.70
1926.....	33.60
1927.....	34.83
1928.....	34.53
1929.....	35.64

* *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

is either stationary or downward. Therefore, it seems valid to state that where an increase is noticeable it is probable that it is an increase in hospitalization rather than an increase in the actual incidence of mental disorders.

In the light of the evidence analyzed, the theory of a progressive increase in mental disease as civilization becomes more complex is definitely open to question.

VIEWPOINTS AND METHODS IN THE STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The methods that have been used in the study of race relations have been determined in part by prevailing theories or points of view. At least five such points of view have existed. The naively ethnocentric viewpoint of the ancient Greeks implied practically no study of race or race relations, and the same was true of the religio-ethical viewpoint which prevailed in the Middle Ages. From the time of Linnaeus, the taxonomic viewpoint became prominent and gave rise first to efforts at the classification of races and then to the measurement of race differences. Within recent decades, there has been a trend toward a cultural point of view, and the corresponding method has been one of search for cultural facts. Most recently of all, a distinctively sociological viewpoint has developed. It gives rise to methods of study which focus attention on race relations and interracial attitudes.

Some thirty-two years ago, in summing up the findings of his study of the teaching of sociology in American institutions, Frank L. Tolman made certain provocative statements, which have been quoted occasionally by later writers, but which have never been seriously challenged. Among other things he said:

Sociology must define itself either as a body of doctrine, as a point of view, or as a method of research. It has tried to define itself as a body of doctrine, and it has failed in the attempt. If it is merely a point of view, it cannot be separated from the matter in discussion and must subordinate itself to the various social sciences. It has yet made no serious attempt to develop itself as a method of research, and must develop itself on these lines and show its fruitfulness before it can command consideration at the bar of science.¹

As a concise commentary on the status of sociology as an academic discipline in 1902, these sentences are not inaptly framed; and it may be that they describe fairly well the state of affairs in 1934. As regards their implications concerning the nature of science, and the boundary lines dividing the various sciences from each other, Mr. Tolman's propositions are open to serious criticism. It may be possible to make such a critique the point of departure for a brief survey of some aspects of the study of race relations.

¹ "The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, VIII (1902), 86.

Tolman seems to imply by his statements that "body of doctrine," "point of view," and "method of research" are mutually exclusive categories, or at any rate that they can be defined as such. If by a body of doctrine is meant a set of ethical evaluations or moral precepts, or some mystical and unverifiable account of the ultimate essence of things, then nothing could be further from a method of scientific research. If, on the other hand, by "body of doctrine" we understand a description, in more or less generalized and abstract terms, of the working of certain observable phenomena, then our body of doctrine is much the same thing as a system of scientific hypotheses. It can presumably be verified, corrected, or rejected in the light of further observations; and, meanwhile, it serves to direct our studies. It defines, in other words, a point of view from which we may carry on further investigations of the matter in question. This is equivalent to saying that our body of doctrine determines, in a very real sense, a method of research—that method, namely, which consists in gathering such additional data as will be needed to show whether our doctrine is correct or not.

Looking at the matter in this light, one can say that the history of the study of race since the beginnings of recorded history is a story of changes in doctrines; that is, ideas of race and race relations, of changes in points of view toward problems of race, and, eventually, of changes in methods of study or research. So far as the Western world is concerned, men's ideas of race seem to have passed through five phases, each phase having been predominant in a certain period. We may call these phases the naïvely ethnocentric, religio-ethical, taxonomic, cultural, and sociological phases.

No doubt there was a stage in human social development so simple and so free from travel or communication that it was characterized by no idea of race at all. Various ethnological and historical documents show, however, that, when the curtain of history lifts, each human race or nationality typically has some contacts with groups of people who are different from its own members. In this quasi-primitive stage in cultural evolution, the predominant reaction to contact with an alien people was naïvely ethnocentric. The differences between one's own people and the "others" seemed patent; aliens were considered to be either a little more than human or a little less than

human, according to the failure or success of early attempts to exploit them for the purposes of the in-group. (The classical distinction between Greeks and "barbarians" illustrates this conception of race sufficiently well; and Aristotle's familiar argument that barbarians are slaves by nature suggests something of the motivation underlying the doctrine.) Study of race or of race relations in this stage of things hardly proceeded beyond a simple enumeration of the traits—sometimes quite mythical—by which the aliens differed from the members of the in-group.

By the third or fourth century of our era, the Stoic philosophy and the Christian doctrine of the common fatherhood of God, with its implication that all men are brothers, had sufficed to give a new direction to reflective thought concerning the subject of race. There is a period of some twelve or thirteen centuries in European history in which practically no literature dealing systematically with the subject of race was produced. Apparently, in the face of the doctrine of Christian brotherhood, inquiry into race differences would have been thought impious or heretical. To be sure, a substitute for the concept of race was eventually found in the distinctions which were made between believers and infidels, and between believers and heathen. These distinctions afforded a basis for the rationalization of a great many practical discriminations and exploitations; it seems to have been by such lines of reasoning that Negro slavery was justified in an early period of modern history. Nevertheless, so long as it was a generally accepted religious dogma that all men are brothers, neither race differences nor race relations could very well become the object of disinterested study.

It was perhaps as one aspect of the general emancipation of thought and action from the control of the church that, in early modern times, certain writers undertook a fresh consideration of some of the practical and concrete implications of the differences between races and nationalities. Montesquieu discussed the topic in a rather matter-of-fact way and his attitude was characteristic of much else that was being said and written at the time. It does not seem, however, that the new intellectual freedom and activity gave rise to any particularly new conception of race or of race relations for some time. The publication and general acceptance of Linnaeus'

scheme for the classification of plant and animal species may be regarded as the starting-point for a phase in the study of race that may be termed taxonomic. Various efforts were made to work out a neat and comprehensive classification of the races of mankind, and these classifications, like the religious and racial distinctions of earlier epochs, served as the point of departure for elaborate reasonings in support of discriminations and exploitations.

This procedure of classification, together with subsequently developed but closely related techniques for the measurement of racial traits, has continued to occupy the attention of students down to the present day. Ever since the time it first appeared as a form of modern scientific inquiry, taxonomy has exercised a certain fascination over the students of biology and related sciences. The collection and classification of data seem to yield in greater measure than almost any other form of scientific investigation the thrills of discovery, while at the same time it is a procedure which apparently conforms thoroughly to the scientific criterion of objectivity. In the latter respect, the method of classification, accompanied and re-enforced by a vast labor of measurement of race traits of physique and behavior, has been such as to commend itself particularly to those interested in human race problems. What could be more disinterested, fair, and impartial than the careful, systematic measurement of race traits? (Of course this work has been done, up to now, mainly by representatives of the white or Caucasian race, and they have doubtless found the results of their labors none the less gratifying for the fact that, on the whole, these results have been such as to support the pretensions of the white race to supremacy over the colored peoples.) The findings of physical measurements may be somewhat ambiguous and difficult to interpret clearly as regards their bearing on the question of the relative superiority of one race over another. Measurements of skulls, however, which presumably correlate positively with mental capacity, show a consistent advantage to the white, as compared with the Negro, race or races. And when we turn to the newer schemes for the direct measurement of mental traits, in other words, measurement of performance of tasks presumably requiring intelligence and imagination for their successful execution, the findings are equally gratifying to white investigators. White subjects

chosen at random from a given locality or milieu have invariably made better average scores than Negro subjects from the same milieu.

So consistent and satisfactory do the results of this general class of investigations seem to many students to be, that one can notice in much of the recent literature bearing on the problems of race and race relations a marked tendency to proceed on the assumption that these measurements and classifications are the only conceivable, or the only necessary and thoroughly valid, method of research into these problems. The doctrine or scientific hypothesis involved is that the races of man differ from each other on the average in capacities of the kind that are of most significance in human social life, and that the relationships of subordination and dominance, and the like, which exist between racial groups in the modern world, are to be interpreted as the natural and inevitable outcome of differences in average hereditary capacity between the members of the different races. These propositions clearly define a corresponding viewpoint and method for the study of race and race relations.

Within the past two or three decades, however, two or three pertinent criticisms of the theory and method just described have been put forth. In the first place, it is pointed out that the measurements of any particular trait or performance of members of a racial group are distributed through a rather wide range, which can be represented by some variant of the well-known bell-shaped probability curve; and that the measurements of the same trait of members of another, comparable, racial group can be represented by a similar curve which will, no doubt, have a different mode and median from the first, but which will also overlap it considerably. A few measurements of members of the inferior group may even lie well above the mode or average for the superior group. This fact, it is contended by some critics, has implications which should not be obscured by the difference in average. At any rate they tend to weaken the reasoning which is put forth to support or justify the categoric exclusion of members of one group from opportunities or privileges extended to the other.

A second criticism of the findings or conclusions usually drawn from the results of comparative measurements of members of differ-

ent racial groups concerns the interpretation of the results of mental tests. It is pointed out that, even within the bodies of statistics compiled from such tests, there can be found support for the theory that the performance is affected by education and other forces of environment. The scores made by northern Negroes on mental tests are, for example, distinctly better than those made by southern Negroes; and in some instances, the performance of northern Negroes on mental tests has averaged better than that of groups of southern whites. On the basis of such facts and analyses, the hypothesis has been formulated that mental tests measure primarily cultural differences, and that there is no reliable technique for eliminating the effect of culture and education from the gross data secured by mental tests. It is also pointed out that different racial groups from the same locality do not necessarily have the same environment, in the sense in which environment is equivalent to opportunity for mental development. If "intelligence" be defined as that which is measured by intelligence tests, then, according to the line of reasoning now under consideration, intelligence is the result of education, of home conditions including education of parents, and of various other factors including influences which are generated by the interracial situation itself. The findings of mental tests and statistics of retardation in school alike seem to show that Negro children compare more favorably with white children at early ages than at more advanced ages. It was formerly the fashion in academic circles to account for this difference by the theory that the mental development of Negro children is arrested at an early age by the closing of the sutures of the skull, but this explanation is now quite generally regarded as fantastic; and it has been suggested that the relatively inferior performance of Negro children in their later school years may be due, in part, at least, to the sense of hopelessness regarding opportunities for making use of their education.

It would be worth while to review at much greater length the possibilities and limitations of the general viewpoint and method for the study of race and race relations which proceeds from the hypothesis that race relations are necessarily and permanently conditioned by race differences which can be measured, were not the subject already familiar to all students. The foregoing brief sum-

mary of some of the criticisms of the doctrine which are being made today will perhaps be sufficient to serve as a point of departure for the examination of two other general viewpoints and methods of research in race relations, the cultural and what we may call the sociological.

It was perhaps no more than a natural result of the differentiation of sociology from the older social sciences that was manifested in the interest which early sociologists displayed in the subject of race. The writings of Ludwig Gumplowicz, one of the recognized pioneers of modern sociology, were largely centered in a theory of race relations; and the writings of Gumplowicz had, in turn, a considerable influence over many other early students and teachers of sociology. To Gumplowicz the concept of race appeared as a simple and natural one, needing no particular analysis. "Heterogeneous ethnic elements" in the total population of the earth were for him among the primary data of social science. After his day, however, the development of sociological thought and research fell under the influence of other men, who started from somewhat different assumptions. Tarde and Durkheim, Maine and Bagehot, W. H. R. Rivers and his associates, and many others contributed to the formation of a body of social theory which placed much emphasis on culture, and relatively little on the biological concept of race. Little by little the idea gained ground that the obvious and important differences between nationalities, once too lightly assumed to be due to racial heredity, were primarily cultural differences. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of our own, a great volume of information concerning the customs and institutions of different peoples was accumulated in the hands of ethnologists and made available to other scholars. These were among the reasons why the comparative study of culture began to be regarded by sociologists and anthropologists as a fruitful method of research in the problems of race, or those which had been so classified.

Culture traits are by definition acquired traits. They are customs and beliefs which have been formed in the course of experience and interaction with a given environment or sequence of environments; and they are passed along from one generation to another, or spread from one group to another, by processes of learning and inculcation,

which leave the characters of the germ plasm quite unchanged. So soon as the study of race began to be conceived as a task of systematic inventory and description of the customs of racial groups, the door was opened for the entrance of a quite different set of doctrines of race and race relations. It began to be felt that nationality, which is admittedly a matter of customs, language, and group-consciousness, is possibly more important than race. This point of view was strengthened by the gradual discovery of evidence tending to show that there are no pure races of human beings. In treatises and journal articles by distinguished authors it was shown that the significant differences between so-called "races" might be chiefly cultural differences, and that the relations and interactions of two nationality groups, not racially distinguishable from each other, were much the same as the interactions of two races. In recent years these ideas have become widely current among scholars and scientists, and have in turn done much to strengthen the belief that the careful study of the cultural heritages of the groups in question is a practical method of studying the social problems of race. It is seen that even interracial attitudes may be matters of custom and tradition in the racial groups concerned. Who can deny, for example, that southern white attitudes toward Negroes, in the United States, are determined largely by southern white tradition, and are by no means the innate, "instinctive" reactions they are often supposed to be?

The greatest practical significance of the introduction of the concept of culture into the theory of race is, of course, the implied ease of modification of race differences, or what are popularly supposed to be race differences. Race differences, in the strict biological sense of the term, are no doubt very persistent, though it has been pointed out that, in cases where some set of circumstances leads to a great deal of interbreeding between two races, a group may have its racial character, strictly so-called, considerably modified while its culture remains relatively stable. So long as a race remains relatively distinct and set apart by conspicuous physical marks such as color, however, the behavior traits or tendencies which the members of that group have in common by virtue of their biological heritage will presumably remain nearly constant. But if the principal behavior traits by which they differ at a given time from peoples or groups around

them are not racial in the proper sense of the term, but cultural, these traits may change rather rapidly, by means of education, communication, and other forms of contact with other peoples. The perception of these possibilities being widely diffused today, it is not surprising that much of the energy which has been devoted to the study of race and race relations has been concentrated on the facts of culture and cultural progress in given race groups.

The point of view and corresponding method for the study of race problems which has been most recently developed of all is that which is suggested by the now familiar phrases, "race prejudice," "racial attitudes," and "race relations." Commonplace though the idea is to us today, it does not appear that anyone thought of making the interrelations of racial groups the object of direct critical study until quite late in the history of social science. For centuries inquiry and discussion focused themselves on race traits, inherent or acquired, and race differences. The relative positions of racial groups in a more inclusive social order, the attitudes of members of different races toward each other, and their common ways of dealing with each other were assumed to be the natural and obvious outcome of the differences between the races in traits, be they instincts, capacities, emotions, intelligence quotients, or what not. With the shift in attention in social science from social structure to social process and interaction, however, it began to appear to some students that the relationship of race groups, like the relationships of individuals and other kinds of groups, is a dynamic one; and that the relationships of races take form and are changed in the course of experience in living together. Gumplowicz had said, to be sure, that there are two essential factors in every natural process, heterogeneous elements and their reciprocal interaction. But while he regarded the racial groups of mankind as the "heterogeneous ethnic elements" of fundamental importance in the social process, he thought the principle of their interaction might be very simply stated, in the following formula: "Every stronger ethnic or social group strives to subjugate or make serviceable to its purposes every weaker element which exists or may come within the field of its influence." We now begin to perceive that the interaction of races is no more than barely adumbrated in

this formula. The thesis of Gumplowicz is in effect a theory of competition, and Ray Stannard Baker found, in his brilliant exploratory study of the relations of Negroes and whites in the Southern states, that competition is indeed very fundamental to the whole pattern which is called "the color line." At about the same time Jean Finot suggested by the title of his well-known volume, even if he did not develop the proposition, that "race prejudice" is something to be studied and explained. Baker showed that the color line is a shifting, evolving thing, rather than the stable and absolute distinction it has been commonly supposed to be. His thought was that the color line shifts with changes in the competitive situation. It remained for Robert E. Park to suggest that there may be a typical "cycle" or sequence in the changes of relations between two races after their first contact.

Today, therefore, we are beginning to agree that our most important problem for social research with reference to race is not race traits nor race differences, and that even the realistic problem of culture traits and culture differences between racial groups may gain in meaning when studied in connection with some inquiry into race relations and their changes. This newer point of view is now represented by several substantial volumes, of which Professor Reuter's *The American Race Problem* and Charles S. Johnson's *The Negro in American Civilization* are outstanding examples.

To point out the importance and extent of the shift in interest and in research emphasis from the study of race traits and race differences to the study of race relations is, of course, only to lay the foundation for a consideration of methods of study in the more specific sense of the term. Even if we consider that we have proved that race relations can be studied objectively, and that research along such lines is the most fruitful approach to race problems at the present time, it remains to be determined by what procedures or what specific lines of inquiry race relations can be studied. As a matter of fact, a number of procedures are beginning to take shape.

(1) Doubtless interracial competition is the most fundamental form of racial interaction. The competition of races or racial groups can be studied by investigating occupations, wealth and income, and

the distribution of racial groups in space, locally and regionally. What is particularly relevant, however, is the measurement of the changes that are taking place or have taken place in these matters.

(2) Demographic studies throw some light on questions of racial competition; they reveal the course of that competition in its most elemental aspects. Demographic studies are characterized also by the relative ease with which satisfactory objectivity can be attained in them. These are probably among the reasons for the sustained interest in demographic studies relating to problems of race.

(3) Practical problems of race relations tend to assume a political, administrative, or legal form. Careful descriptions of administrative and legislative acts affecting race relations in a given situation, accompanied by some account of the situation, analysis of the issues, and disinterested discussion of the probable effects of alternative policies if put in effect, may be expected to add their quota to our understanding of the underlying forces and processes involved. Inquiry which starts from a particular practical problem has some presumption of realism in its favor, though it will not necessarily be free from bias. Such a discussion may beg some of the questions involved in a most plausible fashion. No doubt the most valuable sort of study which might be termed political, legal, or administrative, would be one which would analyze carefully the effects of a policy which had been put into effect some time in the past.

(4) It can be said of race relations as of many other phases of social organization and social interaction that, humanly speaking, the psychological aspects are the most important ones. The biological and economic aspects of an interracial situation may be most fundamental, but it is the beliefs, attitudes, and sentiments of those involved which more directly determine what happens. It is beliefs and sentiments that give meaning and value to race relations, as to all social relations. We may congratulate ourselves, therefore, on the efforts which are being made to study the sentiments, attitudes, and prejudices which enter into the relations and interactions of racial groups. Such works as Moton's *What the Negro Thinks*, James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, and a number of other books, ostensibly fiction, by Negro authors, help to define interracial situations and afford hypotheses which someone may be

able to verify or modify by more objective studies. The members of one race may be able to define and describe their attitudes toward the members of another race, by some procedure of self-analysis, but to arrive at a complete explanation of the process of the interaction of two racial groups we must have reliable knowledge of the attitudes of members of both races. Incidentally, it may be the source of some surprise to notice that we have practically no writings by white authors describing the attitudes of white people toward the colored races as vividly as some of the books alluded to describe "what the Negro thinks." Apparently this lack indicates a need for one type of research in race relations.

(5) One of the most promising of all the research devices which have been invented so far for the study of race relations is the introspective recapture of individuals' experiences which have shaped the attitudes toward members of another race, and, perhaps by reflection, one's attitudes toward one's own race. An interesting fact in this connection, or what appears to be a fact, is that members of a dominant race are not race-conscious to the same extent or in the same way as are many of the members of a subject or subordinated racial group. This difference has never been extensively investigated or discussed. It appears that, under some circumstances, the race-consciousness developed by subordination may eventually become an asset to the subordinated race, a source of strength in interracial competition, but this, too, remains to be studied. Quite clearly, to be subordinated as a racial group is no guarantee of future dominance or equality.

One research procedure which can be very useful in the present stage of development of our knowledge of race relations is the survey. When a series of potential research problems are as poorly defined as those of race relations still admittedly are, something is gained by a systematic canvass of existing knowledge and theories, and a mapping out of the subject or field in such a way as will reveal further possibilities of study.

One serious difficulty which interferes with the successful study of race relations is the bias or prejudice, from which the one undertaking such study is rarely free. Even more strikingly is it true that those whom the student will wish to use as sources of information

will rarely be free from bias in their report of their experience or knowledge. Race relations is in the nature of things a controversial subject, toward which the social scientist can achieve a detached attitude only with difficulty. To be sure he may, in the measure of his ability, be able to give objectivity to his data by defining the viewpoints and attitudes of his informants, i.e., by taking into account in the interpretation of evidence the situations to which his informants were responding. It is also, however, some gain in objectivity to have suggestive theories and generalizations concerning supposed facts clearly formulated. That which has been clearly stated as theory or hypothesis may then be susceptible of inductive verification or modification. It may well be, therefore, that much of the study and publication which has already been carried on in the field of race relations will bear its richest fruits indirectly, as a further result of research still to be done.

THE CHINESE-HAWAIIAN FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

Chinese-Hawaiian families were formed in the main after 1852, when large numbers of Chinese coolies, at the expiration of the contract period, left the plantations to engage in independent enterprises. In the establishment of family life, the adjustment of cultural differences took three main forms: the Hawaiian, the Chinese, and the bi-racial—the most characteristic type of family organization, involving a fusion and adaptation of Oriental and Polynesian elements. With large immigrations of other racial and cultural groups, the Chinese rose in economic and political position, while the Hawaiian culture became increasingly disintegrated and the Hawaiian group more and more disorganized. Intermarriage between pure Chinese and pure Hawaiians became relatively infrequent. A modification of the bi-racial pattern has also come about through the Americanization of Hawaii. The general pattern of Chinese-Hawaiian family organization now prevalent is based on the American standard.

As a result of the intimate contacts and association among individuals of different racial groups in Hawaii, bi-racial families are very numerous. The Hawaiians have intermarried, in some degree, with every immigrant group in the Islands. In addition, there has been much intermarriage among the various immigrant groups, the circumstances under which this miscegenation has taken place varying with time and with the groups involved. Some of the intermixture was the result of brief and casual contacts that did not give rise to independent family groups, but there has been, also, an extensive intermarriage over a relatively long period that has resulted in regular institutional families.

These mixed unions offer a rich body of data both to the students of personality and of family organization. The present paper undertakes to trace the origin and development of certain forms of adjustment characteristic of one group of bi-racial families—the Chinese-Hawaiian.

There was a considerable amount of casual contact and association among the Hawaiians and the early Chinese immigrants to the Islands. A few Chinese-Hawaiian families date from the first half of the nineteenth century. In the main, however, Chinese-Hawaiian families were formed after 1852, when Chinese coolies were imported

in large numbers as laborers for the sugar plantations. These Chinese immigrants were predominantly male, the ratio of men to women during the period of immigration being never less than ten to one, generally much higher.

The immigrants came as contract laborers and, for the most part, were sent immediately after their arrival to plantation camps where they were concentrated for the period of their contracts. During this contract period they were effectively isolated from other elements of the population. At the expiration of the contract period, however, large numbers of them left the plantations to engage in independent enterprises. The resulting dispersion through the population brought them into contact with individuals of other groups, particularly the Hawaiians. Many of the Chinese took up residence in the native villages and, as farmers, peddlers, and small merchants, entered into the economic and social life of the Hawaiian communities. The Hawaiians were friendly toward them, showing them the same hospitality that had been accorded the white group.

There are few data on the exact number of Chinese-Hawaiian marriages during the early periods. Dr. Adams's study indicates that comparatively few of the Chinese in Hawaii married out.¹ The census enumeration of 1896, however, recorded 1,387 part-Hawaiians with Chinese fathers, a number large enough to be significant.

The Hawaiian women showed no repugnance to marriage with the Chinese men, as the Hawaiians have always been singularly free from race prejudice. Not only were the Hawaiian women willing to marry Chinese; they came actually to prefer them to Hawaiians as husbands. The Chinese were sober, industrious, and notoriously kind to and considerate of their women. On the whole they were prosperous and able to give the Hawaiian women higher economic status and more security than could be expected from Hawaiian men.

In these circumstances the mores of neither group were violated, and the formation of mixed unions was not attended by any odium or disapproval. The individuals who married did not have to face the hostile behavior of a disapproving community. Their problem was that of working out a personal adjustment of cultural differences in the establishment of family life.

¹ Romanzo Adams, "The Chinese Marriage Experience in Hawaii," a paper read before the Social Science Association of Honolulu, December 3, 1928.

The early Chinese-Hawaiian marriages brought together individuals from widely different cultural backgrounds. Behind the Chinese man was a highly institutionalized culture and a strong traditional family organization. By reason of his heritage and training, his conception of family life was that of a paternalistic system to which individuals were subordinate and by which their activities were controlled. On this conception his philosophy and habits of life were based.

The Hawaiian woman, on the other hand, belonged to a group whose culture was more or less thoroughly disorganized. At the time the Chinese-Hawaiian marriages were most frequent, the old tabu-system had completely broken down, and no other unified set of controls had replaced it. There was a heterogeneous set of superstitious practices current in the Hawaiian group, but the beliefs did not have the binding force of the mores. The family pattern, at least as it had survived Western contact, was flexible and imposed little restriction on individual behavior.

In addition to these differences in fundamental family patterns and in philosophies of life between the Chinese and Hawaiians, there were variant modes of living, entailing numerous differences in customs and habits. Language, for example, remained a differentiating factor, in spite of the "pidgin" that was current.

In the establishment of family life the adjustment of the cultural differences took several forms, the type of adjustment depending upon the personalities of the individuals involved and the close environment of the new family group. While the details of the *modus vivendi* differed in each case, three main types of accommodation characterized all of the early Chinese-Hawaiian families. These types are here designated as the Hawaiian, the Chinese, and the bi-racial.

While some of the isolated Chinese maintained their cultural habits with a minimum of adaptation to the circumstances, many were at least partially assimilated into the Hawaiian group. They learned the Hawaiian language, ate the Hawaiian food, and in other respects followed the Hawaiian manner of life. As late as 1887, when there were large numbers of Chinese in the Islands, one of the missionaries commented upon the assimilation of Chinese to the Hawaiian ways:

Apparently Hawaiian life has taken on none of the distinctive characteristics of Chinese life, while, on the contrary, our Chinese community has been less conservative, adapting itself readily to the situation as it has found it in our outlying districts, if not in Honolulu. . . . The fact is significant that notwithstanding the historic conservatism of the Chinese, the drift toward a community of interest between the Hawaiians and Chinese is from the latter rather than the former.

To a certain extent, Hawaiians, Portuguese, and Chinese mingle on the same plane. Their contact is daily and hourly along the lines of industrial employment and social necessity. They meet on the common basis of the Hawaiian language.²

In these conditions, a Hawaiian marriage was simply another step in the inclusion of the Chinese man into the native group.

The marriage itself, after the prevailing Hawaiian system, was ordinarily the simple act of taking up a common residence. This inaugurated family life. There was no elaborate ceremony or ritual in which either the Hawaiian or Chinese group participated. In some instances a Christian marriage ceremony was performed, but the attitude of the missionaries toward Chinese-Hawaiian marriages was apparently unfavorable, so that even in those cases where the Hawaiian wife had come under the missionary influence there was seldom a formal Christian ceremony.

Marriage in these circumstances meant very little change in the life of the woman. She continued to live in her native village, according to her native customs, and her mode of living was much the same as though she were married to a Hawaiian man. She enjoyed perhaps some greater degree of prosperity and probably somewhat more considerate treatment. Perhaps, also, there was higher degree of conformity to a monogamous ideal than was usual in the Hawaiian group. But the woman's attitudes toward extra-marital relationships were not radically changed: like many other Hawaiian women, those who formed these mixed unions were often quite generous in their sexual favors to others than the Chinese husbands.

Such Chinese-Hawaiian families were not essentially different in pattern from the "squaw-man" families familiar in other areas where foreigners marry into the native group and become assimilated to

² Rev. W. B. Oleson, "Our Chinese Invasion," *The Friend* (Honolulu) (May, 1887), pp. 38-39.

the native culture and manner of life. The family organization was essentially that of the native Hawaiian.

The children reared in this type of family differed from Hawaiian children chiefly in the fact that one parent was Chinese. Their family experience and background was essentially the same as that of full-blood Hawaiian children; the traditions and habits of life were Hawaiian. The life-histories of these Chinese-Hawaiians show little or no Chinese influence. Chinese-Hawaiian children were frequently given away to friends or relatives of their mothers—in accordance with an ancient Hawaiian custom—in the same manner as were the children of native parents. In many cases this has meant the complete loss of any knowledge of their Chinese ancestry. A considerable percentage of Chinese-Hawaiian children were thus reared in families other than their own—usually Hawaiian.

In some cases the Chinese-Hawaiian family conformed more closely to the Chinese type of family organization than to that of the Hawaiian. Some Chinese men who lived in a Chinese colony, or in an area populated largely by Chinese, married Hawaiian women. The marriage therefore took the woman from the Hawaiian community and placed her in the midst of Chinese influence. The family organization in such case tended to conform to the Chinese rather than to the Hawaiian pattern. In other instances, Chinese men, even though isolated from their countrymen, retained their Oriental pattern of life and imposed it upon their hybrid families.

The beginning of the Hawaiian-Chinese family was generally an informal procedure, quite different from the somewhat elaborate Chinese ceremony. It amounted to little if anything more than the wish of the man and the consent of the woman. Separated from the influence of her Hawaiian relatives or dominated by the will of a strong man, the wife fell easily into the Chinese way of life. In such cases the husband educated his wife in the customs and habits of the Chinese. He exercised an authoritative rôle and made the decisions which determined the familial order. The details of family life tended to conform to Chinese customs. In the matter of food, for example, the man usually prepared the meals, Chinese in kind, and the wife ate the food he prepared. It is a common evaluation that the "Chinese lifted his Hawaiian wife off the floor."

There was rarely any serious conflict involved in this transition. The Hawaiian women in general were good-natured and anxious to please and were not sufficiently attached, emotionally or otherwise, to their own customs to offer stubborn resistance. Life-histories of Chinese-Hawaiian hybrids reveal little or no evidence of parental conflict resulting from the imposition of the Chinese patterns of family life.

This type of adjustment was most usual in the larger towns where there were Chinese communities and where the Chinese man remained a member of the Chinese group. Later, as these Chinese communities became larger, and especially when they came to have a considerable number of Chinese women, the Hawaiian wife was sometimes instructed in the Chinese régime by her Chinese neighbors. In a few instances Hawaiian wives of Chinese men completely severed their connections with the native group and became, in dress, language, and habits, typical Chinese women. There are a few cases of Chinese-Hawaiian marriages where the husband's family lived in Hawaii and the native wife was taken into the Chinese household, where she assumed the rôle of the subordinate daughter-in-law, subject to her husband's mother.

The complete adoption of the Oriental pattern by Hawaiian wives of Chinese was comparatively rare in the Islands but it was approximated in a significant number of cases. The most perfect cases of such orientalization are those where the man, returning to China, took his Hawaiian wife and hybrid children back to his native village.

The most characteristic type of family organization resulting from the early Chinese-Hawaiian marriages was that where neither the Chinese nor the Hawaiian pattern predominated. The Chinese-Hawaiian family, even that of the Chinese "squaw-man" in the native Hawaiian village, was in some measure unlike that of the pure Hawaiian. The modes of thought and the habits of living which the adult Chinese man brought to Hawaii ordinarily persisted in some degree, even though he had accommodated himself to the Hawaiian environment. Similarly, a Chinese union, even though the family residence was in a strictly Chinese community, seldom brought a complete change in the life-organization of the Hawaiian woman.

Consequently, the family life of Chinese-Hawaiian couples usually took a form which was a combination and adaptation both of Oriental and Polynesian elements.

In its simplest form the combination consisted of the maintenance both by the husband and wife of the elements characteristic of each culture, with a minimum of adaptation necessitated by the fact of common life. The husband continued to live as a Chinese, observing the customs of his group, while the wife deviated very little from the Hawaiian ways of life. One Chinese-Hawaiian woman reared in such a family shows some of the details by which this *modus vivendi* was maintained.

My father can't eat Hawaiian food—he can't stand Hawaiian food. . . . My mother did most of the cooking and sometimes my father cooked. We always had two kinds of food on the table—Hawaiian food and Chinese food. When we follow our father and eat Chinese food we eat with chopsticks and bowls. But when we follow our mother and eat Hawaiian food we either eat with our fingers or with spoons.

My father spoke Chinese to us at home. We answered him in Chinese most of the time. My mother spoke Hawaiian to us and we answered in Hawaiian.

My father dressed in Chinese clothes—even when he died. My mother wore *holoku*.³

This type of accommodation in which neither the husband's nor the wife's habits were subordinated to those of the other was usually only a temporary phase in the development of the family organization. In most cases it was preliminary to an adjustment which involved a transfer and mutual adoption of elements from both cultures. Meals, taken in common, became a mixture of Chinese and Hawaiian foods: rice and *poi*, cooked and uncooked fish, made up the family diet. The religious and superstitious practices of both cultures were impartially observed; birthdays and holidays were celebrated in both the Chinese and Hawaiian manners. At the birth of a child the customary Chinese offerings were given and the appropriate foods distributed to the Chinese friends of the family, while a *luau*, or feast, was given in the Hawaiian way. Communication was carried on in both languages, or by a "pidgin" combination. A Chinese-Hawaiian girl reared in a family of this type says:

³ From a life-history document in the files of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

When my mother just married my father she didn't know any Chinese. She spoke Hawaiian at first. Later she picked up Chinese and now she can speak enough to carry on conversation. She speaks Chinese to our Chinese relatives and friends. My father speaks Chinese mostly, but some Hawaiian.

We have a mixture of food at home. We have our Hawaiian food sometimes, but we don't eat Hawaiian food alone. Every time we have Hawaiian food we also have rice and other cooked vegetables.

On Chinese holidays we observe some Chinese customs. My father makes offerings and my mother doesn't clean house on that day. We have one month celebrations for babies, and we have *luaus* too.

We follow both Chinese and Hawaiian ways. We are mostly mixed.⁴

This combination of the living habits, on the objective side, was accompanied by a subjective assimilation of attitudes and ideas from each culture by both husband and wife. The concrete adjustments are expressive of the more subtle mutual influences which made for a unified pattern of family life on a bi-racial basis.

When the Chinese-Hawaiian families became somewhat numerous there occurred some segregation of the mixed families into separate communities. The Chinese men tended to associate together and they drew their families with them. In some areas, as the result of intermarriage, as well as of emigration and the high death-rate of the pure Hawaiians, the population became almost wholly made up of mixed-blood families. In some sections of Hawaii there were few or no pure Chinese families, and communal life among the Chinese was largely formed by these mixed-blood groups. They were not all Chinese-Hawaiians: some were white-Hawaiians or other mixtures, but the Chinese-Hawaiian families often formed a large enough group to constitute a distinct community. This segregation was in no sense the result of exclusion by the Hawaiian group, and was never complete, since the Chinese-Hawaiian families remained to a large extent scattered geographically and in more or less close contact with the Hawaiians. But there were a number of communities largely made up of Chinese-Hawaiian families. Some existed in rural villages, such as Kau, where many of the Chinese merchants and independent farmers married Hawaiian women; others were formed in the larger towns, as Hilo and Honolulu. In these cities there still remain courts and lanes occupied mainly by Chinese-Hawaiian

⁴ From a life-history document.

families. A Chinese-Hawaiian school teacher in speaking of her childhood gives a picture of such a neighborhood.

The children I played with were mostly Chinese-Hawaiian. You see, there were several other Chinese men around there who had married Hawaiian women too, so there were several Chinese-Hawaiian children. There weren't any Chinese children that I know of. There were Chinese around us—on three sides—and on one side there were Hawaiians.⁵

As a result of this segregation, partial as it was, the hybrid characteristics of the family tended to become more fixed than in those areas where the families were in closer contact with one or the other of the parent groups.

Further fixation of the hybrid pattern came about later through the intermarriage of the Chinese-Hawaiian children with other similar mixed-bloods. In these families, where the parents were separated by a generation from their ancestral groups, a close affinity with either the Chinese or the Hawaiian culture did not exist. Even where the mixed-blood children had been reared in homes characteristically Chinese or Hawaiian there was some cultural admixture. Their family life was based on heritages derived from both Oriental and Polynesian parents.

Had the Chinese-Hawaiian families existed in a simple bi-racial situation their evolution would undoubtedly have been determined by the interaction of the two parent groups and by the rôle played by the hybrid families in relation to them. The familial organization would probably have been molded into a stable form growing out of one or more of the patterns just discussed.

The general social and cultural set-up in the Islands, however, changed rapidly during the years following the Chinese immigration. Large immigrations of other racial and cultural groups greatly complicated the social and cultural life and, more important, the economic, political, and cultural conditions in the Islands came gradually under the domination of Western culture. While no group in the Islands has remained immune to the influence of the Americans, the Chinese and the Hawaiians, the oldest non-European groups in Hawaii, have become almost completely Americanized.

The status of both the Chinese and the Hawaiian groups changed

⁵ From a life-history document.

actually as well as relatively. The Chinese rose in economic and political position and, after the immigration of Chinese women had made possible the establishment of a large number of Chinese families, there developed a closely knit Chinese community. The Hawaiian group, on the other hand, continued to decrease, because of miscegenation, migration, and high death-rate. The Hawaiian culture became increasingly disintegrated and the Hawaiian group more and more disorganized. While the Hawaiians continued to play an important political rôle, most of the natives came to occupy a comparatively low economic status.

Intermarriage between pure Chinese and pure Hawaiians became relatively infrequent, as a result of the greater opportunities for Chinese men to find brides in their own group, and the decline in numbers and status of the Hawaiian group. The attitudes of the Chinese toward marriages with Hawaiians underwent a parallel change. The Chinese, as a result of their stronger economic position, and, to a less degree, of their nationalistic feeling, have come to look upon a Hawaiian marriage as a *mésalliance*.

In the last quarter of a century, consequently, the Chinese-Hawaiian families have become increasingly those established by marriages between mixed-bloods, or between hybrids and pure-bloods, rather than by the marriages of Chinese and Hawaiians. As a result, family organization on a uni-racial basis, either Chinese or Hawaiian, has practically disappeared.

A modification of the bi-racial pattern has also come about through the Americanization of Hawaii. As the second and third generations have come under the influence of Western culture through the schools, movies, newspapers, and other Americanization agencies, Western ideas, attitudes, and modes of living have replaced those of the Oriental and Polynesian. The survivals have been fragmentary and largely the result of conscious nationalistic attempts to maintain group identity. The fundamental attitudes toward marriage and the family came to have little reference to the ancestral cultures.

The general pattern of Chinese-Hawaiian family organization which is now prevalent, particularly among the younger generation,

is based on the American standard as it has been transplanted to Hawaii. Marriages are contracted in large measure on the basis of the romantic concept. Freedom in the choice of mates is generally accepted, even though parental attitudes may influence the choice. In the marital relationship the equality of the sexes is assumed, subject, of course, to the limitations existing on the mainland of the United States. The monogamous pattern is accepted as the standard; the "small family" is the primary group. Food, language, dress, and recreation are American, with the same modifications as are made by the white families in the Islands.

HOW AMERICA BECAME BELLIGERENT: A
QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF WAR NEWS,
1914-17

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ABSTRACT

The process by which a modern state passes from neutrality to belligerency is illustrated in the case of the United States during the World War and as reflected in the press. In the five stages of neutrality attention is increasingly in the direction of war. News originating with the neutral nation undergoes a great increase in volume. It is always favorable to the nation supplying the greater amount of news. The focus of attention narrows to news concerning one of the belligerents and its relations to the neutral self. The national government as the collective symbol becomes the object of concern, with corresponding disregard of consequences for individuals. Items carrying appeals capable of affecting reader attitudes increase. These tendentious items are motivated by the usual idealism, and by appeals of specific application to the injured self. In this respect the malignant crisis is distinguished from the benignant. The latter is marked by conciliatory items which are unable to overcome the inertia of peace. Definitely belligerent items supplant conciliatory items in the malignant crisis.

Nations today are very reluctant formally to declare war, but it is flagrantly evident that they have not renounced belligerence in thought or action. Diplomats continue ceaselessly in their attempts to prevent belligerent policies from resulting in armed conflict, and social scientists are exploring the origins of belligerence as manifest in the relations of nations. Any investigation which contributes to a more precise understanding of the circumstances under which a people becomes belligerent tends to illuminate the problem of preserving the peace.

Following the outbreak of the European war, the United States passed through thirty-four months of neutrality before its belligerence became crystallized in the declaration of war against Germany. The stages in the evolution of this belligerence are chronicled in the contemporary newspaper press, which now serves as a reservoir of data concerning the crises which jolted the American people from spectators to participants in the war. Further importance attaches to a study of the American press during the period of neutrality because of the active rôle of the newspaper in the modern world.

A modern state passes from neutrality to participation in warfare

as the climax of a series of popular crises. The extent to which the whole people must experience these crises precedent to belligerency depends upon two variables: the generality of the demand which is necessary to the decision for warlike action (popular referendum as against dictatorial decree); and the generality of the participation necessary to the prosecution of the warlike policy (conscript army as against a professional army). The necessity for popular approval increases with the magnitude of the military program, for even an autocrat cannot carry out a comprehensive program if faced by strong popular opposition.

The series of crises tends toward an abandonment of neutrality in favor of the belligerent which supplies the greater amount of news; for popular information concerning foreign lands is furnished predominantly by the newspaper.¹

These major generalizations concerning the modern process of becoming belligerent are based largely upon study of America's news of the European war from June, 1914, to April, 1917. Sample issues of the *New York Times* and of the daily press of Chicago were carefully examined. Quantitative study of over 11,000 separate items published by these newspapers indicated the amount of war news coming from each belligerent, the channels furnishing the news, the subjects treated, the appeals presented, and the extent to which the news was likely to modify attitudes toward the belligerents.

Altogether, information concerning a dozen attributes of each of these news items was recorded and transferred to punch-cards to permit mechanical compilation and to facilitate the making of correlations. Many of the data were absolutely objective in character (origin, channel, date, length, prominence of display), and the remainder were based upon classification so definite that the subjective element was reduced to the minimum.²

¹ While today the radio broadcast performs an important function with respect to foreign relations, and yields an incalculable influence over public attitudes, the broadcast still lacks the comprehensiveness and tangibility of the newspaper. Furthermore, the radio has made no attempt to duplicate the services of the great news agencies, and is largely dependent upon them for the content of news broadcasts.

² For a complete account of the methodology, see my MS in the University of Chicago Library, "Studies in America's News of the European War."

Fundamental importance attaches to the origin of news, and to the volume of news emanating from each belligerent. Selection of news operates at every source and determines what news—especially what war news—shall be furnished the makers of newspapers. This selection determines which of the many aspects of a given war shall receive newspaper attention in neutral states. With the attention of neutral readers fixed by the more prolific belligerent, it follows that appeals freely appear in the news which evoke an attitude favorable to the nation supplying the news. As this condition continues through successive crises, the attention upon certain aspects of the war becomes more vivid, and the appropriate appeals fortify an attitude which becomes prevalent among the people.

It is thinkable that some crises might not terminate in favor of the belligerent supplying the greater amount of news, on account of exceptional ineptitude in conveying that belligerent's point of view with respect to the crises. It is also true that the facts which give rise to crises are unequal in their attention value. Nevertheless, the facts of even the most spectacular crises make different impressions upon different observers and produce widely differing reactions (e.g., the sinking of the "Lusitania" as contemplated in Germany and in Great Britain). The intrinsic differences among critical situations may present occasional difficulties to the propagation of a belligerent's point of view; but some perspicacity on the part of the sending nation must be assumed. War news is filled with dispatches which overcome tremendous natural obstacles.

This emphasis upon the war news published in a neutral state is not intended to suggest that news is the sole factor which operates to evoke a popular demand for war. Economic and political considerations, apart from those furnished through the press, contribute effectively to the formation of popular attitudes. At the same time, it is to be borne in mind that the mails, cables, steamships, and radio systems which communicate news also afford the facilities for commercial and political contact. The amount of news received by a neutral from a belligerent is a partial index of the volume of commercial and political relations with that belligerent; and, to some extent, the amount of news determines the nature of these relations.

For the purpose of detecting the news trends which accompanied the evolution of American belligerence, five periods were utilized. The first comprehended the outbreak of hostilities and the spectacular march of the German army across supposedly neutral Belgium. The second period included the critical tension between neutrals (particularly the United States) and the Entente powers (particularly Great Britain) concerning the rights of neutrals on the high seas. The third period witnessed an extension of the policies of the belligerents touching ocean commerce which reached a climax in the sinking of the "Lusitania." The fourth marked the attempt to bring the war to a close in a fashion which brought out the so-called war aims of the contending belligerents. The final period opened with a declaration by one of the belligerents which restricted the freedom and endangered the safety of neutrals (unrestricted submarine warfare); and this period included the revelation of a document (Zimmermann note) which further threatened one neutral, the United States. The events of each of these periods served to impress the European war more indelibly into American consciousness.

The amount of newspaper space which was given to the reporting of the various crises is partially indicative of their intrinsic differences in attention value, and partially indicative of the accumulated American interest in the European war as reflected in popular eagerness to learn the latest news. Even without any atrocity stories, the march of an army across Belgium would have been "big news." It is also true that murder and piracy are essentially more dramatic than the confiscation of a few tons of copper or bales of cotton. The prosperity of a newspaper depends largely upon the ability of its publishers to gauge correctly the popular craving for news.

While the news of the Serajevo murders surprised America, it did not produce a crisis. No news relative to the Serajevo episode was published from July 9, 1914, until the Austrian ultimatum; yet such news did persist in the *Times* until July 8. In August, 1914, the front page of the *Times* was substantially devoted to the reporting of the war. As the military situation became static, and despite the development of diplomatic tension between neutrals and the belligerent which was ruling the seas, war news steadily gave way to non-war news until, in January, 1915, news of the war was de-

cidedly overshadowed by other news. The declarations of "war zones" and "blockades" served to restore war news to parity with other news; and the "Lusitania" disaster (May, 1915) resulted in complete domination of the front page by news of the war.

In December, 1916, the negotiations looking toward peace brought for war news almost as much front-page space as in the Lusitania days. This fact indicates that, during the eighteen months following the sinking, American interest in the European war had greatly increased; for these negotiations were not so intimately related to the neutral nation as was the loss of American life at sea. Nevertheless, in January, 1917, non-war news received almost as much front-page attention as did war news.

In the remaining months of neutrality the front page once more was given over very largely to news of the European war and of American military preparations, although people still differed as to the purpose of this preparedness. In the weeks immediately preceding the American declaration of war, considerable front-page attention was given to Mexican-American relations, and to the prospects of a national railroad strike. Both of these matters were related to the possibility of participation in a transatlantic war, although these items were not "news of the European war."

The attention of newspaper readers was firmly fixed upon the war during the major critical occasions which have been mentioned; but even during the intercrisis periods the drift was constantly in the direction of increased attention to the war.

From the outset, an overwhelming proportion of this war news originated with the Entente group of belligerents, or passed through their territory to reach this neutral nation. By virtue of geographical position, Great Britain was able to set up a monopoly over communication by cable. During the first year of the war, 70 per cent of the front-page war news was of Entente origin, and the proportion received directly from Germany did not exceed 4 per cent.

The wireless, presenting no fixed lines of communication susceptible of capture, was the only news channel not subject to Entente censorship. Transatlantic wireless service was not established until after the invasion of Belgium; and atmospheric conditions subsequently interrupted contact with America, as at

the time of the torpedoing of the "Lusitania." So it happened that when the German government was carrying out two of its most striking actions of the entire war, the American people received substantially all of their news of these actions from Germany's enemies. The direct German news did not exceed 12 per cent of the total in any of the five periods.

As successive crises were experienced by the American people, news of cisatlantic origin increased at the expense of news from abroad. The sort of comment natural to a spectator appeared at first on the inside pages of the newspaper, and reached the front page only during crises relating this spectator somewhat more closely to the war. Contemporaneously there appeared news items from other neutral nations which found themselves in crises similar to our own. As the nation moved toward participation, news of American origin not only appeared on the front page in considerable amounts (increasing from 11 per cent to 42 per cent from 1914 to 1917), but it seized the headlines and became the most prominent news of the day.

The characteristic tendency of news writers to give news an "angle" which makes it more relevant to readers was illustrated at the very beginning when the *Times* secured an interview with Professor Michael Pupin, honorary Serbian consul in New York. As the news of American origin increased, not only did the amount from New York City continue, but that from inland cities increased markedly. The increasing gravity of the situation began to awaken the more remote regions of the nation to a feeling that the war was a truly national concern.

As each crisis was experienced by the neutral people, the focus of attention narrowed to the critical matters then before the nation. Moreover, these crises tended to fix attention upon particular nations which henceforth served to symbolize the group of belligerents to which they respectively belonged. News of the "war in general" diminished during the months of neutrality from 53 per cent to 26 per cent of the total. The proportion concerning Great Britain varied from 7 per cent to 16 per cent, while the German element described a constant increase from 15 per cent to 31 per cent. Most of the news concerning Great Britain, as distinguished from the

news about Germany, originated at home. To the extent that attention was directed toward the policies of the other belligerent, it moved away from the policies of the nation which was supplying the war news.

The successive crises also produced changes in the sort of news which was published about the war. News of military activities constantly diminished on the front page, from 72 per cent to 22 per cent, while news of diplomatic negotiations (particularly American diplomatic relations, 2 per cent to 20 per cent) constantly increased. News of internal economic, political, and social conditions also registered an increase from 11 per cent to the maximum of 35 per cent at the time of the peace negotiations.

The increasing emphasis upon diplomatic news concentrated attention upon the losses suffered, rather than the gains experienced, by the neutral nation as a spectator of a great war. Diplomatic notes from neutral to belligerent are usually protests. Discussion was carried on in terms of the common symbol, the American nation as represented by the national government. As the recurring crises seemed to threaten this group symbol, the degree of collective involvement mounted; and there developed an accompanying disregard for the realistic consequences of war for individual Americans, as distinguished from the collectivity.

Many of these war items carried appeals capable of affecting reader-attitude concerning the war and the parties to it. During the first year of the war the proportion of war items carrying such an appeal reached a maximum of 13 per cent. These appeals were chiefly of two types: legalistic and idealistic-commendatory. A new crisis, such as that evoked by the invasion of Belgium, was signalized in the news by an increase in appeals based upon regard for law. As the event disappeared into the past, this legalistic appeal was superseded by the more vague idealistic or commendatory plea. Appeals of this sort implicitly or explicitly invoked a standard of ideal or commendable behavior as a measure of national action. During the neutral period such appeals executed a gradual, then a rapid, increase (to 20 per cent of all war items). Toward the close, they were accompanied by appeals based upon accusations of diabolism or insolence and upon American economic advantage. The

appearance of these latter signalized arrival at a stage in which the appeals themselves were specifically related to this neutral nation.

The "tendency" of an item was considered to be its capacity to modify the attitude of the reader toward the war or participating powers. The net result of such tendentious news items was always favorable to the belligerent furnishing the greater amount of news. Just as the news furnished by the Entente tended to focus attention upon the opposite belligerent, so most of the tendentious items were "against" rather than "for" one set of belligerents. During the first few months of the war, especially when sea rights were under consideration, the news was not much more unfavorable to the Central than to the Entente powers. Following the sinking of the "Lusitania," antipathy toward Germany became marked; and with the experiencing of additional crises the accumulation of hatred became more and more rapid.

Initially the anti-German news was accompanied by pro-neutral dispatches in favor of fixing the status of this country as a mere spectator. As crises succeeded each other, the involvement of this nation was signalized by the appearance of items in opposition to all war. The pro-neutral items were especially prevalent during the "Lusitania" crisis, and the anti-war items during the peace negotiations; but items of each tendency practically disappeared following the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare and the publication of the Zimmermann note.

From the standpoint of news origins, the most tendentious news was that from America where censorship was least operative; and the least tendentious was that received from Berlin via London, and consequently subjected to two censorships. The tendentiousness of Entente-via-London news was very low, but the volume was so great that this origin produced almost as large a quantity of tendentious news as did America. No other source approached these two in quantitative output of news likely to modify opinion.

Among news channels, the group of "by-line" writers produced the most highly tendentious news, and after them ranked the special correspondents of individual newspapers. News items which were not identified by the *Times* as to news channel were least tendentious; and most of these may be attributed to the Associated Press.

With respect to the subject treated in the war item, the news of opinion demonstrations was naturally highly tendentious. News of diplomatic relations, implicitly invoking the group symbol, was much more tendentious than the average, while military news was far below the average. Dispatches dealing with the domestic developments within the various nations were below the average in tendentiousness.

The sheer increase of news items unfavorable to one of the belligerents does not imply much more than a heightened interest on the part of a spectator. To obtain a true picture, elements of belligerence, or demands for conciliation, which may have been present in the news, must be considered in addition to the tendency.

During the first year of the war only two belligerent items appeared upon the front page of the *Times*, while several conciliatory items were published. Items were classified as belligerent or conciliatory only when they contained definite mention of such possibilities as dismissal of an ambassador, or presidential declamation in favor of pacific settlement of specific disagreements. Conceivably, diplomatic news and legalistic appeals might be interpreted as suggesting a preference for peaceful, rather than war-like, settlement of disputes. In actuality the legalistic appeal was utilized to belabor a transgressor, while the emphasis upon the group symbol implicit in diplomatic news tended to attach the nation so firmly to a particular policy that compromise (as by arbitral procedure) became increasingly less acceptable.

As the volume of antipathy toward Germany increased, the conciliatory items began to disappear. Simultaneously, belligerent items made their way to the front page, and eventually they supplanted the conciliatory dispatches. But the belligerent news did not appear during the initial crisis. A series of crises had to be experienced before the neutral demanded the use of armed force.

The trends which have been noted here with particular reference to the news published by the *New York Times* were paralleled by the trends of the various Chicago newspapers. The midwestern dailies were perhaps more slow to print news about the United States in relation to the distant European war than was the seaboard *Times*, although in Chicago and in the *Times* the inside pages carried a

much higher proportion of news from America and about America than did the front page, except during the final crisis.

The editorials of the *Times* exhibited tendencies parallel to those of the news items. However, editorial attention to the United States and to its foreign relations was greater than front-page attention, and editorial antipathy toward Germany was much more frequently expressed. The argument tended increasingly to be phrased in nationalistic terms; and the sinking of the "Lusitania" proved a great impetus to this editorial stressing of the group symbol.

The result of concentrating editorial attention upon two individual nations as symbols of the Central and Entente powers was more frequent discussion of Germany than of Great Britain in every period except the second. During this Anglo-American crisis there were more pleas for neutrality than during the German-American crisis concerning the "Lusitania" (the opposite of the front-page situation), and none at all thereafter. The more rapid advance of belligerence upon the editorial page indicates a swifter development from the spectator-self to the participant-self than was evidenced upon the front page.

These editorials seem to illustrate the thesis that the point of view of that belligerent which has control of the news sources will become that of the press; yet it is well known that many newspapers (notably those of Mr. Hearst) maintained editorial policies hostile to the Entente powers. Does the eventual capitulation of these newspapers, after a sufficient number of crises had been experienced, constitute a justification of the proposition that sheer bulk of news will secure ultimate triumph?

These "pro-German" newspapers, apparently unmoved by the economic considerations tending toward American participation, did become aroused by the fact that the Imperial German Government had denied this nation a proper amount of deference. They felt a keen sense of injury as a result of the German attitude. Yet we may note that newspapers vary considerably in their capacity to withstand editorially a constant deluge of news from a single belligerent power. It is also true that pro-German newspapers might not find so many readers in a public moved to anti-German belligerency as in a spectator-public.

What are the signs in the news which differentiate significant popular crises from less serious crises?

In the significant crisis, news originating with the neutral, the self, undergoes a great increase in volume, exceeding that from any other source. There is an increase in items from the more remote regions of the neutral nation, signifying a wide expanse of concern about the critical situation. This news from the self is displayed with prominence, and non-war news practically disappears from the front page.

The focus of attention narrows. Special prominence is given to the news concerning one of the belligerents and its relations to the neutral self. Other nations move toward the periphery, or completely outside the circle.

Appeals in the news demonstrate a marked increase in nebulous, idealistic motivation, as the prospects of the crusade are revealed; and ancillary appeals of various sorts now appear in considerable numbers. The diabolism of the hated belligerent is seen to be directed against the self (murderous submarine warfare). The absence of deference toward the self is made pointed by insolence of attitude. Now also appears the direct appeal to American economic advantage, or removal of disadvantage. Concentration upon the irritating relations with a single belligerent necessarily produces blindness to the possible disadvantages of participation in war. The chief concern becomes the triumph of the group symbol.

The inevitable result of this integration of news from the self, about the self, related to a particular belligerent, and shot through by motivations of peculiar significance for the self, is to develop a tendency of unprecedented affective strength. But it is this same sort of concentration and tendency which characterizes the less significant crises in the series leading toward war.

In the benignant crisis, these identifying traits are not developed to such a marked extent as in the malignant crisis. But the distinguishing marks of the benignant crisis are the absence of appeals specifically related to the self, and, especially, by the presence of conciliatory items in the news. Conciliatory items bespeak concern, even anger, at the behavior of the belligerent in question, but they

demonstrate an inability to overcome the inertia of peace, an unwillingness to adopt a course of action so upsetting as war, with all its disadvantageous concomitants.

In the malignant crisis, on the other hand, there is an almost complete disappearance of conciliatory items. Simultaneously there appear, in this *n*th crisis, definitely belligerent dispatches which reveal a wrath which knows no bounds. No matter what the alternative (and who thinks of that?) the rôle of spectator has become impossible. The self can no longer frown. It must act.

MEASUREMENT IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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ABSTRACT

In order to define social status it is necessary to measure selected attributes abstracted from the totality of attributes characteristic of the persons studied. Use of the living-room scale assumes that the complex structure of attitudes giving persons their status varies with their material possessions. Measurement is not mere enumeration but a form of scientific description which uses numerical symbols corresponding to different distances from an arbitrary point on a continuum. Measurement must always be relative to the frame of reference adopted. It is more susceptible of accurate recording, independent verification, and transmission.

The theoretical and philosophical points in Professor House's paper interest me most. He has raised certain fundamental questions that I should like to approach with regard to the contrast ordinarily drawn between inductions derived from sense data and those inferred from concepts. The former approach has been called scientific and the latter non-scientific. To my mind one may be quite as scientific or, for that matter, as unscientific as the other. To illustrate, let me cite Professor House's reference to my living-room scale, which he is inclined to classify as a device that measures sense data but does not deal with that intangible thing, social status, a concept that involves the attitudes of other persons toward the person in question. My discussion of this problem will follow the terminology of Professor House's own paper.

In the first place, we observe that people occupy different social positions in society as well as different spatial positions in a given region. We describe social position as social status. But we further observe that different people have different degrees of the attribute, social status. Thus it becomes necessary to define social status.² When this is done we have the concept defined either

¹ This paper was presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Society held at Cincinnati in December, 1932, and submitted for publication in October, 1934. It is a discussion of the paper by Floyd N. House which appeared in this *Journal*, XL (1934), 1-11.

² In the early stages of research to develop the living-room scale, I defined status in this way: "Socio-economic status is the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective in-

explicitly or implicitly in terms of attitudes. Although my living-room scale attempts measurement by an enumeration of weighted items³ of living-room furnishings, it is implicitly assumed that those things have value in terms of the attitudes of other people toward the home in question.⁴ Now it is true that the object of acquaintance knowledge, that is, the persons whose living room is visited, are not themselves the measured elements. These measured elements are selected attributes abstracted from the totality of attributes characteristic of these persons. In short, we assume that the complex structure of attitudes (*Gestalten*) that gives these persons their status varies with their material culture possessions, or, to state the principle differently, we select out for special quantitative description one attribute, namely, the furnishings of the living-room, and then we proceed to discover the degree of this selected attribute that any particular person or family possess. At this point it may be claimed that insight is required to select the attribute or attributes that are likely to be a fair index of variations in status. If our concept of status is enriched by this procedure, then we have established a useful nexus between sense data and conceptual thinking. In short, our concept status is now defined in terms of the method used to measure it and in terms of the result of this measurement process. The result of this measurement process is quantitative description that may be used to supplement qualitative descrip-

come, material possessions, and participation in group activity of the community." The component concepts of this definition were each quantitatively described and then summarized in a single index of social status called the Living Room Scale. For a full account, see F. Stuart Chapin, "A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community: A First Approximation to the Measurement of Socio-Economic Status," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIX, No. 2 (February, 1928), 111. For a more recent treatment see the author's *The Measurement of Social Status*, pp. 1-16. University of Minnesota Press, 1933.

³ For example, a stove counts one point and a central steam heat plant three; a kerosene lamp counts one point and electric lights three; a two-party telephone line two, and a one-party line three; classical music sheets count five times as much as jazz music; original paintings count two times as much as imitations, etc.

⁴ It is implicitly assumed that the possession of classical music and original paintings show a higher degree of artistic appreciation (aesthetic attitude) than the possession of jazz music sheets and imitation pictures. This is also true of twenty-two other articles of furnishings and equipment.

tion. This quantitative description (for example, a group of fifty relief cases have an average score of 53 points and a group of fifty professional families an average score of 165 points) is useful because it supplements the word-symbols, "relief cases," by the numerical symbols, "53," and the word-symbols, "professional families," by the numerical symbols, "165." Thus the concepts of lower status (relief families), and upper status (professional families), are made sharper and are better defined. Furthermore, such quantitative description is more easily verifiable than the qualitative description that relies on such word-symbols as "relief cases" and "professional families." We may note also that the mean scores on groups of families⁵ of different classes are known as data and that in further analyses we may substitute these data, i.e., the scores 53 and 165, for the objects, i.e., the separate items of material culture in the living rooms; thus, as Dewey⁶ says, data become subject-matter for further interpretation.

Some further remarks on sociological measurement may not be amiss. In the beginning phase of a social science investigation we observe a number of instances, cases, entities, objects, or persons. These are units of observation. They fall roughly into two categories. The first category consists of units of *passive* population or of count—such as the number of articles of furnishings in a living room, the number of legal voters, the number of incorporated villages, the number of civil service applicants, the number of classified employees, the number of bottles of fountain pen ink, etc., depending upon the subject matter of the research. But none of these entities are what I regard as true units of measurement.

The second category of units of observation consists of units of *active* population or of count—such as overtly expressed attitudes, political opinions, voting behavior, police efficiency, etc. Again, none of these entities are true units of measurement.

All such units of observation, whether they be passive and static entities, or active and dynamic entities, are always the *subjects* of study. Nevertheless, some students count the number of persons in

⁵ All these families live in Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A., a city of 465,000 population in 1930.

⁶ *The Quest of Certainty*, 1929, p. 99.

an area and call it measurement; or count the number of votes and call it measurement. Neither procedure is true measurement; both are mere enumeration.

When we count the number of potatoes in a pile on the floor this act does not measure the potatoes. It is only when we place all of the potatoes in a container which is by convention called a bushel basket that we measure the number of potatoes. The bushel basket is an arbitrary unit of volume. It might just as well have been a little larger or a little smaller except for custom or use and wont.

In my judgment, therefore, the articles of furnishings in a living room, or voting behavior, or votes are something to be measured against an arbitrary scale. To count the number of votes and to call this act measurement is like counting the number of potatoes in the pile and calling that act measurement. To measure votes we must set them off against some arbitrary scale of numerical values. Perhaps an attitude scale. This scale is regarded as a continuum from low to high values when the division points on the scale have been located by careful research and independently verified. When the scale is later standardized as a reliable and as a valid scale, then the units along the continuum are approximately equal, and equal distances measure equal degrees of the trait observed. Remember that units of measurement are always units of reference.⁷

It should be evident that measurement is to be regarded as a form of scientific description which uses numerical symbols corresponding to different distances from an arbitrary point on a continuum. Units of measurement on a scale are equal because they are so standardized in scientific practice. There is nothing about measurement as a form of scientific description which makes it intrinsically and absolutely superior. Measurement must always be relative to the frame of reference adopted. But it is important to be explicit as to the particular frame of reference used. It is most unfortunate to be unaware of the limitations of one's implicit assumptions. The great advantage of measurement as quantitative scientific description is that it is more susceptible of accurate recording independent verification, and transmission than are other methods such, for instance,

⁷ This is true of the meter, the yard, the mean, the percentage, the ratio, the relative index, the standard deviation, etc.

as the case method. The numerical symbol is thus the basis of measurement. The great advantage of the numerical symbol is its universal acceptability as a medium of intellectual exchange. It is a standard of communication. Numerical symbols are more standardized and interchangeable than any other symbols. An "8" is an "8" and not a "7." But "red" is not always and everywhere "red." It has its range of shades. "Crime" varies by definition from place to place and from period to period. "Imperialism," "radicalism," and "conservatism," mean now this and now that. But the numerical symbol "7" is always the same substitute stimulus for the number of entities or objects between 6 and 8. It is for these reasons that measurement has been found to be such a useful form of description, whether of natural objects or of concepts. But let us not conclude that concepts as tools of scientific research are the special prerogative of sociology. Indeed, we find that in modern physics concepts are as important as in modern sociology. Force, mass, acceleration, gravity, are all concepts just as are the atom, the molecule, the electron. In fact, I cannot see that attitudes, social distance, and social status are intrinsically more complex concepts than such physical concepts as the molecule, atom, or electron. In my opinion it is largely a matter of the means of description. In sociology, we tend to use qualitative word symbols as means of description. In physics, the numerical symbol is more widely used. As the sociologist adopts the numerical symbol of description in the definition of his concepts they will become more precise and he will approach the position of the physicist in the precision of his work.

MEASUREMENT IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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ABSTRACT

Communication makes it possible for subjective experience to become objective knowledge. The world of object-events is in continual flux. All knowing is abstract, aspectual, partial. Knowledge is the result of repeated, communicable experience and therefore numerical. If the enumeration is analytic, explicit, statistical, we have natural science knowledge. Dewey seems not to imply that social phenomena cannot be treated statistically, but that so far few of them have been. The only certainties transcending common sense in sociology or any other science are statistical in nature. Dewey emphasizes the idea that physical and social objects are not different kinds of reality but that genuine knowledge of man and society necessarily lags far behind physical knowledge.

Professor House has stated fairly the degree of agreement between the two major methodologies in sociology, the quantitative and non-quantitative or case-study-lifehistory-attitude-insight and objective-behavioristic. Then, unfortunately, he asks two questions which cannot be answered but must be considered if we are to have a coherent philosophy of science. These two simple questions are: What is science? and How do we know and know that we know? Professor House admits so much in his paper and becomes so neo- or semi-behavioristic that I hope he will sometime write an article on the "Limitations of Subjective Sociology."

Taking the last question first, I venture the dogmatic assertion that no answer can be given that will be completely satisfactory to anyone except the one who answers. At least, it has not yet been done. The only people who know they know are those who have never thought much about the problem of knowing. Most natural scientists pursue their recondite studies with none or only the most naïve common-sense theory of knowledge. Frequently, they are metaphysical or philosophical phobiacs even though they are all unconscious or inarticulate metaphysicians. Their phobia is probably an unconscious defense mechanism, or an equally unconscious father

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or mother hatred, depending upon whether philosophy is the mother or father of science.

At any rate, until scientists become philosophers, and philosophers, scientists, there will be continuous disputes generating more heat than light. These disputes will be of two kinds, terminological and postulational. The first are confusing but unimportant. They are simply symptoms of the disease of language. Sufficient patience and effort may resolve them. But even when the terminology is understood, as it seldom is, postulational differences will remain unresolved even after the postulators have done their best. If there is substantial agreement on postulates, as I think there is in our fraternity, there should be general agreement on methods of getting the knowledge implicit in our postulates. To test this assumption, I must postulate a bit.

First: There are object-events existing and occurring. Man is one of these. He makes certain movements. Among these are total-adjustment movements of approach and avoidance. He also makes movements we call vocalization and memory. Some vocal movements come to stand for other object-events, or functional aspects of them, as actually experienced by the vocalizer. When the same, or recognizably similar, sounds denote, or point out, for two or more persons, the same or similar objects, events or experiences, they are vocal symbols. Thus, vocalization and memory make communication possible; communication makes it possible for subjective experience to become objective knowledge. This is what we mean by knowing. One may "know" in the sense of experiencing, moving internally or externally, but others cannot know he knows unless and until this subjective experience is communicated; this can be done only by symbols, vocal or gestural. All experience is private, but all knowledge is public, i.e., communicated.

Second: The world of object-events, including man, is in continual flux. The rates of change in and between objects are variable; hence, uniformity and stability have meaning only when referred to some standard. Standards have their origin and meaning only because they represent some relatively stable, uniform, and common experience of man. Inescapably, whether we like it or not, we are in a homocentric universe. But we can never know anything about it

completely and finally because we can experience only limited aspects of object-events at any given instant; we ourselves and all other object-events, indeed the whole universe, are never the same for any two successive instants. Hence, we see in part and know in part. This is as true of acquaintance knowledge, if it is communicable, as it is of knowledge about; they differ only in the degree of objectivity with which the experience is communicated. The world we "know" is an indeterminate, interdependent, interfluent, interactive, and self-active congeries of reciprocal-variable object-events.

Third: From the foregoing, we see the significance of Dewey's statement that data are "takens" as well as "givens," i.e., they are abstractions from experienced objects or events. But for the same reasons, "objects" are also "takens." They are known objectively only by symbolic communication and enumeration of their abstracted characteristics as experienced by subjects. The expectancy we have of recurrent object-behavior depends upon the degree of agreement between our own experience and that of others who have communicated their experience to us. The frequent occurrence of such agreement is the only "proof" we have that "givens" as well as "takens" actually exist. This is as true of cultural objects or events as it is of physical or biological. The same radical abstraction of private experience must be made in sufficient number, be symbolized, and be communicated, before knowledge is attained. Most such radical abstractions from all kinds of objects and events are useless as data for scientific knowledge. They merely provide vocal exercise. Some of them are data that give useful common-sense knowledge, some furnish data for normative, and a few, for natural, science. The main point in this postulate is that all knowing, even purely subjective knowing, is abstract, aspectual, partial; all communicable knowing, i.e., knowledge, is possible only by numerative symbolical abstraction. The "givens" from which the "takens" are taken, as well as the "givens" in the subject which determine what "taken" he takes, must be sufficiently stable to permit the repetition of relatively similar experiences. If these conditions are met in two or more subjects, vocal symbolization of the experiences becomes possible and, with it, communication and objective knowledge. Repetition and, hence, numeration are indispensable to knowing.

Four kinds of knowing have been mentioned: (1) subjective, uncommunicated, or incomunicable; (2) common sense (implicitly numerical); (3) normative; (4) natural science. All four kinds of knowing are reputable and valuable, but only the last three, aspectual, symbolical, communicable, are knowledge. Most of our subjective experiences we never even try to communicate—just having them is enough; some we do try to communicate on the common-sense level, with varying success. We frequently communicate value-judgments and are often understood even when our values are flouted; but natural science communication compels all reasonable men to accept the facts found by legitimate scientific methods. The meaning of the facts, their value-significance, is another matter and is no concern of the natural scientist as such.

Professor House's interpretation of Dewey's position in regard to measurement both surprises and shocks me. Either I do not understand Dewey, or Professor House does not, or Dewey is inconsistent (which would be a sore scandal in the chaste temple of philosophy), or it is a case of the devil quoting scripture. Two quotations from *The Quest for Certainty* are given to show the limitations of measurement. The first is from page 124. On page 125 is a very clear statement that measurement is of the very essence of natural science. Page 216 is also quoted, but on page 221 occur these words: "Nevertheless, in the end thinkers in all lines are dependent upon the mathematician and physical enquirer for perfecting the tools employed in their respective callings." On page 249, Dewey says: "No mechanically exact science of an individual is possible. An individual is a history unique in character. But constituents of an individual are known when they are regarded not as qualitative but as statistical constants derived from a series of operations." This is in accord with our second and third postulates. Similar expressions are found on pages 57, 87, 88, 92, 127, 133, 152, 206, 240, 241, and elsewhere. There can be no question that Dewey regards statistical measurement as the most important method of getting dependable scientific knowledge. He would probably almost subscribe to Kant's dictum that a study can be called scientific only in so far as it is mathematical.

The real question is: can social phenomena be treated this way?

Professor House seems to think that Dewey thinks they cannot. I think Dewey thinks only that as yet few of them have been so treated. Both of us, or the three of us, may be wrong. It is obvious that the social and physical sciences do part company at this point. It is so true that most physical scientists say that sociologists are not natural scientists at all—and never can be. Perhaps they are right. They certainly are if Professor House's tentative acceptance of Werner Sombart's view is correct—if that is really Sombart's considered view. If there are no social data that can be treated by the methods of natural science, certainly we can never build a natural science.

It is true that little so-called sociological research has been done either from the point of view, or by the methods, of natural science. It is also true that many social phenomena do not lend themselves readily to natural science investigation—but the same is true of all other kinds of natural phenomena. Many of them cannot be studied scientifically; many that can be, have not been, and probably never will be. The same is true of social phenomena. But some have already been quantified and more will be. The only certainties transcending common sense in sociology or in any other science are statistical in nature. The degree to which such methodology can be applied to social data will determine whether sociology is to become a natural science or remain forever a bastard discipline sired and dammed by common sense and normative knowledge; whether it is to be a natural science or a hodgepodge of pretentious words, random observations, speculations, opinions, pious hopes and fears, attitudes, wishes, sceptical logic, and literary purple patches. Should a sociologist be a Zola or a Quetelet?

On pages 186–200 and 270–86 of *The Quest*, Dewey discusses at length the necessity for applying the "experimental method" to social relations. He emphasizes the idea that physical and social objects are not different kinds of reality (page 217) but that genuine knowledge of man and society necessarily lags far behind physical knowledge (page 271). If genuine knowledge and experimental method in Dewey's sense of the terms are applied to human affairs, both of necessity must be based upon scientific knowledge derived by statistical methods. This is the implication of his whole book and

the note upon which it ends. Of course, we may be "experimental" on the basis of common-sense knowledge, and often of necessity must be, but it is frequently a tragic and costly business and would never be resorted to except by fools and knaves if scientific knowledge were available or could be derived quickly enough to meet the demand for practical action of some kind. Three short paragraphs and we close.

First: Attitudes. Ignored; because everything I have to say on this subject for the present is in print, or in this paper by implication. Dangerous; because Professor House has made me say by "implication" what I have qualified by explication in several papers. His general reference is correct, but does not give my fundamental objection to most so-called attitude studies, viz., though frequently statistical in form, they also frequently violate the canons of sound natural science method. However, even though the data are doubtful, such studies may develop techniques applicable to the study of valid scientific data. It may even be useful for some purposes to know what people think they think, or *say* they think they think, or wish or hope or fear they will do or may do or ought to do, to say nothing of the past tense of all these possibilities. So my attitude toward the attitude enthusiasts, case study students, and life historians is charitable. They may be right. They certainly should not be prohibited, but they should certainly be soundly and frequently criticized.

Second: Insight. I have little more insight into insight than Professor House has implicit vocalization of neuromuscular, but to me it seems suspiciously similar to acquaintance knowledge. Both, when communicated, are common-sense or value-judgment knowledge, never natural science knowledge. Both may furnish data which may be treated scientifically; or they may suggest problems for investigation by scientific methods; or they may be used to interpret the meaning and significance of scientific facts. These are the only possible relations they can have with natural science.

Third: To conclude on the same note of agreement with which we began, I think almost everyone would answer Professor House's third issue as follows: By all means let all who can get the money and have the inclination make all the case studies they can—the

more the better. If they study enough cases, they will be forced to use statistical methods and so, by this declension, may eventually arrive at some dependable scientific knowledge. They will necessarily abstract some behavior aspects from their cases some of which may be characteristic of other similar cases. Thus, their studies may become objective enough to be repeated, and so become subject to scientific verification. In any case, case studies may suggest problems which can be approached statistically, may suggest fruitful hypotheses, and thus become indirectly an influence for considerable advancement of sociology as a natural science.

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS¹

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ABSTRACT

A questionnaire study of the attitudes and behavior of 603 students in a six-year high school indicates that the typical student in this group believes that stealing, drinking, and lying, in the order named, are the cardinal offenses. Those most frequently admitted are swearing, disobedience, and lying. Boys resemble girls more in attitudes than in behavior. The consistency between attitudes and behavior is greater for girls than for boys.

This study is an attempt to present some objective evidence secured directly from high-school students concerning their typical attitudes and behavior. The facts presented represent responses

TABLE I
GRADE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS WHO PROVIDED
THE ORIGINAL DATA FOR THIS STUDY

Grade	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Boys.....	68	56	31	69	50	35	309
Girls.....	54	46	21	87	43	43	294
Total.....	122	102	52	156	93	78	603

from 603 students in a six-year high school, collected in the spring of 1931. A distribution of the contributing students by grade and by sex is shown in Table I. These students live in a community of rather varied occupational and industrial life, and there is no apparent reason to assume that they are atypical in the particulars under consideration.

The information was secured by means of mimeographed forms on which all responses were indicated by check marks. In order to remove a major motive for misrepresentation or evasion, the stu-

¹ Based upon a more extended investigation, "Field Study No. 3," presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree, Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, 1932.

dents were requested not to write their names on the forms. They were urged to give honest responses to all items. The checking was done in the regular classrooms under teacher supervision. Neither the students nor the teachers had any forewarning concerning the undertaking. No opportunity for group discussions or collusions was allowed.

Practically every student checked all items according to instructions. In only a few instances was there an indication of facetiousness or evasion. Space forbids a discussion of the reliability of the responses but the forms were so arranged that it was possible to check consistency and reliability from several different angles. There are ample reasons for concluding that the responses represent actual conditions.

The first undertaking was to secure from the students an expression of their attitudes toward certain potential offenses. They were asked to check the five, and five only, which they considered the very worst of twenty-six offenses enumerated. After this was done, the students were asked to check five, and only five, from a second list containing the same twenty-six items, which they considered offenses and which they most frequently committed. From these responses it was possible to rank the twenty-six items in relation to attitude and in relation to behavior. The twenty-six items and their rank from the two standpoints are shown in Table II.

These items in the order named were rated as the most serious offenses: (1) stealing; (2) drinking; and (3) lying. These in the order named were the offenses most frequently committed: (1) swearing; (2) disobedience; and (3) lying. Note that *lying* falls in third place in both rankings. This indicates a serious conflict between expressed attitude and confessed behavior for this particular item.

From the rankings on the basis of expressed attitude and admitted conduct it was possible to derive a number of coefficients of correlation. In Table II the ranks in the two columns would, of course, have been exactly reversed if the students had consistently refrained from conduct just to the degree in which they considered it serious. The actual coefficient of correlation between the attitude column and the behavior column is $-.32 \pm .12$. Interpreted, this means that the students in general tend to refrain from those types

of behavior which they consider most serious, but that the tendency is incomplete and unreliable. A particular student may behave in a way directly opposed to his attitude; or with respect to a particular item of conduct the behavior of the students in the aggregate may

TABLE II
CORRELATION BETWEEN EXPRESSED ATTITUDE AND
CONFESSED BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO 26
OFFENSES

OFFENSES	RANK*	
	Attitude	Behavior
1. Stealing.....	1	23.5
2. Drinking.....	2	20
3. Lying.....	3	3
4. Cheating, copying.....	4	10
5. Gambling, betting.....	5	18
6. Destroying property.....	6	22
7. Two-facedness.....	7	19
8. Swearing.....	8	1
9. Telling obscene stories.....	9	14
10. Cowardice.....	10	26
11. Snitching, tattling.....	11	25
12. Protecting law violators.....	12	23.5
13. Disrespectfulness.....	13	17
14. Disobedience.....	14	2
15. Listening to obscene stories.....	15.5	4.5
16. Smoking.....	15.5	8
17. Gossiping, tale-bearing.....	17	16
18. Truancy.....	18	15
19. Petting, necking.....	19	12
20. Laziness, loafing.....	20	7
21. Deception, white lies.....	21	13
22. Selfishness.....	22	11
23. Stubbornness.....	23	4.5
24. Snobbishness.....	24	21
25. Dancing.....	25.5	6
26. Extravagance.....	25.5	9

* Coefficient of correlation between attitude column and behavior column is $- .32 \pm .12$.

contradict their attitude. In other words, a professed attitude is not a criterion for predicting behavior. Whether the students are considered in the aggregate or as individuals, the above conclusions hold equally well.

Apparently, the girls in this group tend to integrate their attitudes and behavior better than the boys. The coefficient of correlation be-

tween ranks on the basis of attitudes and on the basis of behavior for the boys is $-.07 \pm .14$. The corresponding coefficient for the girls is $-.44 \pm .11$. This suggests that attitudes control conduct to a higher degree in the case of the girls than in the case of the boys.

The coefficient of correlation between the expressed attitudes of the boys and of the girls is $+.85 \pm .04$. It indicates a very close similarity between the attitudes of the boys and of the girls. The co-

TABLE III
THE PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO
HOLD CERTAIN CONVICTIONS

Attitude	Boys	Girls
1. Believe that flunkers should be eliminated from school	59	54
2. Believe that students who make low scholarship marks in school are just as likely to succeed in life as those who make high marks.....	60	59
3. Believe that being an all-state athlete is preferable to winning a university scholarship.....	39	30
4. Believe that athletics receive too much attention.....	36	25
5. Believe that eligibility regulations for athletes are too stringent.....	26	16
6. Believe that gambling is wrong.....	73	79
7. Believe that playing cards for prizes is wrong.....	34	21
8. Believe that dancing is wrong.....	9	6
9. Believe that petting or necking is a questionable practice.....	57	61
10. Believe that smoking is harmful to a high-school student.....	73	76
11. Believe that a girl has as much right as a boy to smoke.....	65	59
12. Believe that drinking is harmful.....	93	92
13. Believe that prohibition should be retained and enforced.....	60	75
14. Believe that good citizens should report all known law violations.....	64	69

efficient of correlation between the admitted behavior of the boys and of the girls is $+.74 \pm .06$. A comparison of the two coefficients suggests that these boys and girls differ more in their behavior than they do in their attitudes.

In Table III the percentage of boys and of girls who hold certain convictions is shown. The close agreement between the percentage of the boys and of the girls holding the various convictions confirms from another angle the high coefficient of correlation between the attitudes of the boys and of the girls.

The students were also asked to check a total of 34 different items

arranged according to this general formula: "If you smoke habitually, put a check mark here If not habitually, but occasionally, put a check mark here If you never smoke, put a check mark here" Some of the more significant information thus secured is presented in Table IV.

On the whole, the data presented do not indicate that a majority of the high-school students are lax in either attitudes or conduct.

TABLE IV
THE PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO INDICATED THAT THEY
PRACTICED CERTAIN TYPES OF BEHAVIOR

Behavior	Boys	Girls
1. Affiliate with some church.....	76	83
2. Regular attendants at Sunday School (Church School)	32	44
3. Occasional attendants at Sunday School.....	55	52
4. Affiliate with Scouts or Camp Fire.....	27	39
5. Fail in school at some time.....	54	39
6. Play truant from school at some time.....	62	49
7. Misrepresent reasons for absence from school.....	44	33
8. Destroy school property by some method.....	33	18
9. Frequent pool halls.....	24	0
10. Swear frequently.....	28	9
11. Swear occasionally.....	64	72
12. Practice telling or listening to smutty stories.....	29	17
13. Dance frequently.....	27	53
14. Dance occasionally.....	29	32
15. Attend public dances.....	32	32
16. Smoke habitually.....	21	4
17. Smoke occasionally.....	45	28
18. Drink frequently.....	5	2
19. Drink occasionally.....	19	10

The complete information of the study indicates that in general the students represent a higher level of attitudes and conduct than do the adults of the same community.

In the case of 6 per cent of the boys and 4 per cent of the girls both parents smoke; only the father smokes in the case of 68 per cent of the boys and 65 per cent of the girls; only the mother smokes in the case of 3 per cent of the boys and 2 per cent of the girls. In the case of 6 per cent of the boys and 2 per cent of the girls both parents drink; only the father drinks in the case of 15 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls; only the mother drinks in the case of 4 per cent of the boys and 6 per cent of the girls.

A complete analysis of the data suggests that the school has little

or no direct influence upon the formation of either attitudes or conduct. Both attitudes and behavior developed during the high-school period which ran counter to the generally accepted standards of the school. Any improvements in either attitudes or conduct were about equally offset by opposite tendencies in other items. The affiliations of the students showed no statistically reliable influence upon either attitudes or conduct. Attitudes and conduct seem to be influenced by factors outside the school. Possibly the school has given too much attention to the impartation of knowledge, comparatively, and too little to the inculcation of attitudes and the control of conduct. For social adaptation, attitudes and conduct are likely more significant than knowledge.

Obviously, only the barest outline of the complete study can be suggested in this connection. Possibly the best conclusion would be to sketch, on the basis of the total data submitted by the students, a description of the typical high school student in this community.

The typical student in this group believes that stealing, drinking, and lying, in the order named, are the cardinal offenses. The offenses most frequently admitted are: swearing, disobedience, and lying. The typical boy is more like the typical girl in attitudes than in behavior. The typical student has little patience with the flunker in school; believes that gambling is wrong; considers petting or necking a questionable practice; believes that the student who makes high marks in school is no more likely to succeed in life than the one who makes low marks; believes emphatically that drinking is harmful, and never drinks; believes that smoking is harmful to a high-school student; smokes occasionally but not habitually; believes that a girl has as much right as a boy to smoke; believes that prohibition should be retained and enforced; and believes that good citizens should report all known law violations.

The typical student in this school is affiliated with some church; attends Sunday school at least occasionally; has never failed a grade or subject in school; has played truant sometimes from school; has not misrepresented the reasons for absence from school; does not frequent pool halls; dances occasionally, but not frequently; does not attend public dances; does not make a practice of telling or listening to smutty stories. The father of the typical student smokes, but the mother does not. Neither parent drinks.

SOME ADJUSTMENTS OF FARM FAMILIES TO EMERGENCIES¹

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ABSTRACT

In order to learn something of the functioning of farm families which are confronted by emergencies, a study was made of the conditions in 1929 and again in 1932 of more than 100 Wisconsin families. Sharp reductions in income, owing mainly to reduction in receipts, necessitated for these families marked adjustments in their consuming habits and their participation in certain activities. That these adjustments are akin to fully as far-reaching adjustments in functioning over a longer period of years appears from a study of farm families selected according to four stages of family development. The functioning through these stages is noticeably affected by surrounding conditions.

In an effort to learn something of the functioning of farm families which are confronted by emergencies, 143 families, which in 1929 were studied with respect to farm organization, standard of living, and participation in certain activities, were revisited in January, 1933.² These families are situated in a contiguous area (two towns) in Green County, Wisconsin. Practically all households within the area were included at the time of the first visits (1929), and each household represented a normal family, that is, a family with farm operator and homemaker.

At the time of the re-survey, some of the 143 families had moved away, a few had changed materially in composition, and a very few could not be reached owing to their being absent from home or being busy. More than three-fourths of them were reached, however, and 100 gave estimates which made usable and comparable summaries for the year 1932.

The measurable factors which were regarded pertinent to the local situation are grouped under income, family living, and participation (in certain activities within the home and the local community).

¹ Presented at a Round Table of the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society, Summer Conference, Chicago, Illinois, June 26, 1933.

² See *Rural Standards of Living in Dane and Green Counties*, Stencil Bulletin 106, January, 1931, and *Farm Family Living in Wisconsin*, Research Bulletin 114, January, 1933, University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, for information from the first study.

They were considered with respect to the family's functioning in the face of an economic emergency characteristic of middle-west farming during 1932.

It is difficult if at all possible to find a satisfactory measure of the extent of the economic emergency which befell the families under consideration. Reduction in net cash family income representing the difference between gross cash receipts and expenses is accepted as the most satisfactory statistical measure. Net cash family income dropped more than \$1,000 during the 3-year period. The receipts, which averaged \$3,198 for 1929 and \$1,441 for 1932, were obtained from livestock sales, livestock products, crops, miscellaneous farm sources, and other sources. The farm expenses averaging \$1,977 for 1929 and \$1,350 for 1932 covered machinery repairs, work stock and livestock purchased; current farm operating costs; interest paid; debts paid; and other purposes, including expenses on non-farm property in a very few instances. The expenditures for all purposes subtracted from the receipts from all sources gave net cash family incomes of \$1,221 and \$91 for the two periods of study.

The sharp decline in income was due more to reduction in receipts than expansion in expenses. The reduction in receipts was evenly divided between the two principal sources, livestock and live-stock products, 53 per cent in both cases. The farm expenses were cut less than the receipts, about 35 per cent compared to 55 per cent. This was due to the farmers' having to meet certain charges for feed, seeds, and fertilizers, which charges could be reduced to certain points only without disrupting the farm business set-up. Farm buildings, fences, and machinery took most of the cuts in farm expenses.³

The 100 families cut their family living from \$1,713 to \$1,390 in terms of 1929 dollars (Table I).⁴ The cut in food was from \$517 to

³ This situation varied somewhat for owners and tenants due to heavier tax, insurance, and in some cases interest burdens confronting the owners.

⁴ Cost covers the expenditures reported for the goods and services purchased and the "values" attributed to the goods furnished by the farm for home use during the year of study. Prices given by the homemaker or those who assisted her were checked with the prices provided by the operators for goods furnished by the farm and with those current in the stores where the families did most of their trading for the goods

\$483. House rent remained the same. Clothing and house furnishings took heavy cuts, fuel and light a small cut, and advancement (including formal schooling) and "all other" goods and services fairly heavy cuts.

The furnished living costs were practically constant (Table II). Furnished food dropped only slightly owing largely to lower prices at which about the same or, in some instances, larger quantities were

TABLE I
AVERAGE COSTS OF LIVING FOR 101 FARM FAMILIES
OF GREEN COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1929 AND 1932

Furnished by Farm and Purchased	1929	1932 Costs in 1929 Dollars
All goods and services.....	\$1,713	\$1,390
Food.....	517	483
Rent.....	284	284
Clothing.....	214	138
Fuel and light.....	127	117
Advancement.....	109	76
Furnishings.....	84	32
Other (mscl.).....	378	260

charged. Rent held up because the houses occupied were the same in 1932 as in 1929, and furnished fuel costs increased due to the use of noticeably larger quantities from the farm.

Purchased living was reduced from \$1,139 to \$830. The cost for purchased food dropped slightly. Furnishings, clothing, health maintenance, and advancement dropped significantly.

With respect to foods the quantity of milk used changed from 1,135 quarts to 1,263 quarts per family per year; the use of pork, beef, and veal from 602 pounds to 712 pounds, and of potatoes from

which were purchased. The goods which were furnished by the farm were priced at what they would have brought had they been sold at the local market.

The cost of rent represents an arbitrary charge of 10 per cent of the value of the farm house in each instance. The values of the houses for 1929 correspond to those reported by the interviewees to the 1930 Census enumerators. Those in turn appeared to be in fairly close accord with the values reported to local assessors.

The cost of living for these families would not be comparable with similar figures for town or city families without some allowance for the difference in prices charged for goods and services.

1,260 pounds to 1,426 pounds; purchased bread from 123 pounds to 91 pounds; and sugar from 385 pounds to 373 pounds. Coffee and certain other less important items, including tobacco, held fairly constant in amounts used.

TABLE II
AVERAGE COSTS OF LIVING FOR 101 FARM FAMILIES
OF GREEN COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1929 AND 1932

Furnished by Farm	1929	1932 Costs in 1929 Dollars
Total.....	\$574	\$560
Rent.....	284	284
Food.....	264	234
Fuel and light.....	26	42

TABLE III
AVERAGE COSTS OF LIVING FOR 101 FARM FAMILIES
OF GREEN COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1929 AND 1932

Purchased	1929	1932 Costs in 1929 Dollars
Total.....	\$1,139	\$830
Food.....	253	249
Clothing.....	214	138
Advancement.....	109	76
Fuel and light.....	100	75
Health maintenance.....	96	63
Furnishings.....	84	32
Other (mscl.).....	283	197

The families reduced their expenditures for formal schooling from \$30 to \$26. They cut their recreation costs much more sharply, from \$29 to \$17. They cut their church support less than their reading matter and organization dues, proportionately.⁵

Among the various items reported as being "cut out" by many families were telephone, radio, and daily paper. Among the things "cut out" or suspended temporarily by a few families were use of the

⁵ In these figures the adjustments from 1932 to 1929 prices are not of much importance, since price drops here were not marked during this 3-year period.

car (non-renewal of the license) and subscription to farm journals and general magazines.

The elimination of these and other similar items from the family living involves certain functional activities. Time spent in reading at home was reduced from 342 hours per person (10 or more years of age) per year to 236 hours. Radio auditing was reduced by half,

TABLE IV
PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES REPRESENTED BY
EXPENDITURES FOR ADVANCEMENT GOODS AND
SERVICES; 101 FARM FAMILIES, GREEN COUNTY,
1929 AND 1932

Activities Per Year*	1929	1932
Reading: hours.....	342.30	235.90
Radio auditing: hours.....	427.70	204.10
Organization activities:		
Affiliations: number.....	0.59	0.74
Attendance at meetings: times.....	5.40	6.55
Contributions†: number.....	0.55	0.72
Committee services: number.....	0.12	0.10
Officerships: number.....	0.09	0.08
Church activities:		
Attendance at church: times.....	20.30	18.10
Attendance at Sunday school: times.....	17.50	15.90
Moving picture shows: times.....	5.70	3.50
Picnics or fairs: number.....	4.00	.....

* On the per person 10 or more years of age basis.

† Contributions include dues, and each year's dues are counted as one contribution, although they may have been paid in regular or irregular instalments, as 10 cents per month for ladies' aid. They include, also, money or food donated for dinners, bazaars, and the like.

and attendance at movies decreased from 5.7 times to 3.5 times per person per year.

With respect to local organizations, the families increased their membership or affiliation per person (10 or more years of age) slightly (Table IV). They raised their attendance at meetings noticeably, 6.6 times in 1932 compared to 5.4 times in 1929, and their contributions fairly noticeably, 0.74 times compared to 0.55 times.

A part of the increase in attendance at organization meetings seemed to be due to the efforts of one local club (a farmers' community club) to "counteract some of the effects of the depression. Although we were pretty hard hit" the chairman of the program

committee stated in an interview, "we knew we could still have some good times together and tried to plan our programs accordingly. We have had better programs and larger crowds the past year in spite of the depression."

This plan appeared to be limited to the one club in the locality studied, however. In other words, the idea had not occurred to the local leaders of other groups, with the possible exception of a parent-teacher association.

Thus it appears that these families changed their consuming habits and their participation in certain activities to meet an emergency in their immediate environment.

Although this emergency represents a relatively short period in the life-cycle of a family, the adjustments which are being made to meet it indicate clearly that changes in environment are accompanied or followed by changes in functioning, even for this short period.⁶ These adjustments are as far-reaching as those involved in earning a living and rearing children. Some light is thrown on this aspect of the situation from the tentative results of a study of farm families selected according to four stages of family development.

The stages of development included pre-school, with children under 6 years; grade school, with children 6-12 years; high school, with children 13-20 years, and all adult, with children 21-25 years. The families were chosen from a random sample of 900 which had been visited for information on standards of living. They were revisited for additional information on special uses of income, plans for spending and saving, recreational and social activities, and objectives in home-making and farming.

Families in the high-school group were somewhat larger than those in the other groups. When the factor of size was held constant, family living seemed to be more closely associated than income with family development. Individual items in the family living varied materially with stages of development; that is, costs for the different kinds of goods and services are determined largely by the gratification of those needs which a family regards to be of primary im-

⁶ Attention is called to the rapidity of change in the typical midwest farm locality during the past 3 years due to adverse economic conditions, perhaps more pronounced and more far-reaching in effect than for the 10-year period in times of "prosperity."

portance for effective functioning. The needs are governed largely by the desire or urge of the different numbers of the family to function in the locality and the larger community at a given stage of family development. Through a generation, that is, a life-cycle of the family, the standard of living is determined largely by economic resources, if the family is to continue to function normally in the community.

Apparently farm families do not function more noticeably in local organization activities, generally, from the pre-school to the all-adult stage of development. This is due in some measure, at least, to the urge on the part of the children to increase the family living facilities and the inclination on the part of the parents to strengthen the production resources. It is due also, to some extent, to the tendency of adult boys and girls to patronize unorganized, non-local social activities, such as the dance and movie.

With respect to ownership farm families tend to function throughout the four stages of development in accord with the "agricultural ladder," or series of steps, i.e., farm laborer, tenant, mortgaged owner, and owner.⁷ To the extent that the attainment of ownership involves sacrifice on the part of the farm family it seems to have indirect if not direct bearing on the functioning of different members of the family, which bearing is often reflected in the number of children born to the family.

In some families there is an indication that facilities for efficient functioning through a generation seem to have been anticipated. This has involved certain sacrifices to provide for specific functioning needs such as curtailments in income, allocations for housing or life insurance, to make possible enhancement in expenditures for clothing and advancement.

Thus the conditions which surround the farm family appear to have noticeable effects in guiding or directing its function through the several stages of its development.

The points which have been presented indicate that the farm family's functioning is closely tied up with its means or methods of getting a living. They suggest some of the ways in which farm fami-

⁷ R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 1923, p. 584.

lies tend to function in emergencies and through longer periods of time representing the life-span of a normal family. They give an inkling that through more than one generation the farm family's functioning is determined to a large extent by its mode of life, more of which is looked for in Dr. Lively's presentation.

Above all, the points indicate a need for further study: (a) by the same or a similar method to check them in other localities and sections, and (b) by an intensive method to obtain additional information with respect to all phases of functioning. A possible method for the latter purpose seems to be that where the investigator can fill the rôle of country-school teacher, rural pastor, or farmer over a period of years. Thus there is the chance for him to observe as he studies, as well as the opportunity to probe back of present-day situations for changes in the environment as causal factors in the family's functioning.

A study of this type will provide descriptive information on the ways in which changing environmental forces affect family behavior patterns through a given series of years, say a generation. Systematic classification of this information will provide data whereby consideration can be given on a statistical basis to variable factors in the environment appearing to have bearings on functioning. Finally, these and other data obtained from studies of the type which yielded the information for this paper should afford indications of the different culture levels affecting the functioning of the farm family through more than one generation, and thereby provide a convenient background for still more intensive analysis through autobiographical case studies.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCED WOMEN—A PHILADELPHIA STUDY

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ABSTRACT

A study of the spatial distribution of divorced women in Philadelphia in 1930 indicates the highest concentration in apartment and rooming-house areas characterized by mobility, dense population, and relatively high degree of anonymity. Sections showing scarcity of divorced women are very sparsely populated or predominantly populated by foreign-born groups of Roman Catholic persuasion, and are located on the outskirts of the city. The divorced woman presents essentially a study in social isolation.

There were 5,644 divorced women residing in Philadelphia in 1930, according to the federal Census reports for that year. This number was equivalent to a rate of 7.6 per 1,000 women, fifteen years of age and over, and 13.6 per 1,000 married women in Philadelphia in that year. Of the total number, almost one-half (48.7 per cent) were native-born whites of native parents; one-fourth (23.2 per cent) were native-born of foreign or mixed parentage; one out of six (15 per cent) were foreign-born; and one out of seven (13.3 per cent) were negro. The numbers of divorced women, per 1,000 married women, for these four population classes, were as follows: native-born of native parents, 19.9; native-born of foreign or mixed parents, 12.8; foreign-born whites, 6.9; negro, 14.7.

The present article presents the results of a study of the spatial distribution of these 5,644 women. The material utilized is from Table VII of the 1930 Census in Philadelphia, showing the population, fifteen years of age and over, by color, nativity, sex and marital condition, by census tracts. There are 404 such census tracts in Philadelphia. A map of the city, showing the division of the city into these census tracts, was utilized, and the number of divorced women was spot-marked in each tract. With this map as a guide, certain conclusions and summaries were made concerning the pattern of the spatial distribution of these women. Keeping in mind possible readers who are not familiar with the city of Philadelphia, every effort is made to present these findings in general social terms,

and without inclusion of the many details which were utilized and checked in the course of the study.

1. The outstanding impression gained from a study of the map is the relatively heavy concentration of divorced women in two long narrow strips, each about thirty blocks long, and ranging from five to seven blocks in width. These two strips form an almost perfect right angle. They meet in the downtown apartment-house area, immediately west and southwest of the central business district. One strip, or side of the right angle, runs west along with, and to the south of, Market Street; the other runs north along with, and for the most part north of, Broad Street. In other words, these two strips run parallel with, and include the main arteries of electric and motor-car transportation going west and north out of the center of the city.

In this right angle, as delimited, are found twenty-nine census tracts, i.e., 7 per cent of the total number of census tracts in the city; and in it there reside 25 per cent of all of the divorced women in the city.

Turning to the social characteristics of these two strips, it is to be noted, first, that both are dominated, in varying degrees, by apartment and rooming houses. In fact, these housing features and the concentration of divorced women coincide so markedly in space as to raise the question whether one cannot be used with relative safety as an index for the other. Both strips, too, are areas of high mobility, are densely populated, and are characterized by a relatively high degree of anonymity. So far as the population is concerned, it is predominantly native-born white, and chiefly of native-born parentage. It does, however, include several smaller areas of negro population. It avoids largely the foreign-born centers of the city, with only certain areas predominantly Jewish by way of exception.

Further study of this right-angled area shows that the most marked concentration occurs at the extreme end of the two strips included. At the end of the west strip is census tract 46B, with 118 divorced women, or 2 per cent of the total in the city. This is a tract five blocks square, from 50th to 55th streets and between Market and Pine streets, largely devoted to apartment houses, occupied by people at the upper middle-class level. The rate is 47.8 per 1,000 married women, and about two-thirds of the divorced

women are of native-born whites of native-born parents. At the end of the north bound strip is census tract 38G, bounded by Hunting Park Avenue, North 18th Street, Allegheny and 22d Street. This tract includes 90 divorced women, a rate of 40 per 1,000 married women. About two-thirds of these divorced women are native-born white of native parentage. The area as a whole shows a preponderance of women; it is predominantly native-born white of native parents, industrial, and with many old large houses which are used to a considerable extent for rooming-house purposes.

In addition to these two strips, there is one other area of high concentration of divorced women. This is census tract 24C, bounded by North 40th Street, Haverford Avenue and Belmont Avenue, and fronting on Fairmount Park. There are 91 divorced women in this area, a rate of 34.1 per 1,000 married women. This is a densely populated area, with a large negro and Hebrew population. One-fourth of the population, fifteen years of age and over, is negro, and 57 of the 91 divorced women, or 62.6 per cent, are negroes. A considerable proportion of the negroes within this area have migrated to Philadelphia from New York, Cleveland, Baltimore, and other larger cities.

2. A second outstanding fact about the spatial distribution of divorced women in Philadelphia is their relative absence in certain well-defined sections of the city. There were, for example, 92 census tracts which had no divorced women. In these tracts resided 4,465 married women. Another 34 tracts, with a total of 6,412 married women, had one divorced woman each. Sixteen tracts, with 5,649 married women, had two divorced women each; 14 tracts, with 4,652 married women, had three each; eight tracts, with 5,127 married women, had four divorced women each. In other words, here is a total of 164 of the 404 census tracts in the city, with a total of 26,315, or 6.3 per cent of the married women of the city, which had 140, or 2.5 per cent of its divorced women. It is interesting, and significant, that most of these tracts with few divorced women are very sparsely populated, and are located on the outskirts of the city. The few exceptions to this statement are the tracts which are predominantly populated by foreign-born groups of Roman Catholic persuasion.

Reference to the foreign-born suggests a second area of relative

scarcity of divorced women. This is the area of heavy concentration of the foreign-born. Selecting 18 census tracts in South Philadelphia, one finds 57,048, or 13.7 per cent of the married women of the city. Half (49.9 per cent) of these women are foreign-born, another quarter (23.8 per cent) are native-born of foreign or mixed parents. A total of 438 divorced women resided in these tracts in 1930. This is equal to 7.7 per cent of the total number of divorced women in the city. It was found, furthermore, that but 138 of these divorced women were foreign-born. In other words, in this entire area the foreign married women residing in it constituted 7 per cent of the total number of married women in the city, while the total number of foreign-born divorced women residing in it constituted but 2.2 per cent of the city's total of divorced women. The rate of foreign-born divorced women per 1,000 foreign-born married women in these 18 census tracts was 4.8.

Thus far, the conclusions presented have dealt with the concentration of numbers within prescribed boundaries. It is proper next to turn to a study and comparison of rates. The rate utilized is the number of divorced women per 1,000 married women.

Utilizing this unit of comparison, the 25 tracts showing the highest rates were studied. The rates in these tracts varied from 40 to 185.1. Three tracts had rates over a hundred. One of these is in the downtown business district; one included the municipal hospital; the third runs along North Broad Street—an area of a certain color, mobility, and anonymity. Of these 25 tracts, 13 are in the right-angled area previously referred to. The 12 tracts outside of this angle are distributed as follows: seven have a small population, and their high rates are not significant, statistically speaking; one embraces the municipal hospital; and the other four are outlying sections occupied largely by persons of higher social and economic status.

Again utilizing the aforesaid rate, 25 tracts showing the lowest rates were studied. These rates range from 1.1 to 4 per 1,000 married women. These tracts fall into three definite groups. First, there are several along the waterfront—a sort of urban frontier area; second are tracts preponderantly populated by foreign-born Roman Catholics; third, there are the tracts on the outskirts of the city, virtually all of which have very low rates.

In summary, two facts concerning the spatial distribution of divorced women stand out clearly. First, they seek out areas of dense population, characterized by activity, mobility, and anonymity, and where housing conditions make possible a certain independence of residence. On the other hand, they avoid areas of sparse population, of spatial isolation, and of religious prejudice.

The divorced woman presents, then, essentially a study in social isolation. She seeks the distractions of city life, but selects areas where she may be socially isolated. She seeks escape in the crowd, not in the wilderness. She wants human contacts, but avoids prying eyes. She places a premium upon privacy, and finds it in a crowded apartment house. She seeks friends, not in the continued associations of a primary group, but in come-and-go relations with a mobile neighborhood. It is this characterizing search—for stimulation, coupled with secrecy, for contact, with relatively less communication—which seems to offer the basic key to the spatial distribution of divorced women in Philadelphia.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPANISH SOCIOLOGICAL
ARTICLES: *NOSOTROS*, VOLUMES I-LXXVI

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Nosotros is a monthly review of Argentina, published in Buenos Aires since 1907. In addition to the typical creative prose and poetical works, it contains hundreds of scholarly articles in such fields as anthropology, art, education, economics, history, literary criticism, music, philosophy, philology, sociology, political science, and religion. At present there is no complete index to this mass of valuable material.

The purpose of the accompanying bibliography is to make available all the articles of *Nosotros* in the field of sociology, during the first twenty-five years of publication. The first seventy-six volumes are covered down to October, 1932.

The notations accompanying the items are not summaries but are designed to describe the contents of each article only to such an extent as to indicate its value for any specific study. If *Nosotros* should not be available in a local library, it is hoped that the notations will be useful in determining upon the advisability of interlibrary loan applications.

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3. ARGINIEGAS, GERMÁN. El negro de Nueva York. LXXII (July, 1931), 266-73.

4. ARECO, HORACIO. Enrique Ferri y el positivismo penal, III (August-September, 1908), 120-21. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

5. ARGERICHI, ANTONIO. El fantasma del comunismo, LVI (June, 1927), 366-83. The author notes the present conflict in society of two economic systems—the Semitic (Jewish) and the Aryan. He then discusses the character of the Semitic races, their religion and their economy, and concludes by noting the errors of Marx and the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the Bolsheviks.

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7. BARRENECHEA, MARIANO ANTONIO. *Los orígenes argentinos*, VIII (July, 1912), 215-20. A discussion of Roberto Levillier's sociological synthesis of Argentine history from 1580 to 1890. Beginning with a consideration of the Spain of the sixteenth century, the author then defines the psychology of the conqueror and of the Indian and discusses the economy, political policies, sociological condition, and religion of the days of the vice-royalty. After a discussion of Hispanic American psychology in the eighteenth century, the author treats the period of independence and the beginnings of nationality.

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66. RIVAROLA, HORACIO G. Las transformaciones de la sociedad argentina, VI (July, 1911), 70-72. Reviewed by Coriolano Alberini. A study of the evolution of Argentine society since 1853.
67. RIZZI, MIGUEL ANGEL. La lucha entre los grupos sociales, XIII (January, 1914), 102-3. Reviewed by R. G. Beginning with an exposition of the economic and political struggle between social groups, the author "infers" the social possibilities of the future.
68. SAGARNA, ANTONIO. Pláticas docentes, LVI (July, 1927), 578-79. Reviewed by Marcos Manuel Blanco. Discourses on such topics as illiteracy, poverty, the unhealthiness of certain regions and classes of society in the country, the precarious state of national capital and industries, the mutual ignorance of the peoples of America, U.S. imperialism, the deficiencies in public education, the injustice to the school teacher, and finally, the "excessive forgetfulness of poetry and of civil heroes."
69. SIMONS, INGEBORG. Alrededor del matrimonio, LIV (December, 1926), 526-36. Discussion of a book on matrimony composed by 24 authors under the direction of Count Keyserling.
70. SIRLIN, LAZARO. La herencia biológica. Proyecciones médicas y médico-sociales, XXIX (June, 1918), 292-93. Reviewed by Alberto Palcos. A study of biological inheritance with emphasis on eugenics.
71. SUÁREZ, SOFÍA. El fenómeno sociológico del trabajo industrial en las misiones jesuíticas, XXXV (August, 1920), 539-40. Reviewed. The review gives the table of contents of this book.
72. TERÁN, JUAN B. El descubrimiento de América en la historia de Europa, XXIV (December, 1916), 415-17. The discovery of America is explained as a consequence of the social and economic transformations of the 14th and 15th centuries in Europe.
73. VALLE IBERLUCEA, ENRIQUE DEL. El divorcio y la emancipación civil de la mujer, XXXIV (January, 1920), 136-37. Reviewed. Work on the redemption of woman from her present state of legal slavery.
74. VASCONCELOS, JOSÉ. Indología, LVI (May, 1927), 273-77. Reviewed by Carlos Villalobos Domínguez.
75. VILLALOBOS DOMÍNGUEZ, CARLOS. Evitemos la guerra social, XXXIII (October, 1919), 279-80. Reviewed. Essays on social problems.
76. ZALONSKY, PIERRE. Maximalismo, XXX (December, 1918), 641. Reviewed. The reviewer notes an ingenuous and boring plan of social reform in this exposition of new tendencies.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the November issue and up to November 15 are as follows:

- Alexander, C. S., 1308 East 54th St., Chicago
Alpert, Harry, John Jay Hall, Columbia University, New York City
Altman, Edith, 5000 Cornell Ave., Chicago
Atwood, J. Howell, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
Baker, Esther M., 4744 Greenwood Ave., Chicago
Bane, Frank, American Public Welfare Association, 850 East 58th St., Chicago
Bates, Sanford, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.
Benner, Paul V., 15 Kuhlman Court, Columbia, Mo.
Bennett, James V., 119 Leland St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Bowers, Raymond V., 179 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn.
Chase, Genevieve, Old Capital, University, Iowa City, Iowa
Cohen, Theresa T., Edgewater Beach Hotel, 5347 Sheridan Road, Chicago
Davis, W. Milan, Okolona Industrial School, Okolona, Miss.
DeVinney, Leland C., University of Chicago
Dunham, H. Warren, Jr., 800 South Halsted St., Chicago
Erbe, Fred O., Quadrangle 86-B, Iowa City, Iowa
Fisher, R. Warren, 308 North Clinton St., Iowa City, Iowa
Ford, Hazel, 12 West Court St., Iowa City, Iowa
Gardner, M. L., 7 North Lorel Ave., Chicago
Georgoulis, Demosthenes J., 114 South Mason Ave., Chicago
Hador, Joshua J., 1404 S. Kolin Ave., Chicago
Hans, Pluma, 4155 Dickinson Ave., Chicago
Huff, Ray L., R.F.D. No. 1, Alexandria, Va.
Jackson, Kelly L., Route 2, Box 93, Chestertown, Md.
Kann, Lee H., 5385 Gilbert St., Iowa City, Iowa
Kargman, Max Richmond, 188 West Randolph St., Chicago
Kaufman, Edmund G., Bethel College, Newton, Kans.
Kinsella, Nina, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.
La Du, Mrs. Blanche L., State Board of Control, New Office Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Leppert, Charlotte, 6041 S. Honore St., Chicago
Levinson, Rose, 1534 South Millard Ave., Chicago
Locke, Harvey J., 904 East 56th St., Chicago
Lux, Konrad, 1012 Medical Arts Bldg., Waco, Texas

Messer, Gertrude E., 2628 North Spaulding Ave., Chicago
Monahan, Florence, State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Ill.
Monser, Paul, Box 99, Pontiac, Ill.
Moskovitz, Pauline, 2101 South Harding, Chicago
Murphy, Carolyn, 430 South Summit St., Iowa City, Iowa
Nimkoff, Frances Lucas, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
Nimkoff, Meyer F., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
Odell, Wanda, 215 East Erie St., Chicago
Richmond, Eleanor B., 111 East Church St., Iowa City, Iowa
Rowell, Teresina, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
Sayler, Raymond H., 404 Sigel St., Chicago
Schacht, Mrs. Lucie H., Chicago Normal College, 6800 Stewart Ave., Chicago
Schnettler, F. Richard, 3921 North Long Ave., Chicago
Socoloff, Mrs. B., 10985 Church St., Chicago
Ulman, Judge Joseph N., Court House, Baltimore, Md.
Useem, John Heardl, 1709 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass.
Voelker, Edgar W., 415 East "A" St., Moscow, Ida.
Ward, Maurice H., 430 East Bloomington St., Iowa City, Iowa
Wells, Horace P., South Bend, Ind.
Whitmack, Ann L., 1021 Greenleaf Ave., Wilmette, Ill.
Yates, Marianne, 150 North Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

District of Columbia Chapter.—Dr. O. E. Baker discussed "Population Prospects in the United States" before the District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society at its meeting on October 25, 1934.

Institute of International Education.—A limited number of fellowships and assistantships are administered under the international student exchanges of the Institute of International Education for American students for graduate study abroad. Applications, in most cases, must be filed on or before January 15, 1935. Address, Secretary, Student Bureau, Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City.

Marriage Hygiene.—The first number (August, 1934) of a new medico-sociological quarterly, *Marriage Hygiene*, published in Bombay, India, has been received by the *Journal*. It will carry general and special articles, in addition to abstracts of scientific literature, on marriage, the family, eugenics and racial welfare, sexual or social hygiene, population, contraception, sterilization, and marital adjustment.

Missouri Academy of Science.—The Sociological Section of the Missouri Academy of Science met at Columbia, Missouri, December 6-8, 1934. The program included papers by C. T. Pihlblad, Florence W. Scha-

per, Arthur S. Emig, Joseph K. Johnson, E. L. Morgan, William C. Smith, Walter B. Bodenhafer, O. Myking Mehus, J. Brewton Berry, and Homer L. Williams.

Rockefeller Foundation.—The Rockefeller Foundation in its detailed report of its activities for 1933 sets forth the work in the fields of Public Health, Medical Sciences, and Natural Sciences. The work in Social Science is reported as follows:

The total amount appropriated for projects in the social sciences during the year was \$1,636,000.

In a general program aiding the social sciences as a whole, support was given to twenty institutional centers in the United States, Canada, Europe, the Near East, and the Orient.

In support of a program of specific research in economic planning and control, appropriations were made in 1933 to the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York City; to the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations; to the Economic Foundation, New York City, for a study of the history of prices; to the University of Louvain, Belgium, for researches on the business cycle; and to the Industrial Relations Counselors, New York City, for unemployment studies. In the field of international relations, grants were made in 1933 to the Foreign Policy Association, New York City; the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations, for a study of international taxation problems; the Geneva Research Center, Switzerland; the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; the German School of Politics, Berlin; and the American Geographical Society, for the preparation of a map of Hispanic America on a 1 to 1,000,000 scale. For research in community organization and planning, grants were made to the Social Sciences Research Council's Committee on Government Statistics and Information Service, Washington, D.C.; to the Science Advisory Board, Washington, D.C.; and to the Joint Committee on Research of the Community Council of Philadelphia, Pa.

During 1933, The Rockefeller Foundation provided funds with which 208 active fellowships were maintained in the social sciences. A special fellowship program in agricultural economics and rural sociology which had been supported over a five-year period came to an end, June 30, 1933. In the final year there were 22 men holding fellowships.

Society for Social Research.—The Society for Social Research held its Thirteenth Annual Institute at the University of Chicago, August 17-19, 1934, on the general topic of Regional Research and Regional Planning. Readers of papers included: E. T. Hiller, Clark Tibbitts, Allen Miller, Henry D. McKay, R. Clyde White, E. H. Shideler, Everett C. Hughes, Robert E. Park, Louis Wirth, Harold D. Lasswell, Homer Hoyt, Charles S. Newcomb, Ruth Newcomb, Richard O. Lang, Louise W. Gilfillan. The officers for the year 1934-35 are: Edwin H. Sutherland, President; Rob-

ert Redfield, Vice-President; Donald Pierson, Secretary; Allen Miller, Assistant Secretary; Richard O. Lang, Treasurer; Alfred R. Lindesmith, Editor of the Bulletin; Edna Hines, Assistant Editor. The Society for Social Research has been received as a fifth chapter member of the American Sociological Society.

Brigham Young University.—Dr. Lowry Nelson, professor of rural social economics and the dean of the college of applied science at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, has acted as director of the division of social service of the Utah Emergency Relief Administration during the summer.

University of Chicago.—Professor E. B. Reuter, head of the department of sociology at the University of Iowa, will be in residence at the University of Chicago throughout the spring quarter, 1935. He will give courses on the American Negro and on Human Migration in Its Cultural Relations.

University of Denver.—Miss Florence Hutsinpillar, of the United States Children's Bureau since 1927, is the new director of the department of social work at the University of Denver. She takes the place of Miss Eleanor Kimball, who resigned to return to her social work in California. Last year Professor Hutsinpillar was one of three delegates representing this country at an international conference on child welfare, which was held in Geneva, Switzerland.

The University of Denver was awarded the educational medal for distinguished service in promoting international good-will and understanding, by the FIDAC, the inter-allied veterans' association, at their annual convention in London, England.

Franklin College.—William S. Mather, Jr., has been appointed to teach sociology during the year 1934-35 in the place of Ernest H. Shideler, who is on leave of absence.

University of Hawaii.—Professor Roswell H. Johnson, formerly of the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed social hygienist at Palama Settlement, Honolulu, T. H., and will also teach social hygiene and eugenics at the University of Hawaii. The work in Honolulu begins January 1, 1935.

Harvard University.—Harvard University Press announces the publication of *Essential Factors of Social Evolution*, by Thomas Nixon Carver, David A. Wells professor of political economy, emeritus.

University of Idaho.—Mr. Edgar W. Voelker has been appointed assistant professor of sociology at the University of Idaho.

Kansas State Teachers College.—Theodore K. Noss has been appointed to teach sociology in the place of M. Wesley Roper, who has leave of absence during the first semester.

Loyola University.—Dr. Mary J. McCormick has been appointed instructor in social case work at Loyola University.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.—The department of economics has been expanded into a department of economics and social science and Edwin S. Burdell has been appointed professor of sociology. A new department of city planning has also been created in the school of architecture, emphasizing the social implications of city planning, zoning, and housing.

Miami University.—Professor Read Bain taught at Brigham Young University in Utah during the summer, 1934. P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation, is in Europe. Mrs. Eugene Whitridge, professor of sociology and economics at Earlham, is assisting the department.

University of Michigan.—The Michigan Juvenile Delinquency Service has been organized by the University of Michigan on the initiative of President Ruthven to stimulate interest in delinquency problems on the part of juvenile judges and other leaders in Michigan communities, and to carry on research in this field. The Service publishes a monthly *News Letter* which is sent to Michigan officials, school executives, and newspaper editors without charge, and to others for a nominal fee of 25 cents for the year. Reading lists on juvenile delinquency are also supplied free, and arrangements can be made for speakers and consultation service. Four \$500 graduate fellowships in juvenile delinquency research and two \$150 scholarships were offered for men for the year 1934-35, but for lack of applicants only one graduate fellowship was awarded. Two graduate scholarships and two undergraduate field research scholarships were granted.

The Service is under the direction of Dr. Lowell Juilliard Carr, associate professor of sociology, who is also editor of the *News Letter*. The editorial board includes Miss Harriet Comstock, deputy director of the State Welfare Department and president of the Michigan State Confer-

ence of Social Work, and the following members of the University faculty: Dr. E. W. Blakeman, counselor in religious education; Dr. George E. Carrothers, professor of education and director of the Bureau of Co-operation with Educational Institutions; Dr. Martha G. Colby, assistant professor of psychology and research associate, University Elementary School; Dr. John P. Dawson, associate professor of law; Dr. Edward B. Greene, instructor in psychology; Dr. Willard C. Olson, associate professor of education and director of research in child development; Dr. Theophile Raphael, professor of clinical psychiatry; Mr. Harold D. Smith, director, Michigan Municipal League; and Miss Mildred Valentine, supervisor of field work, sociology department, and director, Ann Arbor Family Welfare Bureau.

Dr. E. D. Beynon has taken over the course in American sociology for the first semester.

University of Nebraska.—Miss Neota Larson has been added to the departmental staff to instruct in courses in social work and to supervise the case training of FERA relief workers from Lancaster and nearby counties and also to assist in the supervision of the regular social work students.

Oberlin College.—Mr. S. C. Newman, who has been appointed at Ohio State, is succeeded in the department of sociology by Robert C. Boyer of the University of Pittsburgh. The department of sociology has also added to its staff the new dean of women of Oberlin College, Miss Mildred H. McAfee, who was formerly assistant professor of sociology at Centre College and later was alumnae secretary at Vassar College.

Ohio State University.—Professor Denune was elected president of the Ohio Welfare Conference at its annual meeting in October. Professor F. E. Lumley will be out of residence during the winter quarter. He has been appointed by the mayor of Columbus to the zoning board of the city.

Ohio Wesleyan University.—Professor C. W. Coulter spent the month of July in the New Educational Fellowship Conference at Capetown and Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, S.A. He gave six lectures on the adaptation of American social work methods to South African needs.

Professor L. A. Cramier left Ohio Wesleyan to participate in the state relief set-up and is now in the Columbus office, agricultural reconstruction Division. He was replaced by Dr. William L. Leap.

University of Toledo.—The sociology department has been especially interested in the development of plans for slum clearance and rehousing in Toledo in co-operation with the Federal Government and Ohio State Housing Board. Professor C. J. Bushnell, head of the department, was appointed by the common pleas court to membership on the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority. A survey of Toledo conditions was made and published under the title of "A Study of Housing Conditions in Toledo."

Vanderbilt University.—Professor E. T. Krueger, chairman of the department of sociology, is directing a graduate training school of fifty students for the Tennessee relief program. Ernest B. Harper, formerly of Kalamazoo College, is giving courses on community organization and public welfare.

Vassar College.—John Wiley & Sons, Inc. announce the publication of *The Family* by Professor Joseph K. Folsom.

State College of Washington.—In response to the demand for social workers for unemployment relief, the State College of Washington has expanded its work for the training of social workers, giving special attention to the development of a program for workers in rural communities. A number of new courses are being added in the department for the training of rural social workers.

Miss Margaretta Frisbee, A.B., A.M., University of Iowa, has been employed to give courses in the fields of social work and case work, and to supervise students in practice case work. Miss Frisbee was director of emergency relief in O'Brien County, Iowa, last year.

Arrangements have been made with the Washington Emergency Relief Administration by which students in the senior year may do work in the city of Spokane and adjoining rural counties.

Mr. A. A. Smick, instructor in the department, was employed by the State Planning Commission during the summer to assist in making a survey of the social services and institutions of counties in Washington.

Washington University.—L. L. Bernard has recently been made a corresponding member of the Masaryk Sociological Society of Czechoslovakia and of the Asociación de Estudios Históricas of Argentina. He and Mrs. Bernard spent August and September, together with a group of graduate students, in Mexico studying the mores and folkways of the people. They

have recently published jointly, as one of the "Washington University Studies," a research monograph entitled *Sociology and the Study of International Relations*. The volume *Fields and Methods of Sociology*, edited by L. L. Bernard, originally published by Long & Smith of New York, has been taken over by Farrar & Rinehart, who have issued a second edition of the book.

Dr. Thomas H. Clare, who completed his work in sociology and psychology at Washington University in June, has been given charge of the work in sociology at Elmhurst College. Dr. Clare also teaches the courses in elementary psychology and social psychology in this institution. His thesis was on the sociological theories of William T. Harris.

University of Wisconsin.—Professor John L. Gillin is on leave the first semester of the academic year 1934-35 doing research among the prisoners of the Wisconsin State Prison at Waupun.

Yale University.—On the basis of a study of the mental and social characteristics of the jail population of Connecticut, carried on under the direction of Professor Jerome Davis, plans are now being made for the State Farm Community at Glastenbury. This institution will be for the care of misdemeanants who have been sentenced for commitment of thirty or more days, housing fifty men each and containing recreation rooms with library nooks. Dormitories are being tentatively planned to accommodate five hundred to six hundred men.

Letters to the Editor.—The *Journal* will publish in a new department under the head of "Letters to the Editor" communications from subscribers and members of the American Sociological Society who may wish to write on matters of current interest concerning anything which has been published in our pages. There has not been appropriate place for such publication in recent years, and communications have been returned because they did not fall within any of the existing departments. Material intended for this department should not exceed about 375 words in length.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens. A Contribution to the Sociology of Moral Indignation. By SVEND RANULF. 2 vols. London: Williams & Norgate, 1933, 1934. Pp. 161+301.

Dr. Ranulf's work is a contribution toward the solution of a sociological problem: How does it come about that in the more advanced societies the state inflicts punishment upon persons who commit acts of violence against other persons? His present contribution to the problem is an investigation of the development of criminal law in ancient Athens. In the communities represented in the *Iliad* and in Athens before the time of Drakon, homicide was not an occasion for intervention on the part of the state but was avenged by the kindred of the slain. By the fifth century in Athens there had come about a condition similar to that of our own society, in which the state interferes and punishes those guilty of violent action against others. There is, therefore, a problem "to discover what changes in the structure of the Athenian community conditioned the altered attitude of the State towards outrages committed by private citizens against other private citizens."

The method adopted is a close examination of the moral conceptions and ideas of justice in Greek literature from Homer through Herodotus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Findar to Thucydides, Euripides, and Aristophanes. The aim is to show a correlation of concomitant variation between what Dr. Ranulf calls "the disinterested tendency to inflict punishment" and the conception of the gods.

In the *Iliad* gods as well as men are indifferent to the wrongs inflicted on others than themselves. In fifth century Athens a system of law is established which presupposes the readiness of the citizens to interfere when wrongs have been inflicted on others. Simultaneously, in the literature, we find a similar disinterested activity as guardians of justice attributed to the gods [I, 20].

In Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Sophocles misfortunes are visited on men by the gods (1) in punishment of wrongs committed, (2) from capriciousness or for their own convenience, (3) out of jealousy. These three writers do not trouble to distinguish between these three types of divine action, and therefore

their original audiences cannot have been troubled about it either. Hence the Greeks must have found gratification and edification in the very fact that the gods brought down ruin upon men, irrespectively of right or reason [I, 99].

In fifth-century Athens, therefore, there was "a strong tendency to envy." This is seen by Dr. Ranulf as the underlying cause of the development of the conception of this jealousy of the gods, and also of the development of "the disinterested tendency to inflict punishment" which makes its appearance in the changes of Athenian law.

To provide a negative instance by which to test this correlation, Dr. Ranulf seeks to show that

there is a point in the history of Greek mentality and social life where the tendency to inflict punishment and the propensity to envy can be seen to have disappeared simultaneously in a definite social group. That group is the upper class at Athens in the latter half of the fifth century, more precisely, that part of the upper class which was of noble descent and possessed intellectual culture, and which had taken advantage of the chances of enrichment offered by the growth of the Athenian Empire [I, 161].

A great part of the second volume is devoted to the demonstration of this thesis by an examination of the writings of Thucydides, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

As a study of the development of the moral ideas of ancient Athens as recorded in the literature of the times, the present work contains much that is of great interest and value, though some of the interpretations (e.g., some of those referring to Euripides and to Aristophanes) may not be found to be acceptable in their entirety. But Dr. Ranulf would have us consider his work as one not of history but of sociology. That there is some relation between the development of law in Athens and the changing conceptions of the gods and of divine justice seems probable. But that these parallel changes have both been produced by the growth of a tendency to envy in the Athenian democracy cannot be said to be anything more than a formulated hypothesis for which our author has not in this work provided anything by which we could measure its probability. Dr. Ranulf disarms criticism by insisting that "the present work is only a fragment and that there can be no pretension of having proved its thesis definitely merely by a study of the Athenian community." (II, 275). But the process that takes place in the development of Athenian law, whereby acts such as homicide or theft cease to be private delicts, for which those injured (e.g., the clan or kin of a man killed) may obtain satisfaction either by an act of retaliation or by receiving an indemnity, and become crimes (i.e., subject to punishment by action of the organized community) is one that has been repeated in many different societies at different times and apparently independently. And this process itself is generally viewed by sociologists or anthropologists as being part of a

general process of consolidation whereby a passage is made from a tribal organization in which an individual belongs primarily to his family or his kin or his clan to a state organization in which each individual belongs directly to the state as a citizen. The weakness of Dr. Ranulf's book is that he does not sufficiently consider this aspect of this problem.

Dr. Ranulf's book, in spite of this weakness in the central thesis, is of value in raising a number of problems of method. A review does not afford scope for the discussion of these. They are worthy of the careful attention of both sociologists and historians.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Research Barriers in the South. By WILSON GEE. New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. 192. \$2.25.

This study, made under the auspices of the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council, undertook to explain the retardation in social science research in southern educational institutions. The loss suffered by the South through the migration of southern-born scholars to the North and West was measured by the study of biographical materials contained in *Who's Who* and *American Men of Science*. The statistical data on salaries, teaching loads, and administrative attitudes were secured largely through questionnaires filled out by ninety-nine institutions of higher learning, forty-two of which were located in the South and fifty-seven in other sections of the United States. Among the more significant findings of the study were: (1) that 45 per cent of the social scientists and 60 per cent of the natural scientists born in the South had migrated to other regions, this loss being only partially compensated by the migration of northern- and western-born scholars into the southern institutions; and (2) that the southern college and university teachers carry a teaching load 30 per cent greater than their colleagues in other parts of the country and receive for this work one-third less salary. Additional data included in this study show that, on the whole, the cost of living for university teachers is approximately the same in northern and southern cities of similar size and that summer teaching is frequently resorted to in the South as a means of supplementing inadequate income, thus limiting still further time and strength for research. An important part of this volume is a background chapter prepared by L. L. Bernard covering a survey of the history of research in the social sciences in the South.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Culture in the South. Edited by W. T. COUCH. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934. Pp. xvi+711. \$4.00.

Culture in the South is a symposium by thirty-one different authors, the purpose of which is to interpret the states of the "Old South" (and Texas) to their own people and to others. It is a work of appreciative description and information primarily, rather than a contribution to social science; however, several of the chapters are written in the spirit of scientific analysis, notable among them being "The Profile of Southern Culture," by Rupert B. Vance, "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites'" by A. N. J. Den Hollander, and "Southern Speech" by William Cabell Greet. Naturally, in a volume composed of contributions by so many persons, there is more or less repetition. Judging the book in the spirit in which it was planned, i.e., as a contribution to the knowledge and understanding of the social heritage of a great region, one can have a favorable opinion of it. The authors—most of them southern by birth and rearing—view their own culture with a detachment which was very rare among southern writers of a generation ago. Brief sketches of the contributors are collected at the back of the book, and there is a comprehensive index. The volume should serve as a useful addition to reference literature on the South.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

America in the Southwest, A Regional Anthology. Selected and edited by T. M. PEARCE and TELFAIR HENDON. Albuquerque: University Press, 1933. Pp. xxvi+346.

This volume contains about fifty selections: excerpts from books, and articles previously published in magazines, reviews, etc. They are divided into three classes. The first group, entitled "What Is the Southwest?" deals with the archaeology, architecture, ethnic and occupational groups, of the region. The second, "Where Is the Southwest?" describes the topography, climate, and flora. "Who Is the Southwest?" the third group, tells of Indians, Spaniards, cowboys, trappers, artists, health-seekers, and other "character types."

Mary Austin, Willa Cather, C. F. Lummis, Adolph Bandelier, Edgar Lee Hewett, Harvey Fergusson, H. B. Alexander, J. Frank Dobie, Witter

Bynner, and Stanley Vestal are some of the more widely known names of the forty-four writers included in this anthology.

The editors wish, in this book, to "contribute a bit of distinctive music, the song of the Southwest, to the song of America."

LESLIE A. WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mesa Land. The History and Romance of the American Southwest.

By ANNA WILMARTH ICKES. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Pp. 236. \$3.00.

Sky Determines. An Interpretation of the Southwest. By ROSS CALVIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. 354. \$2.50.

The Southwest as a distinctive culture area has long interested students. Mrs. Ickes' book, which devotes itself to the Indians, Navajo and Pueblo, in a conventionally enthusiastic way, does not contribute much to this interest. *Sky Determines* not only ranges more widely—including Apaches, Mexicans, American ranchers, and well-diggers, as well as Navajos and Pueblos, as part of the Southwestern scene—but also penetrates more deeply. Dr. Calvin appears intimate not so much with the people as with the soil. He is particularly illuminating in his descriptions of the three zones—desert, mesa, and mountain—and of the plant ecology of each. The main theme of the book, that the sky, by giving or withholding water, determines the nature of the life which shall be lived beneath it can, of course, be applied more adequately to the interpretation of Mother Nature than to that of human nature. Environment determines the choices but does not determine the form which a culture will take. Furthermore, there is the tendency, which Dr. Calvin discusses in his last chapter, of man to modify his environment. The Southwest, however, like Mexico, appears too isolated, and too difficult a task for modification, to lose its distinctive geographic and cultural character very soon.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Yakut. By WALDEMAR JOCHELSON. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1933. Pp. 225.

Dr. Jochelson, who has previously published monographs on the Koryak, the Yukaghirs, and the Yukaghirsized Tungus under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, has here assembled the

field notes which he collected while a tsarist political exile among the Yakut and also on Siberian expeditions between 1884 and 1894 and between 1902 and 1904. The monograph embraces, with varied degrees of comprehensiveness, the physical anthropology and language, as well as the culture, of the Yakuts, and traces the tribe's migrations and the history and effects of its contacts with Russians. Particularly significant is the relatively full discussion of shamanism and the kumiss festivals, while the data on the family and kinship are scant. Many effective illustrations and drawings illuminate the text.

BERNHARD J. STERN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Church and State in Latin America. A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations. By J. LLOYD MECHAM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934. Pp. viii+550. \$4.50.

This book inquires into the historical development of the present position of the Roman Catholic church in Latin America. The first three chapters deal with the relations between Church and State during the Spanish Régime and during the struggle for independence. The remaining fourteen chapters recount the separate and different courses of development which those relations took in the new republics. So far as can be reported by a reviewer not a historian, this work, a pioneer undertaking in the field, is scholarly, and the author maintains a reasonably balanced judgment. An interest to the sociologist lies in the fact that, although the work is a contribution to history, it is a little more than that, because there is an implicit comparative study. The question is raised: Under what circumstances did the Church receive a favored political position, and under what circumstances was the Church disestablished and severely regulated? In these respects Peru and Mexico offer the extreme deviates, and the widely differing outcomes are the more interesting in view of the fact that the ethnic and cultural factors were much the same in the two countries. Is the persistent power of the Church in Peru related to the relatively small degree of racial intermixture there and to the slow development of a middle class? But with such an explanation the situation in Guatemala is not wholly consistent. Professor Mecham thinks it is simply due to the failure of Peru to develop liberal leaders, and thus, in effect, states the problem in other terms.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Pathology in China. By HERBERT DAY LAMSON. Shanghai, China: Commercial Press, 1934. Pp. vii+607.

This book treats of the problems of livelihood, health, marriage, and the family in China and suggests remedies for their solution. Its data are taken largely from the works published in the English language by both Western and native scholars, describing the extent of each of these problems both abroad and in China, relating what has been done in the West to solve these problems, and pointing out what may be done in China. The work is intended to be a source book for the study of Chinese social problems for English-reading college students and should serve this purpose well.

The author of this work is apparently more interested in what should be done to cope with the problems mentioned above than how these problems come to be as they are. No attempt is made to grasp the fundamental characteristics of the Chinese culture and to interpret the problems of social and personal disorganization in the light of the whole cultural complex. However, the questions and topics suggested for study at the end of each chapter should be able to arouse the students' interest in further research.

BINGHAM DAI

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Social Backgrounds of American Literature. By RALPH PHILIP BOAS and KATHERINE BURTON. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1933. Pp. xii+353. \$1.50.

Surely, it is not unreasonable to expect that a book entitled *Social Backgrounds of American Literature* will be (1) a social history of the United States, (2) an account of American literature in its social implications, or (3) an attempt to define the effects of social conditions on our literature. The authors were well advised to relinquish the third task as beyond their powers, and to content themselves with a compromise between the first and second objectives indicated. In consequence, the book is a readable elementary social history, with rather jejune comments on literature dragged in by the heels. It is disconcerting to find the authors using "disinterest" as a noun and ascribing Jack London's education, not to the University of California, but to the University of Chicago. It is impossible to see how such suggested subjects for study as "Lindberg's Transatlantic Flight" and "Total Eclipses of the Sun" could be made relevant either to our social backgrounds or to our literature.

FRED B. MILLETT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social and Economic History of the United States. Vol. II, The Rise of Industrialism, 1820-1875. By HARRY J. CARMAN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. x+684. \$4.00.

The United States since 1865. By LOUIS M. HACKER and BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1934. Pp. xx+833. \$5.00.

Political and Social Growth of the United States: 1852-1933. By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xi+564. \$3.00.

The Third American Revolution: An Interpretation. By BENSON Y. LANDIS. New York: Association Press, 1933. Pp. vii+156.

Professor Carman is engaged on the most considerable economic and social history of the United States which has been attempted by a single author. His second volume carries us from Samuel Slater and the beginnings of New England industrialism to the depredations of the "robber barons" after the Civil War. It thus covers what is sometimes known as the period of early industrial capitalism in the United States. It not only gives a full and very interesting account of the rise of mechanical manufacturing and the introduction of machinery into agriculture but also treats very intelligently of the social and cultural developments of the period, laying stress upon the rise of democracy and its impact upon American life.

Professors Hacker and Kendrick have written what is very widely regarded as the most satisfactory history of the United States since the Civil War. It is one of the outstanding examples of the "new history" to appear in textbook form. Taken together with Professor Carman's first two volumes, it would give an almost unrivaled account of American social evolution. The old and conventional rubrics of American history are almost completely dispensed with; and the story is organized about the growth of monopoly and finance capitalism, the expansion and decline of American agriculture, and the impact of these processes upon American politics and culture. The book runs to more than eight hundred pages and is thus an impressive demonstration of the passing of the day when historians were inclined to end their books and courses on American history with the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. The courage of the authors in dealing with controversial problems and social issues is as conspicuous and praiseworthy as the novelty of their approach to the subject-matter of history. The book contains a splendid and realistic summary of the New Deal, which greatly enhances its value.

Professor Schlesinger covers the same period as Hacker and Kendrick

but in much briefer form. Those who wish a more condensed account of American history since the Civil War will find this an extremely readable and satisfactory summary. It is as up-to-date as the Hacker and Kendrick book in its conception of the scope of history, but is far more cautious in venturing any opinions or passing any verdicts upon delicate or controversial subjects.

Mr. Landis gives us a broad and sweeping interpretation of the policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which he conceives of as a third American Revolution, comparable to the revolution of Washington's day and that of the period of Lincoln. Historians may later pass a quite different judgment upon the character of the New Deal, but Mr. Landis has certainly succeeded in producing a brilliant and sympathetic interpretation, far removed from a mere chronicle or catalogue of events.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Cesta Demokracie ("The Way of Democracy"). By T. G. MASARYK.

Edited by VASIL K. ŠKRACH. Prague: Cin Publishing Co., 1933—34. Vol. I, Pp. xxiii+530; Vol. II, Pp. xii+559.

The ability of President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia to impress his sociological and philosophical ideas on his people has promoted him to the front rank not only among modern statesmen but also among those few university professors who have influenced the course of human events. We have the record of Masaryk's war experiences and a summary of some of his ideas in his *The Making of a State* (1927). The present two volumes are really a sequel to this book, being a compilation of Masaryk's discourses, correspondence, documents, articles, and letters from 1921 to 1923, arranged systematically and edited by his efficient secretary, Dr. Vasil K. Škrach. The selection, however, lacks discrimination. For example, the reprints of the telegrams of congratulations or condolences to various heads of states are really valueless, simply because those who are acquainted with the workings of a president's office know that they are prepared for him by his secretaries and signed by him as a matter of routine. This opinion of the reviewer, however, should not detract from the great sociological value of the work, which is a superb collection of material for a future sociological study of Masaryk and his influence on his nation—a man of great gifts and of unusual variety, of a long, spec-

tacular and, to employ a much abused word, glamorous career. In addition, the work should be credited with disengaging the man from the myth, because Masaryk is one of those rare human beings who is becoming legendary during his own lifetime. Numerous valuable photographs and reproductions of documents are scattered throughout the volumes.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

World History. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES, PARKER THOMAS MOON, and JOHN W. WAYLAND. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. 2 vols. Pp. xiii+912. \$1.60 each.

Professor Hayes has written one of the most successful manuals on the history of modern Europe, and Professor Moon has done equally effective work in the field of international relations. They have now collaborated on a history of the world designed for high-school use. It is thoroughly up-to-date in devoting a large amount of space to social, economic, and cultural problems. A broad-minded, international point of view pervades the whole work. It is world-history in the best sense of the term. The wide use of a book of this sort in American schools would do much toward producing an intelligent perspective in approaching the problems of contemporary citizenship.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Between Two Worlds. By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xv+450. \$3.00.

President Butler of Columbia University has brought together in this volume a number of his more important addresses and articles of the last two years. It is a very good exhibit of the orthodox liberal attitude of our day. In his solution of our current problems President Butler seeks the impossible. He desires a program which will deal successfully with the problems of 1934 while, at the same time, permitting the existence of the same liberty which characterized a simple agricultural society. He also asks for peace, while defending by implication the most powerful factors and groups which sustain the war system. In short, he wished planning

without compulsion and peace without justice. There may be hope in some brand of resolute liberalism, but certainly very little in the type represented by Dr. Butler, who seems quite completely unconscious of the real implications of the title of his work. A man who attacks the Child Labor Amendment (pp. 350 ff.) can hardly be held to envisage a "new world."

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

La notion du "politique" et la théorie des différends internationaux.

By HANS MORGENTHAN. Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1933. Pp. 92.

In this monograph the author undertakes to examine and to reformulate the relationship between international law and international politics. More specifically, as a jurist with an interest broader than the abstract logic of the law, he is concerned with the limits of arbitration and adjudication and the nature of "justiciable" international controversies in the light of the processes of diplomacy. He perceives that international politics is a struggle for power, while international law is a definition of rights and obligations. His observations on the implications of this fact are highly interesting and suggestive. But he leaves the problem where he found it. Because of his preoccupation with law, he does not quite attain to the only type of formulation which would be adequate, i.e., one in which law is envisaged as a symbolic verbalization of rules of mutual convenience, reflecting established relationships of power, and as a conceptual framework within which the political struggle goes on. In international relations, as in all contacts between political groups, politics begins where law ends, and vice versa. The actors on the political stage may defy the law. But the law cannot defy the exigencies of political conflict, for legal symbols have meaning and application only as rules for carrying on conflict or for preventing conflict in situations in which "interests" are so envisaged emotionally that compromise is possible. A social psychologist with a bent for jurisprudence might formulate this relationship. A jurist with an interest in sociology has difficulty. But Dr. Morgenthau is to be commended for attempting it; and the result is stimulating and worth the perusal of jurists and sociologists alike.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Das parlamentarische Wahlrecht. Ein Handbuch über die Bildung der gesetzgebenden Körperschaften in Europa. By KARL BRAUNIAS. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1932. Band. I, *Das Wahlrecht in den einzelnen Staaten.* Pp. xviii+640. Rm. 22.50. Band II, *Allgemeiner Teil.* Pp. xii+320. Rm. 15.

Demokratie und Wahlrecht. Eine wahlrechtssoziologische Untersuchung zur Krise der parlamentarischen Regierungsbildung. By F. A. HERMENS. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1933. Pp. 186. Rm. 8.

These two treatises on the mechanics of democracy—one by an Austrian scholar and the other by a German scholar—came out at a time when democracy was being eclipsed in their respective countries.

The work by Braunias is in accordance with the old traditions of German scholarship. It is an exhaustive and comprehensive analysis of the formal election provisions of all the countries in Europe even down to the smallest principality. Twenty-two languages were used in compiling the first volume, which contains a description of the election laws of the thirty-six European states. Among the subjects covered are the following: theory of suffrage, compulsory voting, organization of the electorate, election districts, election officials, registration of voters, nomination, voting procedure, methods of representation, recounts, and election costs. In no other language has so ambitious a work on electoral mechanisms appeared in recent years. Georg Meyer's work is now over thirty years old; and Robert Luce, in his treatises on legislatures and suffrage, did not attempt to exhaust the European materials.

Like other German scholars of the compiler type, Braunias tends to emphasize the legal and formal, rather than the administrative and political, aspects of his subject; and he makes no claim to originality in his theoretical discussion. While an obvious attempt is made at completeness, his treatment of nominating methods and of money in elections is disappointing because of its inadequacy. Although he discusses all other functions of the electorate, he fails to discuss fully direct law-making.

As a whole, the work is admirably done and should serve as a standard reference on electoral matters. While largely legal, it also contains an imposing array of statistical materials showing how different election laws operate, and it gives evidence of familiarity with administrative practices. The treatment of proportional representation is especially full, and it brings to light several early inventors of voting devices who were overlooked by Hoag and Hallett.

Dr. Hermens deals with a narrower subject in a more controversial manner. His book is a criticism of the system of proportional representation employed in Germany during the republican régime. In supporting his thesis that the German plan of representation tended to make the parliamentary system more unworkable than other systems would have, he drew largely upon the experience of England, France, and his own country with other systems of representation. He also mentions the experience of the United States, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. While Dr. Hermens makes some of the necessary qualifications, it appears that he has placed too much emphasis upon the effect of mechanical electoral devices. Given the economic and social conditions found in Germany during the past fifteen years, parliamentary government would have declined under any system of representation. On the other hand, countries like Belgium and the Irish Free State have developed majority parties from time to time in spite of proportional representation, and Great Britain with its single-member district plan has repeatedly failed to secure a majority party rule in parliament.

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Who Rules America? A Century of Invisible Government. By JOHN McCONAUGHEY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1934. Pp. 338. \$3.00.

The subtitle gives the key to the spirit of this book. It is an attempt to show that even Rome was never sacked and pillaged by the barbarians to the extent that these United States have been by the robber barons of industry, banking, and transportation. Back of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, back of all America's great historical figures, the author has detected a group of highbinders breaking through and robbing the people. If all that stands written in this volume were the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, one might conjecture how a nation so persistently maltreated could have so long survived. So often has America been "bled white" in these three hundred pages that the country, by all the rules, should have perished of pernicious anemia long ago.

Much of what the author tells his readers is true, although the greater part of it has no flavor of novelty. In the annals of any nation, during a stretch of 150 years, one can usually find enough political crookedness,

economic banditry, and social chicanery to fill a book. America, as a rapidly growing land, has probably had to put up with more than her share. But there is a credit, as well as a debit, side to the ledger of history, and not much is ever gained in the long run by ignoring it. The present volume attracts by the pungency of its style and repels by the self-evident one-sidedness of its narrative. It is not a contribution to political science but to the literature of indignation. An excellent essay on Woodrow Wilson, which does not read like the rest of the book, is printed in the Appendix.

WILLIAM B. MUNRO

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

Grundriss der Statistik, II: Gesellschaftsstatistik. By WILHELM WINKLER. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1933. Pp. viii + 290.

In the Preface to this compact volume of 290 pages Professor Winkler offers it with the purpose "that it should not be a picture book of statistical data, but a text- and practice-book in statistics, a book in short, by means of which the student should be educated not only in statistical knowledge, but also in statistical thinking."

In "social statistics" the author includes not only those categories of thinking that arise out of the application of statistical reasoning to the mass data of human society, but also the figures in which they are embodied. In harmony with this definition the book contains a wide variety of statistical problems illustrated from the wealth of material of official statistics, almost exclusively from Germany and Austria. It is organized not on the basis of statistical method, but of the major fields of social statistics. The principal headings are "Population Statistics," "Economic Statistics," "Culture Statistics [*Kulturstatistik*]," and "Political Statistics." These occupy respectively 42, 52, 4, and 2 per cent of the text proper, which gives some notion of the relative importance, or at least abundance, of such material in these countries.

For the American student the book will have some methodological value, and should assist him in becoming acquainted with German and Austrian statistical practice. More valuable, however, are the abundant bibliographical footnotes, so far as these refer to German sources. The non-specialist in any of the fields here listed will find clues to the literature which should prove useful.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Employeurs et salariés en France. By HYACINTHE DUBREUIL.

Publication du Centre de Documentation sociale de l'Ecole normale supérieure. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934. Pp. x+461.

This new book of H. Dubreuil has been written at the request of the Industrial Relations Counselors of New York. It is, as yet, the most complete, accurate, and up-to-date survey of industrial relations in France.

H. Dubreuil was widely known as the worker-writer, who translated in his works his own experience of the shop and the machine. *Employeurs et salariés en France* is much more objective. It is a description of the different forms which the relations of employers and employes have taken in France, successively from the standpoints of the workers, the manufacturers, and the community. None of those forms is left outside the scope of the book.

The factual character of this work does not prevent Dubreuil from asserting his point of view as to the best means of making industrial relations peaceful. He does not think that the antagonism between employers and employes is fundamental. He is confident in the virtue of scientific management to solve the conflicts which arise between capital and labor.

R. MARJOLIN

PARIS, FRANCE

La distribuzione della ricchezza. By PAOLO CATTANEO. Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editor, 1933, Pp. xi+313. L. 32.

The author, a lawyer who has spent all of his life in industry, presents what he calls his law of the distribution of produced wealth. Briefly stated this law is as follows: The totality (designated as *A*) of salaries, wages, rents, interest, profits, and earnings of whatever form and derived from whatever source in a determined period of time in a world-economy is equal to the amassed, produced, and distributed wealth in that same period of time. (*B* is the symbol used to designate wealth.) If *A* tends to be superior to *B*, the great mass of savings are thus imperiled, the standard of living falls, and a crisis follows. He calls this the fundamental law of distribution, because, if distribution is planned in accordance with it, an equilibrium between production and distribution can be achieved.

It is significant to note that he believes the present Italian Corporative State to be operated on his law of distribution and that the so-called Charter of Labor of the Fascist State is an expression of the desired equilibrium between factors *A* and *B*.

E. D. MONACHESI

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Security Speculation; Its Economic Effects. By JOHN T. FLYNN.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934. Pp. xii+332. \$3.00.

The literature of the Stock Exchange has traditionally been of two general types: (1) introductions to the technique of successful margin trading; (2) "impartial" studies of the economic functions of speculation, written either by employees of the Exchange or by other apologists in close symbiotic relationship to it. In the present study, Mr. Flynn has no such vested interest to maintain. Basing his conclusions on the hitherto "inside" information brought to light in the hearings of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, he gives the most realistic analysis of security speculation to be found in the literature. He defines security speculation as "an operation in which one buys or sells securities with the design to make a profit out of the changes in the market price." He treats the subject under the following headings: (1) "The Market Place," the implements and mechanisms of speculation in securities; (2) "The Economic Functions of Speculation," supplying the credit market, distributing securities, furnishing an open and continuous market, etc. (he concludes that these so-called beneficial effects have been greatly magnified, if not actually distorted, by the "economists" of the Exchange); (3) "Remedies." After presenting the case for governmental regulation, he analyzes the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 in the emasculated form in which it was finally passed. In his opinion, the Act remedies few of the major abuses which have combined to make security speculation a destructive force in our socio-economic system.

FRANCIS E. MERRILL

CENTRAL Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Examen sociologique de la Constitution Soviétique. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Scientifique et Littéraire, 1932. Pp. 106.

This study will prove disappointing to anyone who takes its title literally. The author is an inept student of Soviet law (he begins by denying that there is any!); and his sociology is, to say the least, somewhat muddled. He attempts an analysis of the tools of power of the Communist dictatorship on the naïve assumption that in bourgeois states constitutions are sacred and above politics, while the Soviet constitution is merely a political weapon. Ten years after the March on Rome and ten months before the German Nazi revolution, he says that Western constitutions make impossible the tyranny of political parties (p. 94). He assumes further that the Communists rule Russia primarily by force and

fear; and he is much distressed thereby. The work is interesting only as an example of how not to attempt sociological interpretations of constitutions. Anyone incapable of perceiving that every "constitution" has social significance only as a set of legal symbols whereby ruling classes evoke deference and obedience had best refrain from "sociological" analyses of the type here undertaken.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Governments in Europe. Edited by RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL.
New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1934. Pp. xiv+440. \$2.50.

The World War was supposedly fought to make the world safe for democracy. But in spite of the victory of the Allies, dictatorship has made vast inroads among the new democratic states established during or immediately after the World War. More than half of Europe is now under one form or another of dictatorship, either Fascist or Communist. Dr. Buell has edited an extremely timely and serviceable little volume dealing with the growth of dictatorship since the World War and describing the character of the new dictatorial governments. It is not only a valuable supplement to the standard manuals on European government, but also a very readable aid to the general reader who desires an intelligent orientation in the problems of contemporary Europe.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes. By S. ZUCKERMAN. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932. Pp. xii+356. \$3.75.

No sociologist who is interested in the origins of human social institutions should miss this important book, which is more critical in dealing with data and more constructive in its theory than the work of Alverdes, the only other contemporary scholarly book on "animal sociology." The sources drawn upon by Zuckerman include not only the usual accounts by naturalists and anthropologists, but also careful and recent technical studies by physiologists and psychologists. The author's own studies of baboons and apes in London, and of wild baboons during two trips to South Africa furnish basic data.

Though an anatomist, Zuckerman shows an understanding of psychological problems, particularly in his criticism of "social instincts"

and in his discussion of what seem to him the more probable fundamental factors in the social life of animals. He does not believe that it is possible to base conclusions as to what are the more natural human institutions (monogamy, etc.) on a study of any subhuman forms, but sees in the life of the monkey only "a crude picture of a social level from which emerged our earliest human ancestors." On that social level, he argues, social groupings are determined largely by sexual factors.

Zuckerman is tough-minded, leaning over backward at times in his desire to avoid subjective anthropomorphism. But he has produced a most interesting and stimulating book, the attractiveness of which is enhanced by artistic photographs.

MARGARET W. CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

Phyloanalysis. By WILLIAM GALT. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933. Pp. 151.

This little volume written by a student of Dr. Trigant Burrow seeks to present in general outline the group method of behavior analysis being developed by the Lifwynn Foundation. Although carefully written, the volume scarcely succeeds in making any clearer the intriguing but puzzling work of Dr. Burrow than do the writings of the latter. It should be helpful, however, as a suggestive introduction to the writings.

While obscure at many points, the general position is that neurotic behavior arises from the construction of an environment of social images, which are heavily loaded with affect and molded by the moralistic pattern of "rightness" and "wrongness." These social images, which come to acquire a compulsive character, exercise a distorting, obstructive, and aberrant effect upon the original organic and phyletic unity and harmony between individuals in their association. The practice of phyloanalysis, or group analysis, by those participating in contact with others serves, seemingly, to reveal concretely this divergence and discrepancy, and so prepare for a return to the natural phyletic relation in place of the artificial social relation.

The reader has the impression that there are interesting possibilities to the approach of Dr. Burrow; but the presentation of his scheme will have to be stripped of much of its verbiage, obscurity, and mysticism, and permit of intelligible scrutiny before it can hope to command much serious attention on the part of those who are not in the "inner group."

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Studies in Expressive Movement. By GORDON W. ALLPORT and PHILIP E. VERNON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xiii+269.

The authors have devoted themselves to the interesting problem of the existence of consistency between different gestures, or forms of movement, in which personality is presumably expressed. Their preoccupation is not in whether a gesture expresses truly the personality trait which it is purported to express, but in whether this purported trait is found in other and separate gestures of the subject. Experimental records of twenty-five male subjects were taken to ascertain such qualities of behavior as speed, pressure, and style, and were supplemented by restricted graphological analyses by a trained graphologist. The results indicate that the self-consistency between the different forms of expression exceeds measurably what one would expect by chance. One infers that they provide some support for the belief that personality does reveal its character and organization in "expressive" gestures and movements.

A second part of the volume considers briefly the claims for the study of personality through handwriting. Some interesting experimental evidence is presented, showing again that the identification of personality traits in this manner exceeds significantly chance expectations.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Wild Boy of Aveyron. By JEAN-MARC-GASPARD ITARD. Translated by GEORGE and MURIEL HUMPHREY. With an introduction by GEORGE HUMPHREY. New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. xviii+104.

Students of social psychology who are interested in the accounts of feral children will welcome this addition to the literature on the subject. It consists of two memoirs on the "wild boy of Aveyron" by Dr. Jean Itard, to whose care the child was intrusted. In them he reports his careful observations of the boy and his patient efforts to induce in him elements of human "minded-ness" and normal social conduct.

The wild boy of Aveyron was found in the year 1799 and lived to 1828. Many of the techniques ingeniously devised by Dr. Itard have presaged and guided subsequent methods of progressive education; for this reason this volume will be of distinct interest to historians of education. Equally valuable, however, is the significance of the mental isolation of the boy and the interesting changes in his conduct as he came to participate in the social world of those about him. Dr. Itard has presented this phase

of his studies with penetrating insight. While his observations have not been complete or his experiments as varied as would be suggested by present-day knowledge, nevertheless their suggestiveness, ingenuity, and frequently telling character make this volume worthy of careful reading by social psychologists.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass in the Modern World.

By EVERETT DEAN MARTIN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. 200. \$2.00.

This series of lectures pivots on the contention that modern American society sets an essential conflict between the individual and the mass. The development of a philosophy of naturalism depersonalizing man's relationships to his world, of industrialism depersonalizing his relations to his fellows and to his work, of a continuous religious organization of the state, and of a standardized mass society to the detriment of a differentiated class society—all this development has induced an emergence of "crowd-mindedness" before which individuality suffers in its formation. The crowd mentality, marked characteristically by obsessive and delusive ideas, egomania, and homicidal wishes, is an expression of *infantilism*; individuality, formed out of self-discipline, an indication of *personal maturity*. The book is an elaboration of these elementary propositions. The author feels sincerely the need for emancipating individuals from the mass or crowd; yet his suggestions for this liberation reduce to a few platitudes exhorting the life of self-discipline.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Human Personality. By LOUIS BERG. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933. Pp. xv+321. \$3.00.

Here is a rare specimen: a book by a psychiatrist who favors the sociological point of view. Without neglecting the inherited biological bases of human nature, Dr. Berg stresses the influence of experience in the formation of personality. Since he believes that "the normal man is a fiction" (p. 82), the author devotes most of his space to mechanisms of maladjustment, mental complexes and conflicts, and the psychoses. The purpose of the book, apparently, is to show teachers how these untoward conditions may be averted through wise handling of the young child. The writer studs his discussion with actual cases taken largely from his own extensive clinical practice.

M. F. NIMKOFF

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

Child Psychology. By ARTHUR T. JERSILD. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933. Pp. 462. \$3.00.

In building a text or the basis of research, there is always the danger that it may turn out to be a collection of factual fragments. Professor Jersild, however, has woven a large number of specific research studies into the fabric of his discussion with uncommon skill and has thus given us a book of a very substantial character.

For the sociologist, chapter vii, "The Development of Social Behavior," is of greatest relevance. Here are treated such topics as "early signs of social response," "the infant's response to the presence of other infants," "learning in social situations," "strategy in social situations," "the development of friendship," "leadership," "conflicts between children," "the course of social development," and "changes in children's social concepts." Most of the studies cited are by psychologists, for the good reason that psychologists have done most of the research along this line. Yet the topics enumerated above are surely proper subjects for sociological investigation. Does not this field of the social relations of young children (who do not mind being studied) offer a rich opportunity for the development of an experimental sociology?

M. F. NIMKOFF

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

A Comparative Study of a Nursery-School versus a Non-Nursery-School Group. By ETHEL KAWIN, CAROLYN HOEFER, and OTHERS.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. ix+51. \$0.75.

Children of Preschool Age: Studies in Socio-economic Status, Social Adjustment, and Mental Ability, with Illustrative Cases. By ETHEL KAWIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xxv+340. \$3.50.

The Developmental Status of the Preschool Child as a Prognosis of Future Development. By GERTRUDE PORTER DRISCOLL. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. xiv+111.

A decade has now passed since certain nursery schools and college laboratories for the study of young humans began the systematic collection of research data. Preschools are no longer innovations; and though funds for their maintenance have fallen off during the economic crisis, it is reasonable to anticipate renewed interest in the near future. Evaluation of results is therefore in order, if the movement is to go forward on a secure

basis of fact. Aside from its unquestioned convenience to parents, what does the nursery school offer? Can differences be distinguished between nursery-school and non-nursery-school children? What effect, if any, does preschool training have on later school adjustment? Is prediction of any sort possible? What has been learned that may be applied in the development and control of children in the home and elsewhere? Follow-up studies are beginning to appear which throw much light on these and related questions.

One of the first comparisons between a nursery-school and non-nursery-school group was made by Ethel Kawin, Carolyn Hoefer, and staff members of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund and the Institute for Juvenile Research. Twenty-two children entering two preschool groups were carefully paired with others not enrolled. None had had previous experience in any organized group. Thorough mental and physical examinations were given in the fall and spring to both nursery-school and control groups, and a detailed habit-inventory filled out. The somewhat unexpected findings indicated no reliable differences in the gains made by the two groups, except that the nursery-school children eliminated a greater number of habits classed as undesirable—i.e., immature—and acquired a greater number of “desirable” adjustments.

Miss Kawin's recent scholarly volume, with a Foreword by Professor Burgess, presents a comprehensive report on the work of the Preschool Department of the Institute for Juvenile Research, established in 1925. The difficulties and advantages of conducting research within a program of clinical service are discussed with frank insight. Selected case summaries trace development over a five-year period. It is evident that if the thousand cases in the files of the Preschool Department could be analyzed by a technique comparable to that used by Dr. Driscoll (see below), much might be discovered as to the prognostic value of preschool records. As it is, the three research studies reported, based on the first 635 cases handled, yield results of outstanding importance.

In the first study, 62 children of high socio-economic status, attending the Winnetka Nursery School, are compared with an equal number of low status, in the Mary Crane Nursery School. Previous investigators have found consistently higher I.Q.'s among children from upper economic levels. In this study the Winnetka group excel when the children are tested on the Stanford-Binet scale, which is predominantly verbal. However, when the Merrill-Palmer performance tests are used, no significant difference is found. The slight difference in favor of Winnetka be-

comes still smaller when the language tests are omitted, and the Mary Crane children excel in a number of individual tests within the scale. Miss Kawin's discussion of these facts and their implications should stimulate further research. Important questions are raised as to the effect of qualitative differences in a young child's environment.

Of special interest to sociologists is the study of social adjustment among 293 children. Weighty factors in the make-up and life-situation of the well-adjusted child were found to be his own "test-intelligence," his father's occupation, the interest taken in him by his father, and the agreement of the parents in regard to the child's training.

Dr. Driscoll, in her investigation of early developmental status as a means of predicting later achievement, gives added weight to personality factors. It was found that when prognosis was based on the preschool I.Q. rating alone, 36 per cent of the group of 50 were given the same classification at school age, three to four years later. When a composite rating was used, including mental and physical development, special abilities and personality adjustment, 46 per cent remained in the same category.

The material in this volume on the reliability of the Kuhlmann-Binet and the Merrill-Palmer preschool intelligence tests should be read in connection with Miss Kawin's third study, *Tests for Children of Preschool Age*.

RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Children's Fears, Dreams, Wishes, Daydreams, Likes, Dislikes, Pleasant and Unpleasant Memories. By ARTHUR T. JERSILD, FRANCES V. MARKEY, and CATHERINE L. JERSILD. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. xii+172.

Children from relatively poor homes who attended a public school and children from well-to-do homes who attended private schools are contrasted with reference to their wishes, fears, dreams, daydreams, likes, dislikes, and memories. The material was collected through the use of thirteen questions which were asked of each child in an interview. The analysis consists of a simple listing of the replies to each question and a brief statement of differences according to age, sex, intelligence, and type of school attended. No attempt is made to correlate types of wishes, dreams, fears, etc., or to relate any of the items to personality traits or factors in

the child's social experiences. Thus although a very complete catalogue is given of the wishes, fears, likes of children, no inkling is given of how these have developed or the effect they are having upon the child's personality.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Leadership among High School Pupils. By MARION BROWN. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. viii + 166. \$1.75.

The leaders who were studied were the pupils elected by other pupils to certain official positions in clubs and councils or as class presidents. The leaders were divided into three groups on the basis of the responsibility involved in their positions. Comparisons were then made between groups of leaders and between leaders and non-leaders. Although the leaders were found to be a non-homogeneous group, in general they differed from the non-leaders in their selection of college-preparatory courses, higher degree of intelligence, better scholarship standing, and higher economic and social status. They tended to come from American, rather than foreign-born, families, to have more hobbies than non-leaders, and wider interests. The author concludes: "It is evident that those pupils who have been selected for positions of leadership are comparatively gifted young people whose superiority in a number of respects has been recognized by their followers early in life."

A word of caution should be given to prevent the tendency to generalize from the foregoing conclusion. The school situation may further the leadership of the intellectually superior pupils. Other types of groups, such as gangs, fraternities, or informal recreation groups, may engender an entirely different type of leader. A study of leaders in different types of groups, directed toward the more intangible elements of personality, might throw added light upon the qualities that make for leadership.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Towards Mental Health: The Schizophrenic Problem. By CHARLES MACFIE CAMPBELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, Pp. 110. \$1.25.

Dr. Campbell is prominent in the group of psychiatrists who have become aware that not all disorders of human behavior can be explained by reference to heredity, inadequate constitution, injuries, and disease.

In these lectures he shows that the causes of schizophrenic symptoms are to be found in the social experiences of the person. The discussion is so clear that it takes most of the mystery out of the study of schizophrenia.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Divorce: A Social Interpretation. By J. P. LICHTENBERGER. New York: Whittlesey House, 1931. Pp. xii+472.

This book is a revision and expansion of the author's earlier monograph, *Divorce, A Study in Social Causation*. The present work differs from the previous one chiefly in being brought up-to-date and in its account of the influence of individual and personal factors, as well as of institutional. Furthermore, the author has succeeded in more clearly and consistently differentiating between divorce and family disintegration in this more recent work than he did in the earlier discussion.

The book is about equally divided into two parts: the first being primarily descriptive and historical; and the second, analytical. Lichtenberger traces the origin of divorce from preliterate society through ancient society to modern civilization, particularly in the United States, in the conventionally accepted manner. (His data showing the trend of divorce in the United States have been drawn exclusively from the census reports.) Then follows a critical analysis of the divorce trend to determine to what extent the increase in divorce may be the result of changes in the internal makeup of the population and of changes in divorce legislation, rather than reflecting a growing tendency toward family disintegration. Lichtenberger is emphatic in denying that changes in legislation and in the administration of divorce laws can account in any way for the increase in divorce. His conclusion that there has been, in general, an increased stringency in legislation seems to be supported by his facts in every phase except legal grounds. Here the author is not able to find any clearly defined trend. He also fails to take into account the influence of the interpretation of the law governing legal causes upon the part of the trial court, the increasing liberalization of which would offset many times the influences of increased stringency in legislative requirements governing length of residence, remarriage, notice to the defendant, etc.

The analytical part of the book is divided into the analysis of (1) external factors and (2) internal factors. The external factors consist of: economic change, progress of liberalism, and revised ethical and religious views. The internal factors are: changing concepts of marriage, sexual maladjustments, and conflicting behavior situations and processes.

Divorce, A Social Interpretation, is a scholarly presentation and synthesis of the literature upon the subject of family disintegration. It follows the conventional pattern, current in the discussion of social problems, of piecing together bit by bit with new phraseology and cautious evaluation everything of importance which has been written upon the subject. The book contributes nothing which is strikingly new, nor does it reveal any contact with actual cases. It is doubtful if Lichtenberger's classification of internal factors could be used in any direct way in the treatment of domestic discord. Its contribution consists, then, in its synthesis of the literature.

ERNEST R. MOWRER

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The Family. By N. M. NIMKOFF. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. Pp. x+526. \$3.00.

The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry. By JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1934. Pp., xiii+604. \$4.00.

Here are two recent texts on the family of which American sociologists have every reason to be proud. For objectivity, balance of treatment, general sanity of outlook and up-to-dateness they are not surpassed by any works now in the field; and I doubt if any, on the whole, approach them in these characteristics.

Dr. Nimkoff discusses the structure, functions, and early development of the family, treats the biological, economic and psycho-social aspects of the modern family in relation to social change, and closes with two chapters on family disorganization and reorganization. Nimkoff evidently does not feel that the attainment of balanced objectivity requires that one exclude critical evaluation, and this attitude seems to me sound.

One gathers that Professor Folsom takes the same position; for both discuss, for example, such controversial subjects as birth control, sterilization, changing sexual mores, with dispassion and without sentimentality. This is no modest achievement. Both books avoid too great emphasis on historical forms of the family and on feminism, which have had undue weight (whatever their merits for discussion as isolated phenomena) in certain recent texts.

To me it is significant that these books lack the wishy-washy timidity of some of their predecessors. To some readers this will not be a recommendation (as is intended). It may even "frighten" them. They will want to know what moral courage has to do with science. That is a fair

question. But they temporarily forget that, whatever its aspirations, sociology is not a science as yet—if, indeed, it ever will be. There is still a place for courage in expounding the pros and cons of certain supposedly needed cultural adjustments (e.g., the need for marriage advice clinics), even though such functioning is not natural-science endeavor. Are determination of such policies and the initiative to come from the man on the street or from the sociologist and others presumably informed?

Folsom's book consists of five parts: "The Family Pattern and Its Subcultural Basis"; "The Cultural History and Geography of the Family"; "Social Change and the Family"; "Family Problems and Mass Adjustments," with material on excessive, dysgenic, and insufficient reproduction, the economics of children and the home, mate-finding, divorce, and the love mores; and on "Family Problems and Individual Adjustments," which discusses family disorganization in relation to personality, marital rôles, frustration, and interaction, as well as the problems of parent-child relationships. The chapter on the "Future of the Family System" seems to be one of the most original and stimulating in the book. The entire approach is interactionist (but not in the more narrow sense, since biological considerations have a proper place) and psychiatric.

Both these books are more than conventional textbooks; they represent not only creative syntheses but more than a modicum of original thought and evaluation. And originality always implies courage.

NORMAN E. HIMES

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

The Twilight of Parenthood. By ENID CHARLES. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1934. Pp. vi+226. \$2.50.

The thesis developed in this volume is that the world is in serious danger of underpopulation. The first step in the argument is a complete rejection of the Malthusian principle that populations tend to outgrow their means of subsistence. An extended presentation of the means by which the food supply has been and may be increased is presented as refutation of the Malthusian principle. This is followed by a presentation of statistical methods designed to show the true rate of a population's increase, and by an attempt to show that the capacity for growth in modern European and American communities has declined to a point where they are no longer capable of maintaining their numbers. The volume closes with a chapter on "The Reinstatement of the Child in a Planned Ecology." The author is concerned to have population study so

reorient human activity that civilized man will be able to maintain a fertility adequate to species survival. He holds that "the business of science is not to predict but to prescribe."

E. B. REUTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Happiness in Marriage. By MARGARET SANGER. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1934. Pp. 232. \$1.00.

This popular book was first published in 1926, but is already in its eleventh printing. It discusses not mainly birth control but conjugal adjustment in general. Though it contains several statements of doubtful scientific validity, it seems reasonably clear that its influence has been, in general, sound. At all events, its significance, sociologically, lies in the influence of this and similar books in transforming the sexual mores of the American people. I suspect, too, that such popular works have made the task of the scientific sociologist easier in so far as he has desired, either in textbooks or in monographs, to discuss the subject. Proof of this is seen in new emphasis in certain recent texts on the family.

NORMAN E. HIMES

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Applied Eugenics. By PAUL POPENOE and ROSWELL HILL JOHNSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. ix+429. \$2.60.

In the Preface to the revised edition of their work the authors state that they have not found it necessary to make "any significant change in the social philosophy, the science, or the technology of eugenics as presented in the first edition in 1918." Inasmuch as the original edition was somewhat notably deficient in each of these respects, not much can be said in commendation of the present revision. It is a highly uncritical piece of special pleading.

E. B. REUTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The Ancestry of the Long-Lived. By RAYMOND PEARL and RUTH DEWITT PEARL. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. Pp. xiii+168. \$3.00.

The present monograph is a report on some aspects of a continuing research to determine the importance of the hereditary factor in longevity. Comparison was made in respect to longevity of two groups of persons:

one consisted of living persons of ninety years and above; the other consisted of the oldest living sibling from sibships taken at random so far as concerns longevity. The median longevity of the six immediate ancestors of the first group was about 26 per cent higher than that of six immediate ancestors of the second group.

E. B. REUTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Fetal, Newborn, and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality. By the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILD HEALTH AND PROTECTION.
New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933. Pp. xxi+486.

This publication contains twenty-two diverse considerations and analyses of a very large number of various factors and causes of fetal, newborn, and maternal morbidity and mortality.

Abortions invariably result in fetal destruction. Their number is increasing, and it is an important fact that they are responsible for many deaths associated with maternity.

About 25 per cent of all maternal deaths follow abortion. Over 90 per cent of maternal deaths following illegal abortions were due to septicemia. At least 50 per cent of the total deaths from abortion were caused by illegal operations; 37 per cent were attributed to spontaneous, and 13 per cent to therapeutic abortions; this is probably an exaggeration.

Since the occurrence of accidental diseases frequently causes disability and fatalities in both fetus and mother, consideration is given in these reports to such conditions as syphilis, tuberculosis, parasitic diseases, and other infectious diseases; and also to such conditions as cardiovascular renal disease, to which the toxemias are closely related, and disease of the endocrines and blood, such as leukemia, purpura, and anemia.

The process of birth presupposes the possibility of injury to maternal tissues and also to fetal tissues. The most serious of these injuries are those affecting the fetal central nervous system. Various artificial procedures used in the induction of labor for different reasons, either for the safety of the mother or fetus, are considered in some detail in these various studies.

It is a noteworthy fact that artificial delivery has become increasingly frequent, especially in hospital practice, where the environment is favorable for such interference. Very often there is a false sense of security. The general use of anesthetics interferes more or less with the normal progress of labor. In many cases there is a false belief that artificial ter-

mination of labor contributes to the best interest of the mother or fetus or both. Not infrequently artificial termination of labor is done as a result of appeals for relief from arduous labor by the patient or relatives.

It is highly desirable that more exact and complete information be secured on birth and death certificates, relative to the actual causation of fetal, neonatal, and maternal deaths. As these certificates are now framed, they contain considerable statistical information of social importance, but relatively little of scientific medical value or interest.

The committee approved the following recommendations as the result of this study, which contains much valuable information for those who are interested in these problems of morbidity and mortality, though the work is primarily medical in its scope. (1) Efforts must be increased to provide better prenatal care for more women. In general, only early diagnosis allows adequate treatment of a disease which complicates pregnancy and is likely to harm mother or baby. (2) A warning should be disseminated that compliance with the insistent demand made by women for shorter and more comfortable labors inevitably implies risks both for mother and baby. (3) Interference with pregnancy or labor should be limited to well-defined indications. (4) In view of the fact that abortions are responsible for a large part of maternal mortality, and, particularly, for later maternal morbidity, all febrile cases of abortion should be hospitalized. (5) Appropriate changes should be made in official birth and death certificates so that more and more precise information can be obtained concerning the actual causes of death of either mother or infant in connection with pregnancy and birth.

F. L. ADAIR

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Ability To Pay for Medical Care. By LOUIS S. REED. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. x+107. \$2.00.

Although No. 25 of a formidable series, this volume depends in part upon the findings in succeeding publications of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, as well as upon several of the better-known studies of family budgets and planes of living. It has the merit of succinctness and clear logic, with, however, due caution in respect to conclusions where variables and subjective elements are unavoidable. Any ability to pay for (a) present services or (b) for "adequate" services is considered relative to a given unit area of social resources—national, state, class, or family. Actual national outlay for medical care was sufficient (1929) per capita to provide everyone with adequate medical care, if purchasing power or

medical care had been distributed where needed *ad hoc*. Four states (Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas) were too poor to hope for it. Even in 1929, at least 10 per cent of our population were not prepared, even collectively, to meet the risks of illness. It is doubtful whether the ability to pay on a group basis the average actual family cost of medical care is reached below the \$2,000 level, which shuts out half our population. More than half would be out if adequate care for all were demanded. At the \$1,000 level, actual average medical expense outranks insurance and the (rare) automobile. At the \$1,500 level, insurance takes more than medical care; at the \$1,700 or \$2,000 level, the auto ranks it. Two to 4 per cent of all families are annually confronted with unpredictable medical costs which their incomes, needs, and standards make it unreasonable to expect them to pay. This includes 30 per cent of those of less than \$2,000 income who receive hospital care.

From all these facts it is apparent that adequate care for the American people can be had, but only on a basis of national provision and nationally shared costs. But this is one logical conclusion which the author discreetly leaves to the reader.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

An Introduction to Educational Sociology. By ROSS L. FINNEY and LESLIE D. ZELENY. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. v+341. \$2.40.

This is a somewhat surprising book to follow Dr. Finney's *Sociological Philosophy of Education*. Three of the four parts are given to very concrete studies of the problems to be encountered by young teachers in adjusting to their communities, in classroom management, and in social control of the school. Only Part III, "Culture, Social Institutions and Education," is devoted to the quasi-philosophical treatments customary in books on educational sociology.

The authors obviously intended that the interpretations of teacher adjustment and school-management problems, in Parts I, II, and IV, should derive from "sociological" sources. Unfortunately, all such sociological sources do not, as yet, transcend the common-sense and easy intuitions of experienced men and women. But the attempt is well worth while.

Hence, for young women preparing to teach or in the early stages of professional work, the present book may well prove an easily understood

guide to problems of school management and neighborhood adaptation. But, like the ministrations of the old-fashioned family physician, it will do so chiefly by virtue of its homely wisdom rather than its social science.

DAVID SNEDDEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Public Education in the United States. By ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLY.
New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. Pp. xviii+782.

This book, published fifteen years ago and well known to every student of education as an original contribution to textbook writing in the history of education, now appears in complete revision, bringing the text material up to the present.

In the revision, the point of view and method of the earlier text have been preserved with a more detailed treatment provided, and gaps which were evident in the original text have been filled in, so that the book is really more than a revision of the old. It is essentially a new book. The book remains, however, a history of administrative progress and curriculum changes rather than a history of the theories of education.

The additions to the text include one chapter on the Colonial period; two chapters dealing with education in the South, emphasizing the effects of the Civil War on education and the important developments following; and finally a new chapter on profession education, dealing with both the subject matter of education itself and with teachers' organizations. This revised text may not be considered as an original contribution to textbook writing today but is a valuable elaboration of material presented in the original text.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Can Attitudes Be Taught? By ARTHUR LICHTENSTEIN. Baltimore:
Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. Pp. ix+89. \$1.25.

Starting with the statement that "ways of belief, expectation and judgment, and attendant emotional dispositions of like and dislike, may be curtly summed up as *attitudes*," the author reviews briefly thirty-one studies of the effect of instruction on change of attitudes. The methods, and hence the results, are not highly comparable—about as many finding change as no change. Most of them are pencil-paper or verbal—not overt—behavior studies.

This study dealt with "Appreciation of Outdoors" and "The Scientific

Attitude." There seemed to be some decline of belief in superstition, as a result of the teaching. This was the only indication that attitudes as here defined and measured were influenced by teaching.

Space prohibits extended discussion, but the study seems to be scientifically sound and carefully done. It will repay serious study by students of attitude research, especially the criticisms, conclusions, and suggestions made by the author. To the reviewer, of course, the most significant suggestion is: "Some means other than pencil-paper responses should be worked out to get at actual conduct in a given situation" (p. 75). Until this is done, "attitude research" will never be much more than an esoteric exercise in methodology.

READ BAIN

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, OHIO

Character Education in Soviet Russia. Edited by WILLIAM C. TROW.
Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Press, 1934. Pp. 199. \$1.25.

Included are an editor's introduction and five translated articles concerning the "Young Pioneers," the communistic organization for ten- to fifteen-year-olds. The articles were written to instruct older workers with Pioneers in the purposes and aims of the organization, the methods of forming groups, the selection of leaders, the governing regulations, etc. There are also criticisms of existing developments within the organization, suggestions for improvement, illustrations of good and poor technique, and advice on methods of handling children. Emphasis throughout is placed on permitting children to learn from their own co-operative activity, rather than upon external controls. The clear picture of the "Young Pioneers," stripped of Communistic ideology, shows on the one hand that children are much alike wherever found, and reveals, on the other, the methods used for penetrating a population with a particular social philosophy.

JOHN E. ANDERSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Adventures in Nakedness. By JULIAN STRANGE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. Pp. xi+289. \$3.00.

This is an entertaining account of visits to nudist centers in France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the United States. Like several similar books, it describes the author's initiation with much wonderment. "Nervously I divested myself of my bathrobe. Nobody paid me the

slightest attention. I was naked—and nobody noticed it." Like most of these books, it often assures the reader that nudity is not immoral.

Nudism has many important sociological and psychological implications which should be explored. It is not only a vigorous protest and healthy reaction against the prevailing convention of artificial modesty but is of great significance with regard to a future way of life. It raises many important questions as to the rearing of the young, the relations between the sexes, the democratic organization of society, etc. Future writers on this subject should devote themselves more to the study of these implications and less to well-intentioned moralizing and naïve descriptions which have become superfluous.

MAURICE PARMELEE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Treatise on Right and Wrong. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York:
Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. Pp. viii+331+xix. \$3.00.

Mr. Mencken's study of right and wrong without reference to metaphysics will displease professional moralists. His labors "to show that revelation, as a moral sanction, has serious limitations," will displease theologians. Others, however, who believe that ethical problems are inseparable from individual and social life and must be solved in terms of that life, should find the book of great interest and value. It is an essentially scientific approach to morality, but one which recognizes, as scientific studies often do not, the reality of moral experience and moral value.

Chapters are devoted to "The Nature and Origin of Morality," "Its Evolution," "Its Varieties," "Its Christian Form," "Its State Today." The last includes an enlightened discussion of the birth-control question. There is a ten-page bibliographical note and a good index.

Mr. Mencken disclaims any messianic intention. His book is a scholarly investigation of what "mere man is able to do, and in fact does" as a moral creature. Nevertheless, his intelligent, humane, militant spirit is far from neutral—greatly to the reader's advantage.

MAX C. OTTO

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The Dawn of Conscience. By JAMES H. BREASTED. New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xxvi+431. \$3.00.

This book is meant to inspire the disillusioned with new confidence in man. But it is an unusual inspirational document. Its pages are heavy

with factual material. Consequently, the book is especially well adapted to the needs of college students and other youths seeking for light in the current moral confusion.

The thesis of the book is that the concept of character is a human achievement and not a revelation of something ready-made from on high. "It is," says Mr. Breasted, "the greatest discovery in the whole sweep of the evolutionary process as far as it is known to us." This discovery of ethical conduct or character took place in Egypt. "Our moral heritage . . . has come to us rather *through* the Hebrews than *from* them." And in comparison with the age of mankind, it occurred only yesterday. Its greatest development, Mr. Breasted thinks, is yet to come.

A defect of the book, I think, is the conception of character as essentially inner or subjective. Character means "victory over self" and appreciation of "inner values," etc. There is a singular absence of references to unjust economic and social conditions that make men "bad" and to changes required to make them "good."

MAX C. OTTO

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Religion and Leadership. By DANIEL A. LORD. Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co., 1933. Pp. xiv+202.

As a textbook in Christian doctrine we have here something entirely new. Unlike most previous catechisms, the bare bones of Christian dogma are not subjected to scrutinizing anatomical examination: they are covered with living flesh. They are merely the framework of a human person who loves God and his neighbors and puts that love into every moment of his life. The book is inspirational rather than didactic, and there can be little doubt that Christianity that runs and leaps and works and carries on beneath a flag, as here presented, will be far more real and true and acceptable than that which is merely learned by rote.

The book is so different that it must be seen. There are no questions and answers; there are no discourses. The chapters are broken up into sections like an index of a book, but with each line surcharged with vitality. Each chapter concludes with "Problems and Discussions" and "Suggested Readings" that call for no mean exercise of mental activity. No student can sleep through the doctrine class where this is the textbook.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S.J.

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

Labor Problems in American Industry. By CARROLL R. DAUGHERTY.

New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Pp. xviii+959. \$5.00.

Profiting by the experience of other writers and by the accumulation of monographs in the field of industrial relations, Professor Daugherty has produced what from many standpoints is the best text on labor problems so far issued. It is thorough, comprehensive, accurate, and clearly written. While he emphasizes throughout the economic approach, he by no means neglects the social factors in such issues as unemployment, wages, hours, child labor, or employed women. The staff of the book includes the psychological, social, economic, historical, and political factors necessary to a proper orientation in industrial relations; also the major phases of labor disharmony—namely, insecurity, inadequate income, work periods, sub-standard workers, and industrial conflict. Due attention also is given to organized attempts from the standpoints of workers, employers, and the state to bring about adjustment. Therefore this is not a book of special pleading.

The author is by no means pessimistic. He holds, for example, that under modern industrialism there is greater opportunity for self-expression, and a larger grasp on material goods beyond the bare necessities of existence. His breadth of view may be best indicated, perhaps, by citing his conclusion that society will gain greatly if personnel work can be conceived as including "as a definite, most important part of its program some sufficient kind of industrial self-determination for the workers." From the standpoint of the state the bitterest conclusion of this whole study of labor problems is to the effect that of all major western industrial nations the United States shows the greatest "social lag" in protecting the wage-earner. The general breakdown of labor-law enforcement and observance during the depression years has revealed in unescapable terms "the pitiful inadequacy of much of our labor legislation and administration." Nevertheless, Professor Daugherty holds that there is reason to believe that the gradual attrition to the spirit of individualism will bring about more adequate state action on behalf of a more civilized industrial order.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Forced Labor in the United States. By WALTER WILSON. New York: International Publishers, 1935. Pp. 192. \$1.50.

This book was inspired by the hullabaloo about forced labor in the U.S.S.R. (Soviet Russia) during the Hoover administration. It is frankly tendentious in common with the other books of this labor series prepared under the direction of the Labor Research Association. The author begins with the postulate of Karl Marx that all labor under capitalism is forced, since "it is the whiplash of hunger that serves as a most effective form of coercion, forcing the proletarian to work for another class." However, for the purpose of this study the author accepts the "capitalistic" definition of forced labor, namely, the definition made by the draft convention of the Fourteenth International Conference of Labor at Geneva in 1930." This definition reads as follows: "For the purpose of the present convention the term 'forced or obligatory' labor shall mean all work or service which is exerted from a person under the menace of any penalty, and for which the said person had not offered himself voluntarily."

On the basis of this definition Mr. Wilson shows that "there is enough evidence of forced labor at home to satisfy the most thorough student of the problem." He marshals his facts ably and convincingly. Considerable of his data, especially with reference to peonage, is based on field investigation. Since the scene of this nefarious practice is the South, Mr. Wilson, a southerner, had a special advantage. In addition to the theoretical discussion, the book covers the forms through which convict labor is exploited, including the handling of chain gangs. He then discusses peonage, "involving as it does many thousands of workers and farmers, chiefly Negroes. Peonage is a concomitant of tenancy, whereby the tenant becomes hopelessly indebted to the landlord and thereby tied to the land." Theoretically, peonage is illegal, but it is indirectly "legalized in several states through the operation of three kinds of laws—vagrancy, emigrant agency, and laws penalizing failure on the part of a tenant farmer or industrial worker to perform a contract after having received advances." In order to demonstrate further the hypocrisy of the Western nations, which charge Soviet Russia with resorting to forced labor, the author devotes a section to a discussion of "forced labor in the colonies." He also discusses the actual labor conditions in Soviet Russia.

Mr. Wilson has made out a convincing case, and has rendered a valuable service in making the data on forced labor available.

DAVID J. SAPOSS

BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

The Labor of Women in the Production of Cotton. By RUTH ALLEN.
Austin: University of Texas, 1931. Pp. 285.

Miss Allen has produced a wealth of interesting, as well as valuable, material in her monograph dealing with the life and work of women on Texas cotton farms. The group studied is significant for various reasons: it is closely involved in the long-continued depression in the farming industry, and its standard of living depends on the price of cotton; it contains approximately one-third of the females gainfully employed in the state; and it comprises approximately one-fourth of the population of a state rapidly changing from an economy largely rural to one which is urban.

Information obtained chiefly by personal interviews (based on an elaborate questionnaire) is carefully analyzed and presented in scholarly fashion with plenty of substantiating tables. The author shows vividly and sympathetically the hard life of the tenant cotton farmer, bearing ample testimony to prove her statement that "the white wage laborers who now compete with Negroes for the jobs on cotton farms are as degraded economically as any people to be found in the United States."

The pathetic situation of large numbers of deserted wives, the subservience of the Mexican women, the casual acceptance of the inevitability of large families, and the lack of proper care during pregnancy and child birth—all these and many other phases of lives of toil and penury are described without sentimentality but with clear understanding of their menace to society.

It is interesting, in the light of recent governmental policies, to note that the author's conclusion from her painstaking first-hand study of these depressing conditions is that "the only hope lies in an organization of the industry which will bring it within the forces of market control as to wages, as to labor supply, and as to price. . . . Many who now work in the production of cotton will be forced into other lines of work, but what could be more desirable?"

MARY B. GILSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Vocations—The World and Its Workers. By WILLIAM M. PROCTOR.
New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Pp. x+390.

Professor William Proctor has been associated with the vocational-guidance movement in this country for a number of years. The present work contributes to the saner type of attempts at offering vocational

counseling to high-school and college students. The first three chapters—"What One Ought To Know about a Vocation," "What One Ought To Know about Oneself," and "How To Combine Knowledge of Self and Vocational Knowledge in Selecting a Vocation"—and the last three chapters—"Finding and Keeping a Position," "Leisure-time Activities," and "A Life and a Living"—are very worth while to the person who wants assistance in making a vocational selection. The larger portion of the book describes various vocations. The vocations dealt with in the book are uniquely classified. For instance, under the chapter title, "Health and Healing Vocations," are described the vocations of the physician, surgeon, healing specialists, dentist, bacteriologist, serologist, health officer, veterinary, pharmacist, oculist, optometrist, therapist, and the nurse. Such an organization of vocations is conducive to clearer understanding by the student of the world of work than the unrelated selection of vocations typical of vocational-guidance books.

ROBERT C. WOELLNER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

College Women and the Social Sciences. By HERBERT ELMER MILLS and his former students. New York: John Day Co., 1934. Pp. xv+324. \$2.50.

These essays provide tangible evidence of the value of the social sciences in the education of women. Twelve Vassar graduates write in broad, sociological terms of their occupations. They are in social work, health work, literature, manufacturing, public affairs, and home-making. But in whatever occupation the writer happens to be, each essay seems to point to one moral—the necessity for intelligent and active interest in public affairs on the part of all educated persons if we are to have desirable working and living conditions.

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

Careers for Women. Edited by CATHERINE FILENE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. Pp. xiii+620. \$3.00.

This book is an encyclopaedia of occupations for the educated woman. For 158 occupations, the questions facing a girl in the choice of her life work are definitely answered by a woman who has been a success in the field. There is no ignoring of disadvantages. Salary data are factual, not wishful. What is actually done, desirable training, and personal qualifications,

all are described. Available data on supply and demand and further sources of information are listed for each occupation.

Contributors include such well-known and different women as Frances Perkins, Helena Rubenstein, Lillian Gilbreth, Rachel Crothers, and Mary T. Norton.

This is the most useful single book in its field which a high-school or college counselor could have at hand for ready reference. Moreover, the articles are written in a style which the girls themselves will read.

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

Juvenile Detention in the United States. By FLORENCE M. WARNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. 227. \$2.50.

This is a report of a field survey of the detention care of neglected and delinquent children, made by the National Probation Association. The study was directed by Professor Harrison A. Dobbs of the University of Chicago; Dr. Warner, however, acted as statistician and prepared the report. The study evaluates the detention policies affecting 17,045 children in 141 areas in 38 states and the District of Columbia during 1930-31.

Significant findings are: (1) that there is no well-defined American policy for dealing with children in detention; (2) that the present trend seems to be toward the use of foster-home care; (3) that state supervision of detention is practically unknown; (4) that notwithstanding a generation of juvenile-court work, most delinquent children still pass through the hands of the police.

The materials are exceptionally well organized, and the report is unusually well written.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Employment Exchanges: An International Study of Placing Activities.

Geneva: International Labour Office; Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1933. Pp. iv+231. \$1.25.

The authors take the logical position that the organization of placing work is an essential element in a campaign to alleviate unemployment, while fully aware that no employment office itself can create jobs where none exists. The placing activities of the various countries of the world are analyzed by topics, instead of by countries, so that the reader finds information under a given heading assembled in one place, e.g., chapter 1 "The General Organization of Employment Exchanges," section 3, "Relations between Public Employment Services and Private Agencies"; section 5, "Staff."

The report is a distinct contribution, being full of suggestive material stimulating to those working to develop worth-while public employment services. A somewhat detailed Table of Contents replaces an Index; a brief Bibliography, arranged by countries, is included and also the Draft Convention concerning fee-charging employment agencies adopted during the International Labour Conference in Geneva in June, 1933.

RUTH M. KELLOGG

YONKERS, NEW YORK

Trade Union Policies in the Massachusetts Shoe Industry, 1919-1929.

By THOMAS L. NORTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. 377. \$5.00.

Because Massachusetts was from early days the most important shoe-producing state, with a development of trade-unionism further than in any other state, Professor Norton's detailed work is a valuable addition to trade-union studies.

He picks for special treatment the contrasting conditions in Brockton, predominantly a center for men's shoes, and Haverhill, where the production of women's shoes and rapid changes in style are the rule.

Brockton's large industrial units are contrasted with Haverhill's fly-by-night small shops; Brockton's experience, of closed shop, union stamp, strict union discipline, and arbitration by the state board as last resort, is set over against the rank-and-file control of the union in Haverhill, the use of a permanent local arbitration board, and the greater seasonal and secular instability of work conditions.

The autocracy of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union in Brockton is compared with the limited powers of the officials in the Shoe Workers' Protective Union at Haverhill. Brockton's strike of 1923 is shown to be the outcome of a long and vain struggle against that self-perpetuating union bureaucracy.

The whole picture is placed in the setting of an industry where the great bulk of machinery is rented on a royalty basis, thus obviating the need for large capital sums on the part of most shoe manufacturers. As labor cost is, under these circumstances, one of the most important differentials in the industry, the vital issue of wage rates is apparent.

Dr. Norton shows how rapid style changes, especially in women's shoes, and the steadily lowering grades of shoe production put upon all labor organizations an increasing pressure to unionize the whole industry or be destroyed.

WILFRID H. CROOK

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY JUNIOR COLLEGE

National Collective Bargaining in the Pottery Industry. By DAVID A.

MCCABE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. x+449.

This volume will measure up to the expectations of anyone who has read, and therefore admired, Professor McCabe's *The Standard Rate in American Trade Unions* ("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" [30th ser., 1912].) It is well organized and well written, and embodies the results of intensive investigation covering a period of several years. It is an extremely valuable addition to the literature on unionism in industry.

The pottery industry is divided into two branches, namely, general ware and sanitary ware. Part I deals with the long history of unbroken collective dealing in the manufacture of general ware; Part II, rather briefly, with the second branch. History, procedures, problems, and the factors making for and against stability and success are adequately discussed. Why collective bargaining still obtained in the general ware but broke down in the sanitary branch in 1922 is explained. A number of factors enter into the explanation, but emphasis is placed upon the fact that in the sanitary branch the industry was not fully

organized when depression developed. It is generally true that collective bargaining is unstable and sooner or later breaks down when it is not successful in establishing a bottom for the market and assisting in market control.

The labor economist will find this book invaluable. The sociologist will, also, find in it much that is useful for his purposes.

H. A. MILLIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Wage Rates and Working Time in the Bituminous Coal Industry, 1912-1922. By WALDO E. FISHER and ANNE BEZANSON. Philadelphia:

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932. Pp. xxii+374. \$3.50.

This twenty-first volume in the series of industrial research studies published by the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, is a thoroughly admirable piece of work from the standpoint of scholarly technique. It is impossible, however, to give a final and definitive appraisal of it because it is confessedly only the first part of an investigation, the completion of which is committed to a later volume. This part of the study consists of an analysis of wage rates and employment opportunity of the mine workers in the bituminous-coal industry. The study is primarily an interpretation of the Coal Commission's published findings, supplemented by certain unpublished material, and information derived from government reports, the United States census, and wage contracts of the United Mine Workers of America. While a subsequent volume will evaluate wage policies of various sections of the coal industry, the present study offers certain tentative conclusions on problems such as advances in wages. For example, in certain non-union and irregular fields, wage increases in 1917 were relatively higher than in union areas. Actually, however, union rates remained rather uniformly higher. And, in the period of recession beginning with 1921, non-union fields lowered wages much more drastically than in the union fields. Despite wage increases, the union pick miners' real wages actually declined from 1913 to 1921. For the true evaluation of these facts the reader must wait until the complete publication of the study. Meanwhile, it may be stated that this investigation is enormously important because 70 per cent of the total cost of bituminous-coal mining is labor cost.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The Eleventh Commandment. By FRANCIS NEILSON. New York: Viking Press, 1933. Pp. xii+283. \$2.50.

The eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark," is from the Book of Deuteronomy. The author uses it as the text of an eloquent sermon against economic injustice. Mr. Neilson's ability as a writer has been well known for many years. The plea for social justice, based on the concept of the divine nature of man, has produced some of the noblest literature of the world. In the last section of this book there is a vivid reconstruction of the historical background of the Christian Gospels, followed by a fresh and powerful interpretation of the life and mission of Jesus.

Sociologists will welcome this new book by the former editor of the *Freeman*. It is a worthy contribution to that great body of socio-religious books, which,

from the time of *Piers Plowman* to today, have been an outstanding part of English literature. Not technically sociological, it belongs to an important type of writing which no student of social movements can afford to neglect.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

An Economic History of the United States. By EDWARD FRANK HUMPHREY.
New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. ix+639. \$3.75.

Here is an economic history of the United States which is, to say the least, different. Beginning with the proposition that "the economic history of the United States is but a part of that of the world as a whole," Professor Humphrey throughout his work keeps in mind the relation between whole and part. If he had been equipped with some of the concepts of human ecology, he might have organized and interpreted his facts somewhat differently, but then he would not have been a historian. Because historians have scant regard for the concepts of social scientists, they are forever treating facts and events in such a way as to remind us of the partial and abstract character of these concepts. Thus in the economic history of America, capital has not been something apart from capitalists just as conquest was not something apart from conquerors. Capital was an attribute of capitalists, great or small, that is, of particular human beings whose purposes, ambitions, schemes, and activities have helped to shape our economic evolution. Capital was merely their source of strength, like the swords of the *conquistadores*, and with it capitalists wrought out for themselves large industrial and political estates within the state. Humphrey emphasizes the evolution of "big business" in American economic history. He follows the periods of the economic development rather than political epochs. The book contains many maps and diagrams, with an excellent bibliography following each chapter.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

Labor Agreements in Coal Mines. By LOUIS BLOCH. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1931. Pp. 513. \$2.00.

This study concerns itself with the collective bargaining machinery set up by the coal operators and the miners in Illinois. In addition to giving the setting and evaluating the procedure Dr. Bloch devotes the greater part of the book to a critical description of the day-to-day practices in adjusting grievances under a trade agreement. Naturally an elaborate machinery had to be set up in order to administer and interpret the complicated principles and rules governing working conditions in the coal mines, so that grievances which originate at an isolated pit might be carried to the highest tribunal having jurisdiction of the entire state. Dr. Bloch not only describes the mechanical procedure, but he also discusses the human reactions and repercussions that inevitably arise in the relationship of men and management. He shows that the machinery functioned surprisingly well even though put to severe tests occasionally, as in the case of the "insurgents' strike" of 1919.

Dr. Bloch also presents pithy but illuminating descriptions of the structure of the United Mine Workers and the make-up of the operators' associations,

particularly as these organizations function in the collective-bargaining process. He has also appended valuable documents in the form of trade agreements and the constitutions of the international and district unions.

With unions staging a comeback, and with the government recognizing the right to collective bargaining, it is important to know how collective-bargaining machinery is set up and how it functions. There are few industries and areas where the machinery and practices have been so well worked out as in the Illinois coal-mining district. And Dr. Bloch has given us a scholarly treatment of the problem. Those employers who are at present attacking the American Federation of Labor and the unions as viciously monopolistic and as agencies that do not abide by orderly procedure in the conduct of industry should read this admirable study. Dr. Bloch has painstakingly described, analyzed, and evaluated a special situation which, however, warrants general application.

DAVID J. SAPOSS

BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

Constitution and Health. By RAYMOND PEARL. London: Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1933. Pp. 97. 2s. 6d.

A brief but readable treatise on the old theme, formulated by Galen, that a man's inherited constitution, as modified by the environment, has much to do with the individual's health. This theme has had its ups and downs in the medical mind throughout the ages. The work of Pasteur and the conception of infectious disease minimized the factor for a time, but further "spade work" indicated that even the infectious depend, in part, on constitutional factors. So we are now witnessing a re-examination of the ancient theme, and the setting-up of new "constitutional types" of humans, only to discover, in the words of Dr. Pearl, that "an enormous amount of spade work is called for before we can accept or improve on the formulations of Galen and Aristotle."

A. J. CARLSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mental Hygiene in the Community. By CLARA BASSETT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. 394. \$3.50.

This book discusses the need for the inclusion of training in mental hygiene in the preparation of physicians, nurses, teachers, social workers, and others dealing with human problems, and the way in which mental-hygiene service and clinics might be incorporated into community agencies and programs of health, education, recreation, and the like. Each chapter is devoted to a particular agency or profession and ends with a series of questions by which the agency or profession might be judged as to its effective use of mental hygiene.

The function of this book will be to arouse interest in mental hygiene and to stimulate awareness of the function which mental hygiene may have in community agencies dealing with health, education, and recreation.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

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ABSTRACT

Among the natives of South Africa one would expect a vigorous variety of race consciousness, considering the subordinate status of the native, the exploitation of which he is the victim, and his three to one numerical preponderance over the white man. Actually this is not the case, owing, probably, to the disorganization of native life, native subservience, and the might of the white man. Certain symptoms of this collective sentiment, notably among urban natives, may be observed, the more important being: the shift in the mental attitude toward the white people, as evidenced in the decline of white prestige, and the growing sense of grievance among natives; the sporadic expressions of messianism, the outbreak of riots and strikes, and the rise of culture; and the embryonic religious, economic, and political movements among natives suggest a groping race consciousness. The inevitable penetration of the native into the white world will naturally intensify the racial struggle and ultimately give rise to a vigorous race consciousness among South African natives.

Race consciousness is a collective sentiment in which race becomes an object of loyalty and idealization. Through race consciousness the members of a race become a historic group, acquiring a past, aware of a present and aspiring to a future.¹ A racially conscious group is more than a mere aggregation of individuals zoölogically distinguishable from other ethnic groups. It is a social unit struggling for status in a society. It is thus a conflict group, and race consciousness itself is a result of conflict. The race of the group,

¹ Professor R. E. Park has formulated this concept of the historic group. It might be defined as any group—religious, racial, or national—functioning as a dynamic unit in a social order. This involves group consciousness, historic memories, traditions, conflicts, and preoccupation with status.

though not intrinsically significant, becomes an identifying symbol, serving to intensify the sense of solidarity.²

This paper attempts an analysis of race consciousness among the natives of the Union of South Africa. It is hoped that it will also illuminate race consciousness as a type of collective behavior.

The Union of South Africa is one of the British dominions. It is a relatively large country, with an area of 471,917 square miles, about ten times the size of the state of Ohio, and about twice the size of France. Relatively, it is sparsely populated, having a density rate about one-third that of the United States. Its total population was estimated in 1931 to be 8,250,900.³ This population is unequally divided among four racial groups: Europeans, totaling 1,859,400; 193,900 Asiatics (mostly Indians); 597,300 coloreds or mixed bloods and 5,600,000 natives. Racially, the Union tends to be organized on a caste basis, with the non-white races subordinate and the whites dominant. The natives everywhere are dependent upon the European economic order and are subjected to the influences of European culture, though they are on the periphery of the social order of the white man. The coloreds are definitely an integral part of the cultural system, but subordinate, adjusted in the main to their inferior status. The Indians are clearly on the margin of the social structure though an integral part of the economic world. They, like all the subordinate races, are assimilating European culture, and thus penetrating the European social order, or at least asking for entrance. At the top the white man asserts his power, attempts to preserve his prestige, and struggles to prevent any appreciable rise in the status of the low-caste non-whites.

Viewing the situation externally, it would appear as if the natives should be violently race conscious. Although nine-tenths of the natives live on the land, they own only about one-eighth of the land

² For discussions of race consciousness see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 626-34; W. O. Brown, "Nature of Race Consciousness," *Social Forces*, X (October, 1931), 90-97; and "Emergence of Race Consciousness," *Sociology and Social Research*, XV (May-June, 1931), 428-36.

³ The figures given for all population groups, with the exception of those for Europeans, are estimates. There has been no census of the non-white groups in the Union since 1921.

of the Union. The whites control the other seven-eighths, though over half of them are urban. On farm, in factory, and in mines the natives' wages are notoriously low, the white worker averaging a wage six or seven fold that of the native.⁴ Economically the native is a helpless subordinate, and politically he is impotent. His culture is disintegrating, and there is powerful resistance to his penetration of the European world. Numerically he outnumbers the white three to one. If mere exposure to exploitation and numerical strength produced race consciousness, the South African native should possess a vigorous variety of it.

But such is not the case. The native is so completely dominated by the white man that protests appear futile. Where he is in the European system the habit of collective obedience is established, or at least overtly so. The very cultural chaos to which he is heir deters racialism. The territorial and tribal divisions and the new economic and cultural distinctions incident to the growing Europeanization of the native also inhibit the emergence of native solidarity.

Yet there is emerging among South African natives an immature racialism which will ultimately grow into a matured race consciousness. In 1921 a writer spoke of the "sense of solidarity spreading among the Bantu in the Union and in its borders."⁵ And in 1925 a Commission Investigating the Native Separatist Church Movement had this to say: "Throughout the investigation, the commission has received the impression that there is a growth of race consciousness with its natural outcome of social and political aspirations among the Natives of the Union."⁶ The Native Economic Commission of 1930-32 likewise observed the growth of race consciousness among South African natives.⁷

⁴ See S. Herbert Frankel, "Economic and Racial Problems of South Africa," *International Affairs*, XI (May, 1932), 370-86, for a statement of the relative economic positions of natives and whites.

⁵ *Round Table*, XI (September, 1921), 496-97.

⁶ *Report of Native Churches Commission* ("Union Government Pub.," No. 39 [1925]), p. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 22 (1932), p. 100. A witness before this same Commission suggested that "it is conceivable that within another generation the European will be opposed not by a collection of tribes, but a solid wall of Bantu people, united by the common wish to obtain by force whatever is not granted freely" (Mr. H. Kuschke, chief inspector of native education, Orange Free State).

In the main, however, race consciousness among South African natives remains unformed. It is sporadic and ephemeral, not organized and constant, being local, not national, in its manifestations.⁸ There is no native solidarity. Individual natives experience resentment and feel hatred of the white man, but these individuals are not mobilized and afford no basis for programs and movements. We have the beginnings of race consciousness but not, as yet, its developed form.⁹

In attempting to isolate some of the indications of a growing race consciousness, we are dealing with imponderables, and cannot claim any high degree of accuracy. Nor is it assumed that a complete list of the signs can be given.

Roughly, we may classify the symptoms of race consciousness under three heads: the shift in mental attitude of the native with reference to the white man, the emergence of expressional activities and organizations of various kinds among natives, and the rise of specific movements attempting to mobilize racial sentiment to the end of elevating the status of the native.

One indication of the shift in the mental attitude of the native toward the European is the decline in white prestige. The degree of this prestige is roughly indicated by the overt deference of the native, his observance of the ritual defining the status of the races, and the obedience of the native to the white man's commands. Undoubtedly this white prestige is still a potent factor in native-white relations. It is a strong force in the control of black, by white, notably in the purely native areas.

Generally speaking, however, the white man is losing ground. He still has power and status, and he can coerce and control. But he is losing the prestige which makes easy the exercise of his power and the securing of his status. The native does not invariably treat the white man with respect. Whites complain that natives in the native areas are no longer polite and well mannered to white

⁸ Naturally it is more matured in the larger urban centers.

⁹ At present race consciousness among natives is in the "milling" stage. It represents collective behavior rather than collective action. This stage is characteristic of the early phases of any form of group consciousness or the incipiency of any social movement. See Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 866-67.

people. They are often "insolent" to missionaries and traders, and even at times to officials. The trader does not always demand "respect." He will allow himself to be treated as an "equal" in order that he may get the native's trade. The missionary cannot invariably "discipline" the natives for fear of losing their church patronage. Contact with the white man, experience in his world, partial absorption of the white man's culture, and knowledge of the seamy side of white life have all contributed to the decay of white prestige. And this decay is a possible prelude to a rise in race consciousness.

The decline in white prestige is disclosed in the growing distrust by the native of the white man. Although he does trust individual white men, he is suspicious of white people as a whole. He is distrustful of the government, and watches every move with the expectation of being "exploited." Officials who seek to improve the land in native reserves are often thought to be improving it in the interest of future white occupancy. The native views new commissions and investigations with skepticism, recalling that the reports are not always acted upon.¹⁰ The native finds it difficult to believe that the government is intent on advancing his welfare. He remembers bills and acts which have advanced the interests of whites at his expense. The Land Act of 1913, the various masters and servants acts, certain features of the Urban Areas Act, the Riotous Assemblies Bill, the white civilized labor policy, and many items of native policy—all appear to indicate that the government is opposed to his interests. If he is educated he can cite chapter and verse in the Union native policy justifying his disbelief in the government. And the ordinary native has the distrust without being able to rationalize it. To be sure, this distrust is mitigated by individual officials and does not exist in the same degree everywhere; but it does tend to be a collective reaction.

This distrust is even directed against his traditional friends, the missionaries and the liberals. The educated native especially mani-

¹⁰ Thus, speaking before the Native Economic Commission of 1930-32, a native had this to say: "I would like to say this—that, speaking as a native, I can assure the Commission that we hold the highest regard for every member of the Commission. At the same time I am bound to say that as natives we feel 'fed up' with commissions, because the reports of these commissions are as a rule simply shelved."

fests hostility to the missionary, who is accused of not encouraging natives to share the responsibility of the administration of church and school. As a white man the missionary suffers in the face of the rising animosity to whites. The good intentions of liberals interested in interracial co-operation are often suspected by the native. Investigators of conditions among natives tell many stories of native hostility. Thus, there is the case of the native investigator who was told that the whites were merely using him as a tool, his data probably supplying the basis for increase in rents and taxes or for the imposition of some other burdens on poor natives by clever, ruthless, and untrustworthy whites.

The native not only reacts with distrust to the white man; he criticizes him pointedly and sharply. This criticism is formulated by the growing class of native intellectuals, who, if they were ever "loyal" to the racial system of South Africa, are so no longer. Edwards has pointed out that one symptom of radical change in a social system is the transfer of allegiance on the part of intellectuals from the old to a new system.¹¹ In South Africa the native intellectual has ceased to believe in the system. He is a critic of it.

This native intellectual who formulates the grievances of the native is of importance for the student of race consciousness. He is a member of a fairly large class. His education and culture are European, as are his conceptions of his rights. His union with native culture is tenuous. History has severed his connections with his folk origins, while the vested interests and the ideology of the white man have prevented his penetration of the white world. Thus the status of the intellectual is marginal. His own group not only does not supply a sufficient social base for an adequate spiritual and intellectual orientation, but also he is excluded from the European world. Naturally, he feels the pinch of the racial situation more sharply than the average native. His status as a person is more insecure. The acuteness of the problem of his position makes him keenly conscious of his grievances, and these, though probably less vividly experienced, are essentially the grievances of the common

¹¹ Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 63-66.

man among the natives. The pain of his position and his intelligence as a class make him the ideal formulator of native tribulations.¹²

These interpreters of native grievances give content and form to native laments, and assist the natives to an awareness of their martyrdom. They give point and rationalization to the hostility to the white man. At the same time they supply an ideology, a doctrinal pattern, for the "cries" of the native, reminding him of his oppressed condition, assisting him in his realization of an "oppression psychosis," a mood indigenous to, and perhaps essential for, consciousness of race.¹³

The lists of grievances tend to be uniform, which means apparently that the native's conception of his problems has become fairly well stereotyped. Thus, according to these interpreters, the white man has taken most of the native's land while the native lives in the poor areas under congested conditions. The white man restricts the natives occupationally, paying low wages and deliberately keeping him out of the skilled and more highly paid occupations. Color bars, restriction in trade-union membership, and the white civilized labor policy—all come in for denunciations as evidence of the white man's exploitation of the native. He wails about low wages received on farms, in towns, and on mines, contrasting his pittance with the higher wages of whites. He is told that he is the backbone of South African economic life, but he gets only a bare existence for his importance. He is reminded of his political impotence, the heavy taxes imposed upon him, the poor social and educational services provided, the humiliating pass system, the repressionistic native policy, and the hundred and one restrictive rules and laws by which the white man keeps him either out of his social system or subordinate within it. And even though he lacks education, his experience is such that

¹² The native intellectuals might be termed "marginal men," a name given by Professor Park to the man on the periphery of two worlds though really accepted in neither.

¹³ For typical expressions of native grievances see S. M. Molema, *Bantu Past and Present* (1920), and books by Professor Jabavu, such as *The Segregation Fallacy and Other Essays; The Black Problem*; and "Bantu Grievance," in O. Schapera (ed.), *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (London: E. P. Routledge, 1934), pp. 285-99; see also "South African Native Point of View," *Round Table*, XIX, 783-98.

he accepts these formulations as accurate descriptions of his unfortunate position.

The agitation reaches in one way or the other all natives, and there is no way to prevent its diffusion. It appeals, not because it is completely true, though it is, essentially, but because it does supply an explanation of native experiences and native problems. The white man becomes a scapegoat, a convenient explanation of native insecurity and of the chaos and misery to which he is heir.

A second cluster of symptoms of race consciousness among South African natives may be discussed under the general heading of expressional activities and organizations.

In its earlier stages group consciousness manifests itself in expressional activities of various sorts which may appear to the casual onlooker confused and ambiguous. But a closer look reveals that such activities do have a meaning, certainly among the natives of South Africa. For example, the messianism that has frequently cropped out in the Union signifies racial unrest.¹⁴ Such erratic manifestations express the chaos, the disorganization, and the disorientation of native life.¹⁵ At the same time the fact that they tend to take an anti-white form is an indication that the white man is becoming the object of collective antipathy.

The widespread belief in the Garvey idea of Africa for the Africans during the early twenties was significant. Marcus Garvey was in many instances regarded as a messiah. And natives in some places were awaiting the coming of the "Americans" led by their prophet Garvey, to rescue South African natives from the white oppressor.

On occasions the resentment against the white man has been expressed overtly and violently. Immediately after the World War there was a series of strikes, riots, and disturbances among the na-

¹⁴ In this connection the story of the Isaelite sect at Bullholk location at Grahams-town is of interest. See R. L. Buell, *Native Question in Africa* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), I, 120-22, and *Round Table*, XI (1921), 950-53. Mrs. S. G. Millen, in her *Coming of the Lord* (New York, 1928), gives a dramatic rehearsal of a case similar to this.

¹⁵ Wherever "native" cultures have suffered from the impact of "higher" cultures, such movements seemed to have emerged, as witness the case of the American Indian in some instances. Keesing has recently pointed to similar tendencies in the Pacific area. See his "Changing Life of Native Peoples in the Pacific Area: A Sketch in Cultural Dynamics," *AJS*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 443-58. These messianic movements represent attempts at salvation and reorientation.

tives in such places as Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Cape Town. Natives were protesting against low wages, pass carrying, and other demeaning restrictions placed upon them by the white man.¹⁶ Behavior of this sort, sporadic, more or less unorganized, and inclined to die down as quickly as it flares up, is characteristic of the early stages of revolt.

There are other scattered social facts that may be classed with this cluster, which we have termed "expressional activities," symptomatic of a growing race consciousness. Thus, there is an increasing interest, notably in the larger towns, in the development of a native literature, art, and music. Poor, confused, and imitative as these forms of artistic expression among natives are, they contribute to the native's group awareness and serve to intensify his pride. The native press serves both as a medium of expression and as an organ for the formulation of native grievances. As yet its influence tends to be limited to the town native, since the low literacy rate among natives and their poverty prevent a wide circulation of native papers. But, even so, the press is of importance as a factor in the emergence of race consciousness.

One might expect the rise of race consciousness among South African natives to be associated with idealization of native languages and cultures, but such has not been the case. The native intellectual does resent slurs on his history or culture and references to his culture as "primitive" and his religion as "heathen." Now and then he will defend some aspect of native culture such as Kaffir beer or the native attitude toward cattle or Lobola. He may point with pride to great leaders such as Chaka, Moshesh, or Khama. But as yet he has developed no consistent philosophy with reference to the

¹⁶ See Buell, *op. cit.*, I, 125-27; *Round Table*, XX, 420-24, for the story of riots in Durban; *Round Table*, XIX, 194-99, for the story of troubles in Johannesburg; see also *Report of the Commissioners Appointed To Inquire into the Causes of the Native Disturbances at Port Elizabeth*. Buell correctly observes that "these strikes are also symptoms of a growing sense of grievance and capacity for organization, and of a racial consciousness of the Native population" (*op. cit.*, p. 127). These and other symptoms of race consciousness are naturally more clearly manifest in the towns and cities. Here the disintegration of native society has gone farther; natives compete with whites more extensively; the native assimilates more completely than is true in the rural areas European standards and ideas and is more conscious of the demeaning nature of his position. And probably the physical concentration facilitates the diffusion of the gospel of racialism.

meaning of native languages and cultures. There are various reasons for this lack. It is in part an expression of the immaturity of race consciousness. It has some relation to the linguistic and cultural diversity among South African natives. There is no South African native language, nor, in the narrower sense, any uniform native culture. But probably most important of all, the reflective native realizes that salvation lies in the acquisition of European education and culture. He may idealize the Bantu and resent the white man's demeaning term "kaffir" when applied to native folk, but he does not face backward for his cultural orientation. He envisages a Europeanized native people competing for place in the social order which the European has come to think of as peculiarly his own.

In keeping with this tendency the organizations emerging, notably among the town natives, such as the fraternal, recreational, social, and economic, are European in form and purpose. The activities of such organizations will in time contribute to the native's awareness of his problems and intensify his ambition to become a part of European civilization. In a vague sort of way all such activities manifest and intensify race consciousness.

Finally, there are certain movements along the religious, economic, and political fronts of native life which are indicative of race consciousness, though not very far advanced. There are no genuinely racial movements attacking the problems of the native's status with any measure of success. The claim is that the somewhat embryonic racialism of the South African native is beginning to express itself in attempted mobilization of the native for the realization of certain objectives.

An important organized manifestation of race consciousness are the native separatist churches. In 1921 it was stated by the acting prime minister that there were 160 native Christian sects. Some of these are local and of little importance, while others have developed considerable strength.¹⁷ Some originated as splits from the missionary controlled churches; others are broken fragments of native churches. Many originated in quarrels between the mission-

¹⁷ See *Round Table*, XI (September, 1921), 953; also *Report of Native Churches Commission*.

ary and native ministers; others merely represent the ambitions of a native religious leader for the control of a church. These separatist churches are not always anti-white in sentiment, the Shembeites of Natal, for example, seeming to lack this feeling. But the tendency is for the adherents to be anti-European in outlook. As the Native Churches Commission put it, "While no Separatist Church has been known to start with an anti-white motive, their separateness attracts to them the disaffected among natives and some of them acquire a more or less anti-white bias."¹⁸

In the economic world the native feels the restrictions of the white man much more keenly than in the religious life. Not more than one-third of the natives are Christians, and the coercive element is not particularly important in religion. But all natives feel the exploitative power of the farmer, the mine-owner, and the white "baas." Naturally race consciousness finds expression in protests against economic servitude and in organizations proposing to improve economic conditions. Reference has been made to the periodic riots, and spontaneous revolts, unsupported by ideologies or organizations. The most significant of all manifestations of the tendency toward organized race consciousness are the Industrial Commercial Worker's Union and the Communist Party. The I.C.U., as the Industrial Commercial Union is called, was initiated in 1919 for the improvement of the native's economic status. It grew slowly until 1924, when it began to spread rapidly over the Union. Its followers looked upon it as a solution of their problems, believing that by joining it the town workers would get high pay and the rural people high wages and more land. For a time it was a mass movement, and its leaders were folk heroes. Whites trembled at its power, and the government feared it. But, as was natural, considering the disorganization of native life, the essential lack of unity, and the inability of the organization to fulfil its promises, the movement soon went to pieces; factionalism emerged; graft and corruption among the leaders were revealed; and the rank and file were left disillusioned.¹⁹ Today the organization is split into factions. It is no longer a move-

¹⁸ *Report of Native Churches Commission*, p. 31.

¹⁹ For brief accounts of the I.C.U. see Buell, *op. cit.*, I, 128-30, and W. G. Ballenger, *Christian Students in Modern South Africa* (1930), pp. 180-83.

ment and its leaders are discredited. Any native organization is likely to suffer the same fate. The leader is likely to become a mere professional organizer and agitator, more interested in the profit to be gained from his organization than in its ideals and objectives. This is not a reflection on native organizations and leaders but an indication of the lack of sustained popular support for any organization or movement appealing for native "rights." It expresses the immaturity of race consciousness and the weakness of the native folk—facts of recurrent emphasis in this paper.

The Communist party is also at work among natives. Thus far it is more a sect than a movement. It is doubtful whether the small native following understands the Marxian ideology or whether it is reacting against capitalism. Natives are communists because communism is a form of revolt, of protest against the economic order manned by white masters, under which they suffer. Their radicalism is really racialism. The economic welfare of the native masses is always blocked by the South African racial caste system. The struggle for wages, for land, and for economic rights by necessity becomes a struggle for status, a racial struggle. And race consciousness becomes the driving sentiment of the movement. The native labor-unionist or communist is thus not in consciousness a proletarian but rather a member of an oppressed and disinherited race.

The religious and economic manifestations discussed are in part manifestations of native revolt. They suggest stirrings among the native masses and indicate some tendency toward the mobilization and organization of racial sentiment. There has likewise been some protest against the demeaning civic and political status of the native and some attempts to win civic and political rights. The African National Congress is the most significant expression of this aspect of race consciousness. It was founded in 1909, and, like all native organizations, has had a checkered career. Its main appeal has been to the Europeanized native. At present it is faction-ridden and weak. Its lack of influence and achievement is not explicable in terms of the venality of its leaders, as sometimes suggested. Rather its failures express the power of the European and the subordination of the native. The organization becomes a mere stage on which ambitious natives may play at leading the oppressed Bantu out of

bondage into freedom. All native organizations seem to be futile—a futility born of the entrenched power of the white man and the exposed weakness of the native.

To summarize: There are symptoms of race consciousness among the South African natives, but as yet it lacks maturity, form, and organization. The economic and political groups are ineffective. They represent somewhat futile attempts at organizing a race consciousness that as yet hardly exists. As beginnings they are significant, but as achievements they are of little moment.

In this short paper an analysis of the reasons for the immaturity of race consciousness among South African natives cannot be given. Possible explanatory factors have been suggested, such as the divisions within native life, the might of the white man, and the incomplete Europeanization of the native. It can be assumed that as the native absorbs European culture he will attempt to penetrate the European world, economic, political, religious, and social, and that out of the conflict born of this penetration race consciousness will emerge. The disintegration of native culture, the pressure of white governments, and the repressive policies will contribute to native solidarity. Growing sophistication will give a knowledge of European nationalism and of the techniques and organizations necessary to develop it. Bantu nationalism may ultimately become a new variety of group consciousness, challenging white supremacy in Southern Africa.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM INDUSTRIALIZATION OF NATIVE LIFE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

In Central Africa racial irritations are found in their simplest, most direct, and rawest forms. The question of land ownership has become an acute problem, with the setting aside of vast areas for white occupation, limitation of natives on reservations, and the holding of undesignated territories for future white occupation. Resentment has been expressed against the head tax levied upon every native male. The color bar, based on the European's fear of native competition, places vocational restrictions on the native and discriminates against him markedly in the matter of wages. It prevents rapid fusion of cultures and gives concrete expression to the idea of white-race superiority. Against this, native resentment is growing. European intolerance of native culture and traditional practices also makes for hostility. Only recently has any attempt been made by a few missionaries to blend the custom of the European and Bantu into an amalgamated system.

One of the most fruitful fields for a specific contemporary study of racial irritations is Central Africa. Because of the comparative isolation of the territory and the recency of the white man's advent, they are found here in their simplest, most direct, and rawest form. The situation in the Congo Belge and Northern Rhodesia, both copper-mining territories, is acute, transitional, and has practical significance for the stability of world-markets and international comity. The bare outlines of these problems only can be stated here, and the race conflict elements indicated.

It seems anomalous that in a territory where the population density is but 4.66 persons per square mile (in comparison with Belgium's 600) that the question of land ownership should be the one of fundamental importance. Yet a British official, for many years resident in Northern Rhodesia, sagaciously observes: "There is but one great problem in South Central Africa, viz.: the land problem. The others are connected with or subsidiary to it."

Density of population means little when one remembers that the land here is far from uniform in its supporting power; that vast stretches are arid and unproductive; that vaster areas are far from railroads and markets; that much of it is uninhabitable because of

pests and scourges such as the tsetse fly; that it requires an average of 4,000 acres to support a single European family; that under the superficial methods of native agriculture many times as much land is necessary to support a native village as would be required under the European system; that the native population, with the elimination of war and the improvement of medical and hygienic conditions, is increasing at the rate of 32.9 per cent every decade, i.e., it is doubling every thirty years—this in spite of an infant death-rate of 40 per cent of all births. So the question of land ownership is one of more significance than would superficially appear.

This land question, however, which is the most aggravating single issue from Kenya to the Cape, has only recently become acute in Central Africa. Until the tenure of the native in this region was threatened, he seemed to have been indifferent to ownership or alienation of land at the hands of the white man. But in the last decade, with the setting aside of vast areas for white occupation, with the limitation of natives to reserves, and with the holding of undesignated territories for future white occupation, his incipient fears of the European have flamed into resentful fire.

Real property in the European sense is unknown to the African native. One may own tools, weapons, implements, ornaments, utensils, and in some measure his hut. He has the usufruct of land and herds, but no claim on them in fee simple, and no right to transmit them to posterity. Technically, land belongs to the chief as representative of the tribe, and this ownership is inalienable and supernaturally sanctioned. Hence, to be driven from the land, sacred to his great dead, has turned his world upside down.

The native knew in a vague way that this had happened with disastrous results to his brother Bantu in the Union of South Africa, but he scarcely thought it could happen to him. White settlers, many of whom had come north from the Union, brought the southern attitudes of fear and control with them. They knew that natives were more prolific than Europeans; that they were measurably immune to the diseases of the district; that they were potential competitors, and thus were a menace to white security; that if they possessed the white man's advantages they might easily repossess the land; and that with a little education and skill they became cheeky and un-

manageable. So the notion gained ground that they must be segregated into separate areas and kept there, except to fulfil the demand for labor by the white man. These reserves should be arranged in such a manner as to leave free large tracts of good land available to markets, roads, and railroads, for white purchase, and natives in rich areas should be gradually moved into other territory. The Union reserve system which has been the pattern for the northern protectorates has long been vigorously criticized.

The minority report of the Union Native Economic Commission, 1930-32, written by F. A. W. Lucas, in spite of its conservativeness of statement, is a smashing arraignment of the system as it now stands. Dr. McMillan attacks it on the ground of its arrestment of a decent standard of living. "The reserves," he says, "are many of them either near the lowest possible level of subsistence or below it."¹

The report of the native commissioner of the Ciskei at King Williamstown to the Secretary for Native Affairs indicates the menace of the reserve situation there:

The scope for improvement is immense and the need urgent, and unless obvious measures are taken and taken soon we shall be faced with recurring shortages of food and the creation of a poor black problem more crushing than the poor white question which has exercised the brains of statesmen for years and is costing the country increasingly large sums of money. . . .

Such comments are still made in spite of the following timely caution offered by Mr. P. W. C. Norton as early as 1925:

I advanced the view that an obligation rests on government to provide every native with a site where he can reside permanently. I am not advocating free grants, but simply the duty to indicate where any native who so desires may purchase and obtain land for this purpose.

The only reasonable extenuation of the South African reserves lies in the fact that, when created, they seemed to be adequate and, if they had not been set apart, the bulk of the natives would probably be entirely landless now.

Much resentment has been expressed against the head tax levied upon every male of the indigenous population. This varies from 10s. to 12s. 6d., depending on the district. It seems at first sight to be a paltry annual payment, especially as there is no land tax. But it falls

¹ W. M. McMillan, "Development of Africa," *Political Quarterly*, III, 552 ff.

on the native only; and the native is on a barter, not a cash economy. He has no cash crop; and even if he had, he lives too far from the centers of civilization and the roads are too precarious to sell it for money on the white man's market. The only thing he has to sell is his labor on the white man's farm or, better still, at twenty-two cents a day in the white man's mine. Hence, he feels that the head tax is a governmental device to force him to leave his home and labor on contract, for from six months to three years, to pay the inescapable annual tax for himself or his brother tribesmen.

In the allocation of these taxes he has no voice. He has no vote, no representation. He is under a native commissioner and a small constabulary or trained alien guard. While the necessity for paying the head tax tends to drive the able-bodied natives of all territories into the employment of Europeans, there are some groups which are more desirable as workers than others, more efficient, intelligent, tractable. These sections are depleted of their man-power—not infrequently one finds a Babemba district with 60 per cent to 80 per cent of its men working in the mines. In such districts the home situation is tragic. Under the rigid sex division of labor in the cassava-raising territories, the heavy bushveld is cut by the men alone, for no woman may touch the ax. The trees are burned and the seeds and slips are planted in the ashes before the heavy rains. Roots are dug only after three years' cultivation, and thus the absence of the men disrupts the entire social system and extends the hunger months sometimes for half a year. During these hunger months the women range the forest gathering wild roots, barks, and grasses to keep life in the bodies of their children until the return of the husband and father. Native resentment may be summarized thus: "We pay a head tax; the white man does not. In spite of the fact that it is our country, the white man governs; we do not."

Another insidious bone of contention is the color bar. In the Union the native labors under a distinct economic handicap. There are certain trades, crafts, and callings he may not enter under any consideration. For the labor he actually performs he need not be paid more than one-fifth the wages received by the white man for identical service. This discrimination is legal under the Color Bar Act passed by the Union government in 1925, under which the government may

rule that no native may be employed in connection with machinery in mines or works. Using the color bar as a pattern, the northern colonists, mine workers, and other employers of labor have made a wide difference in the wages of white and black. The system is defended on the ground that there are many unskilled whites who need labor but are as incapable of carrying through a complicated task as the native from the isolated kraal. Wages, however, must be paid them sufficient to enable them to live decently as white men. The Bantu standard is low, and he doesn't need the higher wage. It seems to the natives grossly unjust to debar them from industrial progress on the ground of color alone.

"The white man has taught us to labor for him," he complains. "He has forced us to leave our villages and gardens at a time when they should be tilled, forced us to live in his towns, and made us dependent upon him. Now that we have learned to do his kind of work he tells us the task is over, go back home, you are too ambitious, and you know too much; only white men can do this work. Where shall we go? We have no homes in the country. What shall we do?"² As a result, the resentment of native peoples is at a dangerously high tension.

Is it any wonder that in the fall of 1932, when a celebrated American spoke to native audiences in Livingstone, Lusaka, and N'dola on the "American Negro," emphasizing his rise from slavery to freedom and theoretic equality, native riots broke out within twenty-four hours and had to be vigorously suppressed by the guards of the district commissioners?

The economic color bar—whether legalized, as in the Union, or invisible but none the less real, as in Central Africa—rests squarely on the white man's fear of native competition. This fear complex is the shadowy ghost which stalks through every discussion of race relations in Africa. Although its existence cannot be justified, it can be easily explained. The European keenly realizes that he is vastly outnumbered by the Bantu, that the native population is multiplying rapidly, that no European can be physically well adjusted to the tropical habitat, that he has invested fixed capital, and that there is

² A. Phillips, *The Bantu Are Coming* (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930), pp. 68–69 (Summary).

danger of the rise of a miscegenate race similar to that in Porto Rico or Jamaica. This realization places him constantly on the defensive, against even the beginnings of the growth of native power. It rests on a fallacy as fundamental as it is pernicious, and results in superficial economic thinking. As Henry Clay, economic adviser to the Bank of England, in his recent *Report on the Industrial Relations in Southern Rhodesia* has pointed out, "the native population, far from being a menace, properly understood is the country's greatest asset."³

The economic color bar with its concomitant in the white group's fear-complex ramifies into the fields of social recognition, commerce, and the increasing legal restrictions on native mobility and behavior. It prevents a rapid fusion of cultures and gives concrete expression to the idea of white-race superiority. While European and Bantu live in close juxtaposition in Africa, there is a vast gulf of social distance between them. They are in and of two separate social worlds. European standards are high, in education, health, hygiene, industrial efficiency, living, art, music, recreation, food requirements, and thrift. In the few cases where the native conforms to these standards he is measurably rewarded by the white man's recognition, but in the main the conformation to European patterns is slow or impossible and elicits only the white man's pity, exploitation, or contempt. By reason of the latter attitude, the native finds it hard to adopt the invader's culture or to harmonize it with his own. This continuous disability further increases the social distance between him and the white man.

Through the earlier stages of the contact before the present century, the white man and his ways were sacrosanct. The native tentatively accepted the European's definition of the Bantu's inferior status; but with the opening of the Southern Rhodesia mines in 1906, the Katanga mines in 1911, and the N'dola workings later, and especially as a result of his participation in the World War, he conceived the social distance as susceptible of being bridged. He had made the discovery that the white man had feet of clay. Grievances against white injustice replaced the blind admiration. Although these might be masked by a smiling face and a deferential demeanor, they were

³ P. 42.

vociferously aired among his own people in the kraals, townships, and compounds. There were unquestionably values to be gained through adopting elements in the white man's culture, but the grievances eclipsed them and continued to fester until they erupted in native riots at Port Elizabeth in 1920, Bloemfontain in 1925, Durban in 1929, Livingstone, Lusaka, and N'dola in 1932. The risings were initiated not by the raw Bantu but by semi-detribalized natives living in the towns, and were the explosive outbreaks of long-repressed resentments which had had little opportunity for expression. These irks are frequently trivial, but they travel through the native population by underground news routes so common in primitive society, until they become a rallying-point for race consciousness. Professor Brooks of Pretoria University has stated it thus:

It has often been observed that little things seem to count for more with natives than big ones. It is not so much unjust or unwise systems as tactless administration which causes trouble, boorishness, incivility, tactlessness, carelessness for native susceptibilities, unnecessary complication of officialdom. These have done more to rouse ill feeling between black and white than land acts, exclusion from political rights or other legislation.⁴

Numerous conferences with natives over a wide area, and replies to a request for life-histories sent to four hundred natives in thirty different linguistic groups in South Central Africa, evidenced a surprising similarity of complaint. A charge which occurred in every conference and in all but a single life-history was that the white man had no respect for the native, regarded him as inferior, and "treated him like a dog." The following is typical:

White men are unkind to their servants. They only care for them as long as they are an asset. They do not care how they are fed or housed. If they own a horse, the animal receives much more sympathy than their employees, for often they visit the stable to see how it is housed and fed. . . . This teaches us that the humanity of the European is very shallow although his education may be very deep.⁵

A native who had labored in the mines complained that in certain of them "we had to wear boots to protect our shins against the white gang boss. We could not understand his directions, and he would not

⁴ E. H. Brookes, *The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day* (1924).

⁵ From a life-history of a northern Bantu.

stop to explain." A Shangaan protested similar treatment thus: "A farmer was my bitterest enemy, for he lashed my comrades with a shambok, so that they would like to die, when the cattle went over bounds." The resentment in both cases seems to be not so much against the corporal punishment itself as against the affront to native dignity and self-respect. The native insists on recognition and resents any treatment in which it is absent.

A white man will expect you to address him as Mr., but he dare not return the compliment. A white man expects you to greet him first if you are black, even if he knows you very well, but if you are wise you don't greet him at all if he is among his own white friends. If you do you'll be terribly disappointed because he will either pretend not to know you or will evade you and look the other way.⁶

Sometimes the complaint is that the white man refuses to recognize the Bantu when he has conformed to white standards. A Mochwana tribesman said:

My education has been a disappointment to me. Although I have a certificate such as is in possession by a white man, yet I am not paid at the same rate; and, further, a half-caste is better paid than myself or any other of my group qualified in that way. The average white man in dealing with my group is unable to understand that there are those of my race that are already his equals, and thus in his treatment of the black man he becomes impatient, unfair, and lacks any understanding of him. What incentive is there for improvement according to the white man's standard?

The native sees the extension of the color bar even into the administration of justice. His argument may be conservatively summarized as follows: "The white official is always unfair when a case at law involves a white man and a native. In the rare cases in which he is found guilty the white man is never punished as severely as are we. Moreover, we are compelled to conform to a changing law which we do not understand. We do not know European law until we are arrested for its infraction. Customary law is talked over in our native villages until everybody is familiar with it, but when we are brought before the white commissioner he says: 'It is the law! There can be no discussion of it.' This situation is vivid in the mind of the Bantu, one of whom wrote, 'The government official . . . seems to me to be an icicle personified. He is frigid, austere, and forbidding.' "

⁶ From a life-history of a Gamopedi.

Again, because of their economic inferiority, natives are charged more by the white and Indian shopkeepers for what they purchase than the Europeans have to pay. Perhaps because the purchases are of smaller quantities involving greater inconvenience and because the shopkeeper's turnover is slow he may be entitled to a slightly higher margin on staple products.

Another cause for misunderstanding and incipient antagonism is the widespread native notion that the white trader has been abetted by the government official in suppressing his ancient industries and thus forcing him to purchase foreign wares. It is true that the crude iron-smelters are cold and unused. One sees their ruins scattered over the countryside. No longer are garden implements and weapons manufactured by the local smithy. Native looms are still; and cotton is no longer grown. Undoubtedly, the cheapness of foreign products is a sufficient explanation for their disappearance, but everywhere the white man is blamed for their passing. In certain cases there have been prohibitions of smelting operations, but these were without official sanction. The government had to prohibit the growing of native cotton, but unfortunately the reasons for it are not widely known. White settlers were unable to raise clean cotton as long as the natives in the vicinity refused to burn the fields over periodically to destroy the various pests. In the interests of the entire community, native cotton culture had to be eliminated. The motives of these misunderstood proscriptions, however, were added to the more obvious exploitations above mentioned, and thus more fuel was thrown upon the flames of racial hatred.

A final set of problems may be grouped about the difficulty of blending white and Bantu cultures. The production and industrial methods of Europeans are crystallized. They may be inconsistent, but they have enough scientific basis to be thoroughly defensible. They are stubborn and susceptible of change only as a result of changes in the homeland. There is a proper way to plow, to reap, to rotate crops, to select seeds, to improve herds; proper machinery for every purpose; a proper planting time; and a proper system of preparing produce for market. "What," asks the settler, "has the native to offer? Let him do as we do. Ours are the best modes. We can

demonstrate their superiority even in Africa." All of which is quite true; but the colonist does not stop there. He carries over the same cocksureness in his attitude toward native traditional culture patterns. "What," he inquires, "is the value of initiation rites for boys and the mysteries for girls? We haven't got them. The native does not need them. Let him get rid of those silly practices and educate his children as white men do. Why should the Bantu pay lobolo for his young bride, even when he is married under English law, to convince her that she indeed is married? And as to polygyny, it is as absurd as the native method of agriculture. If the native boy sloughs off an antiquated set of superstitions, acquires some independence, and discovers he has rights even against his chief, why shouldn't he? Let him make a thorough job of it." Thus the colonist delivers himself of the popular white philosophy—make over African society into the image of our own, substitute the white man's mores, standards, institutions, laws, methods, and education without compromise. There is no place for native civilization—in fact, it is not civilization. But there is another side to this clash of cultures. Whatever else may be said for the native culture pattern, it is consistent, highly conventional, synchronized through many centuries of trial and error, sanctioned by the great dead and the nebulous inhabitants of another world. The native insists that it must not be changed. It cannot be without the risk of bringing down upon him and his group untold misery. Any disaster—an accident, an illness, a death, a fire, a plague, even a variation in the time of the big or little rains—is interpreted as a punishment for an infraction of traditional custom. So that the superstitious sanctions give the mores of the tribe an insidious and uncanny obstinacy to change.

How strong these sanctions are may be seen in the persistent killing of twins of unlike sex, the exposure to death of the child cutting his upper teeth before the lower ones come through, the wholesale poisoning of the enemies of a chief or head man after his untimely decease, with which cases the courts continually have to deal, the loading of paramounts like Kasembe and Chitamakulu with supernumerary wives until, to quote his subjects, they are "as numerous as the ants in an ant heap."

CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND THE NEGRO

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ABSTRACT

In order to present quantitatively the theory of cultural participation, data are utilized on the relative participation of the Negro in the economic and educational fields. Economic data indicate a group becoming less rural; industrial and business fields are functioning more and more as channels of participation; the large proportion of Negroes are still on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder; the proportion of professional men and women is increasing. In both quantity and quality of education there is a definite lag behind the white group, but this lag is decreasing notably through reduction of illiteracy, increased attendance in elementary schools, and growth of high schools and colleges. The death-rates and morbidity figures indicate also a lesser degree of cultural participation of Negroes. There is a definite trend toward increased participation in the discoveries of science, which in turn affect ability to prevent, withstand, and counteract disease.

The cultural store within a complex civilization can be participated in by any given group to only a limited degree.¹ It is proposed to examine the possibilities of presenting the theory of cultural participation in quantitative form. One may select a specific group and examine the possibility of obtaining quantitative indices of its participation, dependent upon the data available. Specifically, are there any indices and relationships obtainable and verifiable in regard to degree of participation in the complex American culture of the various racial groups within that culture? The Negro group may be studied as illustrative of the possibilities inherent in the quantitative expression of cultural participation.

For a control group one may take another native group, that of whites of native parentage; or, where this is not possible, broader classifications may be utilized. The index of the degree of participation in the Negro group may be compared with this latter group, thus giving a better basis for judging the relative degree of participation. Three aspects of primary significance are the economic, the educational, and the bio-social.

In an industrially permeated culture such as exists in present-day

¹An introductory discussion of relative degrees of participation in culture has been presented in *Culture and Human Behavior* by Sanford Winston (New York City: Ronald Press, 1933), chap. x.

United States, the comparative occupational classifications of a particular group form a major index to participation in both the group life and the cultural store available. Economic participation is a major factor in fuller participation in other spheres of a civilization such as exists in the United States. The ability to take advantage of economic channels results not alone in gaining the fruits of the economic heritage; but through the media of wages, or salaries, or profits, access is also attainable to other phases of the culture, such as more desirable housing, the ownership of an automobile, or attendance at plays and musicals.

The Bureau of the Census has collected data from which it is possible to arrive at certain general conclusions regarding the economic status of Negroes as compared with native whites. Of the Negroes ten years of age and over in 1930, 40.7 per cent were engaged in agriculture, as compared with 21.4 per cent for native whites of the same age category; 18.6 per cent were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, as compared with 27.5 per cent of the native whites; 3.3 per cent were engaged in trade, as compared with 13.7 per cent of the native whites; 2.5 per cent were engaged in professional services, as compared with 7.9 per cent of the native whites; and 28.6 per cent were engaged in domestic and personal service, as compared with 6.6 per cent of the native whites.² In the fields of agriculture and of domestic and personal service, the proportions of Negroes far exceed those of native whites. In all other categories the reverse is true.³ Those who do attain the higher classifications of business, professions, and clerical and skilled labor do not, as a group, receive comparable compensation with native whites,⁴ thus limiting the importance of the relative occupational advancement.

The general figures conceal the effect of the employment of women. A larger proportion of males exists in manufacturing and mechanical industries and in trade than for the Negro group as a

² *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, V, 74-75.

³ Also, see National Urban League, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions* (New York City: Alexander Press, 1930), p. 10.

⁴ For discussions of this point, see Ambrose Caliver, *A Personnel Study of Negro College Students* ("Columbia University Contributions to Education," No. 484 [1931]), and Louise Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1930), chap. iv.

whole. The somewhat smaller proportion of men than women in professional categories is due to the great number of women teachers. A far smaller percentage of men than women is occupied in domestic and personal services. Negro women are under the double handicap of race and sex, a combination making it difficult for them to take advantage of openings which may be available to the men of their race.

Although it is not primarily the purpose of this paper to discuss trends, the following analysis may aid in giving a less static picture of cultural participation. Data are available in sufficiently accurate form for 1910, 1920, and 1930. The year 1910 is chosen as the first year for comparative purposes, as it represents the census period prior to the last great migration of Negroes north- and city-ward. During this period the percentage of Negroes engaged in agriculture decreased steadily in contrast to the increases in manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade, and domestic service. The decided trend upward on the part of the small numbers engaged in the professions has been of especial significance. Specifically, there were in professional services 1.3 per cent in 1910, 1.7 per cent in 1920, and 2.5 per cent in 1930. Actually, the number engaged in professions increased from approximately 68,000 in 1910 to 136,000 in 1930. This represents a gain of 98.9 per cent in the professions, as compared with a gain of only 6.0 per cent for the working population as a whole. The great proportion of Negroes, however, are still on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder; and studies as to comparative income of Negroes and whites show the meager urban incomes of a large portion of Negro workers.

To complete the mathematical occupational picture, it is necessary to turn to that 40.7 per cent gainfully employed Negroes engaged in agriculture in 1930. Of these, 20.5 per cent of the Negro farm operators own their land, while 79.4 per cent are tenants, the few remaining being classified as managers.⁵ The percentage of owners has steadily decreased during the twentieth century while the percentage of tenants has steadily increased. Furthermore, the proportion of cash tenants has decreased while the economically lower-grade croppers and other Negro tenants have increased.

⁵ *The Negro Farmer in the United States* (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1930), p. 37.

The departure of large numbers of Negroes northward may in the future leave a greater agricultural opportunity for those remaining in the South. Thus far, however, this has not been the general result.

To sum up: The group is becoming less rural and conversely more urban, the industrial and business fields increasingly occupied; and there is an increase in the proportion of professional men and women, in itself a significant symptom of increased cultural participation. The concentration of workers in the relatively poorly paid unskilled and semi-skilled occupations is partially balanced by the increase in the ability of the group to support a growing number and percentage of professional men and women. It remains to be seen to what degree the filling of the unskilled and semi-skilled fields is preliminary to upward mobility in the economic sphere.

Another of the more fundamental indices of cultural participation is that of educational status. Education may be looked at from many standpoints; and one of these is the function of education, itself a field of cultural participation, as a channel for participation in other aspects of a culture.

Turning to the field of educational indices, we find that they vary all the way from the lowest index, as revealed in illiteracy data, to the highest, as shown in collegiate activity. Illiteracy data are particularly pertinent, owing to the fact that the biological factor operating in cultural participation is controlled for all practical purposes. Since all persons except a fraction of 1 per cent are biologically capable of becoming literate, the percentage of illiteracy becomes an adequate index of one phase of cultural participation. In 1930, despite the comparatively rapid decrease in the percentage of illiteracy during the past few decades, 16.3 per cent of the Negro population ten years of age and over were still classified as illiterate, while 1.8 per cent of the native white population of native parentage were so enumerated.⁶ Studying the two most significant age groups with respect to the long-time trend of illiteracy, it is found that 5.3 per cent of Negro children ten to fourteen years of age are illiterate, as against only 0.6 per cent of the native white children of native parentage in the same age group. In the oldest age classification,

⁶ *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States* (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Govt. Printing Office), p. 275.

sixty-five years of age and over, 55.7 per cent of the Negro group are illiterate, as contrasted with 5.2 per cent of the white group.⁷ It is evident from such data that Negroes are definitely handicapped in their participation in the culture available. On the other hand, this particular barrier decreases progressively as the age groups become younger.⁸

The classification of "literate" in turn represents the widest variation in ability to participate in culture, ranging, as it does, from those who are barely able to read and write to those who have advanced degrees and who theoretically, if not actually in all cases, are fitted to enjoy more completely the values of modern civilization. Significant data with regard to our public schools are those which give the ratio of enrolment to school population in eighteen southern states for the school year 1929-30. For Negro children the percentage of enrolment, five to seventeen years of age, inclusive, was 78.6; for white children, 89.4 per cent.⁹

For this same period, school attendance for Negro children for the United States as a whole, seven to thirteen years of age, was 87.3 per cent, while attendance for native whites of native parentage for the same age group was 96.1 per cent.¹⁰ This poor attendance record for Negro children is linked with both the occupational and health indices, for child labor and poor health conditions are two significant factors in its determination.¹¹ According to the recently published *Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund*,¹² "elementary school attendance . . . is probably the most searching test of Negro education."

When the distribution of students according to classes is considered, wide variations are observable. These indicate the limited

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Sanford Winston, *Illiteracy in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), chap. vi.

⁹ *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1928-1930* (U.S. Bureau of Education, Govt. Printing Office), Vol. II, chap. ii, p. 70.

¹⁰ *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States*, p. 261.

¹¹ *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1928-1930*, Vol. I, chap. xvii, p. 41.

¹² (New York City, 1932), p. 34. Also, see *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1928-1930*, Vol. II, chap. ii, p. 70.

degree of formal education obtained by even the present generation of Negro children. For example, 34.4 per cent of all Negro children in the public schools of the eighteen southern states in 1929-30 were in the first grade, in contrast with 19.1 per cent of the white children. Seventy three and four-tenths per cent of the Negro children were enrolled below the fifth grade; 53.9 per cent of the white children. Only 1.5 per cent of the Negro pupils had reached the third and fourth years of high school, against 5.8 per cent of the white children.¹³ This last contrast is due to the lack of adequate high-school facilities and to the retardation of pupils, as well as dropping out of school. It is significant that the Negro schools of the South are largely rural with limited facilities for educational development.¹⁴

Data with respect to higher institutions of learning for Negroes are necessarily less specific with regard to details. The trend can be readily observed, however, from the fact that the fifteen institutions for Negroes listed among the universities, colleges, and professional schools in 1919-20 had increased "as the advancement in the standards of higher institutions for Negroes warranted it" to forty-one in 1929-30.¹⁵ The estimates of Negro college students in 1930 vary, but probably the number exceeded 20,000. Some authorities place the figure as high as twenty-five thousand students.¹⁶ Even so, this is a low figure in comparison with the white enrolment, taking into consideration the size of the population groups.

The various educational indices reveal what is, on the whole, a decided increase in the extent of participation in this sphere. Although there is a definite lag behind the white group in both the quantity and quality of education, this lag is decreasing notably. If some type of more or less formalized education is one necessary prerequisite to participation on a large scale in a complex civiliza-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁴ S. L. Smith, in a survey of Negro schools in fourteen southern states in 1925-26 found over 90 per cent of them to be rural. See "Negro Public Schools in the South," *Southern Workman*, Vol. LVII (1928). Moreover, Fred McCuistion in *Financing Schools in the South* (1930), found that the average expenditure in 1929-30 per white pupil enrolled in fourteen southern states was \$44.31, in comparison with \$12.57 for Negroes.

¹⁵ *Biennial Survey of Education*, Vol. II, chap. iv, p. 5.

¹⁶ *Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund*, p. 39.

tion, the Negro group may be said to be taking rapid steps in this direction through reduction of illiteracy, increased attendance in elementary schools, and growth of high schools and colleges.

Death-rate and morbidity figures furnish indices of cultural participation of sufficient reliability and completeness to supply comparable data. In one sense, a sufficient degree of participation in the results of the discoveries and inventions of preventive and applied medicine and social sanitation is a *sine qua non* of survival.

The unrefined data on death-rates show a decline from 24.2 per 1,000 population for 1910 to 17.3 per 1,000 for 1927 for Negroes. This latter compares with a rate of 10.8 for whites in 1927.¹⁷ In 1929 the mortality rate for Negroes for the registration states was 16.9; that for whites, 11.3.¹⁸ Of course, in a further study of cultural participation in the bio-social field, the control of the age factor would be a necessary next step. But for our primary purpose, the investigation of the possibilities inherent in the objective comparison of cultural participation, even the crude data show the discrepancy between the Negro and white groups and the continued increase in cultural participation of both, in so far as the decline in the crude death-rate is one index of increased participation.

A closer approach to the subject of participation is obtained through the examination of data for specific diseases, such as typhoid fever and tuberculosis. Since, with the building-up of cultural techniques such as modern sanitary and preventive measures, these diseases can be virtually eliminated, they are excellent indicators of cultural participation of peoples.

Hence, irrespective of possible biological differences as revealed in relative immunity and susceptibility, comparative data on diseases of the type mentioned are germane for our purpose. Data in regard to mortality for various diseases are available for the registration states which in 1929¹⁹ included all the states except Texas and South Dakota. For the registration states, the proportion of Negro deaths

¹⁷ *Some Recent Trends in Race Relations*, Commission on Interracial Co-operation (Atlanta, Georgia, 1933), p. 7.

¹⁸ *Mortality Statistics, 1929* (U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Govt. Printing Office), p. 7.

¹⁹ The latest year for which these data are available.

to total deaths for all causes in 1929 was 13.6 per cent.²⁰ This compares with a population proportion in the same area of only 9.5 per cent. These crude percentages point to a disproportionate lack of participation of the Negro in those phases of culture which tend to reduce death-rates. Mortality data for specific diseases, where such diseases are known to be subject to control, should be revealing in this regard.

Those diseases under the heading of "tuberculosis of the respiratory system" are so importantly affected by the cultural situation of both the general community and its constituent groups that they form a good index. For the Negro group, deaths due to this general cause formed 23.7 per cent of the total deaths in this category. This compares with a 13.6 percentage of Negro to all deaths and with a 9.5 percentage of Negroes in the general population of the area under consideration.

Negro deaths due to malaria are affected by conditions largely peculiar to the southern United States, and yet these conditions are essentially eradicable by means known to science. The proportion of Negro deaths to all deaths for this disease in 1929 was 46.5 per cent, as compared with the 9.5 percentage of Negroes in the general population. Deaths from typhoid and paratyphoid fever are substantially affected by unfavorable environmental factors, evidences of lack of cultural participation. The proportion of Negro to all deaths in this category was 29.2 per cent in 1929.

These representative types of disease are important numerically as well as representative of diseases which are largely preventable by means lying within the present store of cultural knowledge. The data are utilizable for our purpose because they are indicative of the comparative cultural participation of the Negro and white groups and are an index of the comparative lack of participation of the Negro group. On the other hand, the mortality rates for these diseases have decreased steadily for Negroes as well as for whites, and as such are indicative of the increased cultural participation of the Negro group in the bio-social field with the passing of the years.

The mortality rates under syphilis require a somewhat different

²⁰ *Mortality Statistics, 1929* (U.S. Bureau of the Census), pp. 166 and 220.

explanation. The proportion of Negro deaths to all deaths under this heading was 43.0 per cent in 1929, compared with a general population proportion of 9.5 per cent. Moreover, the data for syphilitic mortality for Negroes show an increase in recent years.²¹ Progress in control has been made, but in this case not enough to offset the spread of the various syphilitic diseases, which has been intensified in recent years by the growing urbanization of the Negro group.

One more phase, namely, infant mortality, is important, as it is well recognized that the infant death-rate can be reduced by improving social conditions.

For the birth registration area of the United States in 1929 there were 101.5 deaths of Negro infants under one year of age per 1,000 births. This rate compares with that of 63.2 deaths of white infants per 1,000 live births.²² The more than 60 per cent higher rate is an index of the lesser participation of the Negro group in those elements of the culture which operate to reduce infant mortality.

The indices tentatively suggested give a mathematical description of a lesser degree of cultural participation of Negro, as compared with white, groups. Of course, generalized data such as have been utilized should be regarded as only preliminary to more intensive and refined studies within smaller areas. Even so, the general data here presented in a preliminary manner give a quantitative description of cultural participation and show the comparative poverty of Negro participation in the past, with a definite trend toward increasing participation in the present and future.

²¹ *Statistical Bulletin* (Metropolitan Life Insurance Company), XI (1930), 7, and Elbridge Sibley, *Differential Mortality in Tennessee, 1917-1928* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1930), pp. 98-99.

²² *Birth, Stillbirth and Infant Mortality Statistics, 1929* (U.S. Bureau of the Census), p. 32.

THE YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

Yugoslavs did not begin to immigrate in large numbers until after 1890. Most of them came from the provinces formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary. In 1930 the number of living Yugoslavs in the United States was about 325,000, scattered in every state in the Union. The Chicago region has the greatest number of any urban area—between 40,000 and 60,000. The majority of Yugoslavs are employed in mines and industries, although the percentage so employed has dropped. Today they are more and more interested in road construction and various other public works. Religious backgrounds tend to persist. All the Yugoslav schools belong to various churches. Classes are taught in English. Antagonism between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians is such as to make any kind of co-operation exceptional. Yugoslav tribes also have different social and cultural outlooks. There are some 4,500 benevolent fraternal organizations, with a total membership of about 25,000; all are based on provincial and religious lines. The prohibition of further immigration and the force of Americanization will eventually cause the Yugoslav culture pattern in America to disappear. In recent years the flow of immigration into Yugoslavia has become greater than emigration.

The beginning of the immigration of the South Slavs into the United States dates from the California gold rush in the middle of the nineteenth century, though they were not unrepresented in the period of exploration and colonization, coming chiefly as Jesuit missionaries to the Indians. The gold seekers were numerous enough to form a settlement of South Slavs in Amador County and in other mining districts of California. Many became merchants in San Francisco, establishing themselves also in the restaurant and hotel business where they are still prominent.¹

Emigrants, especially from the coastal regions of Dalmatia, after 1850 came in numbers to regions farther east. Slovenian settlers founded Kраintown in Minnesota (named from Carniola) and also

¹ For the historical treatment of Yugoslav immigration, see Ivan N. Maroevich, "Our 100,000 Yugoslavs on the West Coast," in *South Slav Herald*, March 10, 1934, p. 4; Anonymous, "Jugoslavs in America," in A Century of Progress International Exposition, *Slavs with Special Reference to Americans of Slav Ancestry* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 44-47; Anonymous, "Jugoslavia in America," in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 1930 ("The Kingdom of Jugoslavia"), pp. 10-11; Anonymous, *The Jugoslavs in the United States of America* (published by the Jugoslav Section of America's Making, Inc., New York, 1921); L. St. Kosier, *Les Serbes, Croates et Slovènes en Amérique* (Zagreb: Ban-karstvo, 1928); I. Mladineo, "Jugoslavs in America," in the *Interpreter*, IV, 3-6.

Brockway, Minnesota. They came also to Chicago, Omaha, and parts of Iowa. In 1873 they came to Joliet, Illinois, where they now are largely represented. In New York their settlement dates from 1878.²

But it was not until after 1890 that Yugoslavs began to immigrate in large numbers. Serbia proper contributed very few, which is true also of Macedonia and Montenegro. The bulk of Yugoslavs in the United States—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—are from the provinces formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary. They found employment in heavy industries, though a majority of them were agriculturists in their homeland.

Although no reliable statistics are available as to the actual numbers of Yugoslavs who have immigrated, it is probable that close to 900,000 Yugoslavs have settled in North America, principally in the United States and Canada, with two or three hundred of them in Alaska.³ The official statistics of the United States censuses before the World War do not isolate this group since they record immigrants from the territories that now belong to the kingdom of Yugoslavia as Bulgarians, under the general classification of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, or as Germans, Austrians, or Hungarians, since many Yugoslavs belonged at that time to Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, the Yugoslavs tended to classify themselves according to religion, either as Eastern Orthodox (or Greek), Roman Catholic, or Mohammedan. Thus Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins were grouped together in one division, Croats and Slovenes in another, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians in a third group, while a considerable number were classed as Austrians. Only since 1908 has the census been taken by nationality. From the year 1900 to 1930 the number of Yugoslavs, Bulgars, Dalmatians, and Bosnians

² Baraga County, Michigan, is named after Missionary Frederick Baraga, who came to America from Slovenia in 1830. In 1853 he was elevated to the rank of Bishop of Michigan, Minnesota, and Delaware (Bishopric of Sault Ste Marie). Baraga produced a grammar and dictionary for the Chippewa Indians and also translated the Bible in the same tongue, in addition to a book of poetry which he composed in the language of the Ottawa Indians. Another prominent Jugoslav pioneer and missionary was Josip Kundek, who arrived in America in 1838 and founded Ferdinand, Jasper, and other towns in the state of Indiana.

³ The *South Slav Herald*, May 16, 1934, p. 4.

to enter the United States was 700,127 plus the 78,750 entering the United States up to 1900—making a total of 778,877 by 1930. Of this number 343,935 returned to Yugoslavia, leaving the total here at 434,942. Of this number (according to the statistics of the various beneficial organizations) 98,215 had died, so that on June 30, 1930, the number of living Yugoslavs in the United States was 335,727. Of this number about 12,000 are Bulgars, making Yugoslav total about 325,000. According to Ivan Mladineo of the Federal Statistics Board there have been born to these Yugoslavs in America 334,500 children. According to another estimate there are 700,000, divided as follows: Croatians, 345,000; Slovenians, 295,000; Serbians, 60,000.

Sixteen states have nine-tenths of the Yugoslav population as indicated in Table I.

TABLE I

PRINCIPAL DISTRIBUTION OF YUGOSLAVS IN AMERICA

Pennsylvania.....	172,000	Ohio.....	102,000
Wisconsin.....	25,000	New Jersey.....	17,000
Illinois.....	30,000	Michigan.....	44,000
New York.....	35,000	Minnesota.....	30,000
California.....	25,000	Indiana.....	25,000
Colorado.....	15,000	Montana.....	15,000
Kansas.....	14,000	Missouri.....	13,000
West Virginia.....	12,000	Washington.....	10,000

The Chicago region has the greatest number of Yugoslav immigrants of any urban area, estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000.⁴ This distinction is, however, also claimed by Pittsburgh, which has the most important Serb colony in America and which is one of the two most important centers of Croats, the other one being Chicago. Cleveland and surroundings is the most important Slovene colony with its some 50,000 Yugoslav immigrants. San Francisco and Oakland have about 17,000 Yugoslavs. Other main groupings of these South Slavs can be found in New York City and Hoboken (14,000); Buffalo and surroundings; the hard coal district of Eastern Pennsylvania and adjacent parts of the state of New York; Western Pennsylvania (especially in the steel and coal districts of Johnstown and

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1934, p. 5.

Pittsburgh), with adjacent parts of West Virginia (Wheeling), and Ohio (Youngstown, Detroit, and Akron); the copper-mining district of Northern Michigan, Milwaukee, and surroundings to Sheboygan (Michigan); the iron ore district of Northern Minnesota, Kansas City, and the coal basin of Pittsburg (Kansas); Denver and the Colorado mining districts; the mining districts of Wyoming, Montana, and Salt Lake City; the whole coast of California; the copper mining districts of Arizona, Seattle (Washington), Portland (Oregon), Galveston (Texas), New Orleans (Louisiana) and the Mississippi Delta, and Juneau (Alaska).

The majority of Yugoslavs are employed in mines and industries (about 40 per cent), and a comparatively small number in agriculture. Only in Minnesota, Colorado, and California are to be found well-established Yugoslav farm settlements. But today the percentage of those working in the coal mines and industries has dropped considerably. On the other hand, the percentage of those working in the automobile industry has increased about five-fold since 1920 (about 10 per cent), most of such workers being located in Detroit. In California the Yugoslavs have contributed to the apple industry, particularly in Watsonville and the surrounding territory; the thriving population of this apple center is composed in great majority of Slavonians. In and about Fresno, they have contributed in great part to the success of the grape industry. Monterey and San Pedro have been attracting the Dalmatian fishermen. On the northern coast of the Pacific, in Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma, Yugoslav immigrants have their own fishing companies and shipbuilding yards. In the southern states, especially around the mouth of the Mississippi, Yugoslav oyster fishers are leading in this business.

But it was only during and after the World War that Yugoslav immigrants entered the commercial life of their newly adopted country. Today they are more and more interested in trade, in road construction and various other public works, and in some of the smaller industries. This applies, however, mainly to the American-born Yugoslavs.

Contrary to the tendency of the Czechs to form "Free Thinking" societies, the Yugoslavs are prone to persist in their religious background. The Croats and the Slovenes belong as a rule to the Roman

Catholic Church, although we find a certain percentage of Greek-Catholics among the Croats. The Serbs are usually of the Greek Orthodox religion. We find very few Mohammedans in this country. Scattered throughout the country are thirty-three Croat Catholic, forty-four Slovene Catholic, two Greek Orthodox, and thirty-five Serb Greek Orthodox parishes.

All the Yugoslav schools in the United States belong to various churches. There are 37 Yugoslav parochial schools, with 11,896 students and 264 teachers.⁵ All the parochial schools are taught by nuns. All classes are conducted in English, although in many of these institutions the respective dialects of the Yugoslav language are taught. In addition, we find numerous classes held on Saturdays for the purpose of teaching the native tongue.

Though in Yugoslavia the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in addition to other minor tribes, live side by side, the antagonism here goes so far as to make co-operation of any kind exceptional rather than usual. In this respect, the situation resembles that known among the Czechs and Slovaks.⁶ During the World War most of the Yugoslav political and social organizations in the United States were concentrated into one Central Yugoslav Council in Washington, D.C., which again created the Yugoslav Chancery. Since the war, there have appeared numerous groups promoting separatism and antagonism. There are those who favor and those who oppose an ideal of Croat and Slovene autonomy. There are groups who favor most enthusiastically and others who condemn most bitterly the present dictatorship of the late King Alexander. Within each group there are numerous religious subdivisions. Many are "atheists."

In addition to religious and political divisions, the Yugoslav tribes have different social and cultural outlooks because of their different historical experiences. Though the Serbs and Croats use a language which is nearly entirely identical, the Serbs write it in Cyrillic, while the Croats use the Latin alphabet. Furthermore, the Croats and Slovenes, subjected to western influences, belong to an

⁵ These and other up-to-date statistics have been secured by a Yugoslav student, Miss Mravintz, from various Yugoslav organizations.

⁶ See J. S. Roucek, "The Passing of American Czechoslovaks," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 61-25.

older and higher civilization than the Serbs. In consequence the Croats are prone to look down on the Serbs and appreciate their cultural background only as an expression of a sort of "barbarism."⁷

In common with many immigrant groups, the Yugoslavs are very strong in their benevolent fraternal organizations, which are frequently used to influence conditions in Yugoslavia. They combine the functions of insurance societies and of societies for the assistance of unemployed and disabled Yugoslav workers with that of centralizing various Yugoslav groups in America. The first Yugoslav society was founded in 1857 in San Francisco, the second in 1874 in New Orleans, until today there are some 4,500 of them. These societies, in turn, are grouped into unions which again are federated. Some of the unions number over 1,000 societies with more than 80,000 members. The various unions have a total membership of about 250,000, and the value of their property is over \$12,000,000.⁸ The individual lodges are usually given Saints' names as patrons for the members. All of them are based on provincial and religious lines. The most important of these lodges is the Croatian Federal Union (*Zajednica*), Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with a fund amounting to \$5,500,000 and a membership of 80,000. Next in importance is the Slovene National Benefit Society (*Jednota*) of Chicago, with a fund of \$5,250,000 and a membership of 60,000; then the Slovene Catholic Society of Joliet, Illinois, with \$2,500,000 and a membership of 40,000; the Serb National Federation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with \$1,500,000 and about 20,000 members.⁹ Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to weld these organizations into a compact unit. The Serb National Federation is the leading champion of this idea.¹⁰ These unions support their own organs. Thus the Serb Union publishes its daily *Srbobran*, the Croat Union the *Zajendičar*, and the Slovene Union the *Prosveta*. The membership is, however, decreasing steadily, although these organizations have launched in-

⁷ For the background of the various historical and present difficulties influencing the social behavior of the Yugoslav immigrants, see J. S. Roucek, "The Social Character of Yugoslav Politics," in *Social Science*, IX, 294-305.

⁸ The *Chicago Tribune*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹ The *South Slav Herald*, May 17, 1933, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1934, p. 4.

tensive campaigns to add new members to their ranks, which have been considerably thinned by the economic depression and by the passing of older members. The Slovene Society of Chicago, for instance, is offering as a Grand Prize a trip to Yugoslavia, with all expenses paid.¹¹

Many Yugoslav newspapers have been published in the United States but several were of short duration only. The first Yugoslav-American periodical, the *Slovenian Unity*, appeared in San Francisco in 1885. Since then some 180 different ones have died (42 in New York, 29 in Chicago, 16 in Los Angeles, 15 in Pittsburgh, 12 in San Francisco, etc.). At present there are 8 dailies (with some 61,000 subscribers), 5 weeklies (with some 128,000 subscribers), 9 monthly and some semi-monthly papers (with some 39,000 subscribers), two quarterlies, numerous bulletins of the beneficial organizations (with over 50,000 subscribers)—a total of 39 periodicals, with a total of 270,000 issues.¹²

The problem of the second generation is one of the most difficult faced by the Yugoslavs and their organizations. Politics and religious discussions do not interest, for the most part, the American-born Yugoslav children. English-speaking lodges are introduced, and in 1930 there were 63 Croat English-speaking lodges alone, which centralized their activities around mushball teams, basket-ball teams, swimming parties, picnics, socials, etc. There are about 70 choral societies, 50 orchestras, many dramatic, gymnastic, social, and other kinds of clubs. This preponderance of musical organizations can be explained by the fact that of all Europeans, the Yugoslavs are said to have developed most fully the art of folk-lore narrative, and these Yugoslav immigrants are still carrying on their musical inclinations in such societies. More than a half of them are made up of Slovenes.

Following the example of the Czechoslovaks, in 1933 a Yugoslav University club was organized in Chicago. The movement was started after similar organizations had been formed in Pittsburgh and Cleveland.¹³ But the prohibition of further immigration and the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1934, p. 1.

¹² The figures were secured by Miss Mravintz.

¹³ The *South Slav Herald*, July 16, 1933, p. 1.

force of Americanization will eventually cause the Yugoslav culture pattern in America to disappear. This is well shown in the "Americanization" of the Yugoslav language and of the Yugoslav names. Thus Mr. Ollak is now Mr. O'Black; Mr. Jaska or Jakšić has become Mr. Jackson; or Mr. Belko or Belić signs himself now as Mr. White.¹⁴

The immigrant Yugoslavs have contributed in no small measure to American progress, particularly in the fields of science, invention, education, and literature. The names Pupin,¹⁵ Tesla,¹⁶ the late Suzallo,¹⁷ Radosavljevich,¹⁸ Vecki Victor,¹⁹ Jager Frank,²⁰ Dr. Eduard Miloslavich,²¹ Louis Adamic,²² amply justify this assertion.

In conclusion, it is interesting to look at the whole question of

¹⁴ See L. Adamic, "Jugoslav Speech in America," in *American Mercury*, XII (1927), 319-21.

¹⁵ Dr. Mihailo Pupin of Columbia University is well known for his inventions in long distance telephony and wireless telegraphy. See his autobiography, *From Immigrant to Inventor* (New York: Scribners', 1927). See also A. E. S. Beard, "A Serbian-American Scientist—Michael Pupin," *Our Foreign Born Citizens* (New York: Crowell, 1922), pp. 202-7.

¹⁶ Nikola Tesla is the inventor of polyphase induction motors, developed by the Westinghouse Electric Company. Science accords to him 75 original discoveries and all electrical machinery using or generating alternating current is due to him. See Shavko Bakšan, *Nikola Tesla und sein Werk* (Leipzig & Vienna: Deutscher Verlag, 1933); Beard, "An Electrical Wizard—Nikola Tesla," *op. cit.*, pp. 284-88; "Nikola Tesla," in *Slavs . . .*, pp. 54-56.

¹⁷ Dr. Henry Suzallo, who died in 1933, was one of the foremost educators in the United States. President of the University of Washington from 1915 to 1926, and then President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, he was also a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. According to the report of the *New York Times*, September 26, 1933, "his father was a former sea captain of Czechoslovak birth,"—a mistaken assumption.

¹⁸ Dr. Paul Radosavljevich, Professor of Education in New York University, is well-known for his numerous works in the field of education and pedagogy.

¹⁹ Dr. Vecki Victor of San Francisco is considered one of the outstanding specialists in the world of medical science.

²⁰ Jager Frank, Professor of Agriculture in the University of St. Paul, Minnesota, whose contribution to the honey industry has revolutionized the field.

²¹ Dr. Eduard Miloslavich, one of the foremost pathologists in the United States, formerly Professor in Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has occupied a Professor's chair at the University of Zagreb since 1933.

²² A holder of a Guggenheim's Travelling Fellowship in 1932-33, whose *The Native's Return* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1933) was a best seller for a time.

Yugoslav emigration from the Yugoslav viewpoint. In 1921, 12,965 people emigrated overseas; in 1922, 6,086; in 1923, 11,473; and in the subsequent years around 20,000 persons yearly.²³ In 1930, because of the economic conditions, the figure went down to 13,560, and in 1931 to 4,808, which is 64.5 per cent less than in 1930. In the first post-war years the main attraction was the United States, where 96.1 per cent of the Yugoslav emigrants went in 1921 and 89.4 per cent in 1922. The percentage steadily diminished thereafter and fell to 18.6 per cent in 1924, after the new American immigration restrictions. Since then the Yugoslavs have gone in greater numbers to Brazil (7,461 in 1924, 7,771 in 1925) and Argentina (7,127 in 1927 and 7,484 in 1928)—that is, more than one-third of the overseas emigration went to South America; the rest went to Canada (4,998 in 1926) and Australia (1,736 in 1924). In Europe, the most sought-after country is France, to which in 1931 went 4,722 Yugoslavs (44.7 per cent), 1,482 to Germany, 991 to Roumania, 877 to Turkey, 606 to Austria, 604 to Greece, and 499 to Czechoslovakia. The districts contributing their shares to emigration in the post-war period were: Croatia-Slavonia, 34.6 per cent; Voivodina, 20.4 per cent; Dalmatia, 15.4 per cent; Slovenia, 13.8 per cent; Serbia and Macedonia, 9.5 per cent; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 5 per cent; Montenegro, 1.3 per cent. The overseas emigration came mostly from Voivodina, and European emigration from Serbia.

In recent years the flow of immigration into Yugoslavia has become greater than emigration. In 1931, 18,135 emigrants returned home; most came from the European States, 10,046; 8,089 came from overseas (3,427 from the United States; 2,114 from Argentina; and 1,265 from Canada).

So far, the trends of emigration have not been damaging to Yugoslavia. Before the world economic crisis came, the property of the emigrants was estimated at \$750,000,000; today it is considered to be about \$50,000,000. The annual income from the emigrant sources was estimated in 1927 at 72 milliards of dinars.²⁴ During the last thirteen years about 15 milliard dinars were sent to Yugoslavia

²³ T. Radićević, "Čtrnáct a půl milionů Jihošlováku," in *Lidové Noviny*, June 10, 1933. See also Christa Stamenovitch, *L'Emigration Yougoslave* (Paris: Pedone, 1929).

²⁴ *Slovanský Přehled*, May, 1933, pp. 100-102.

(approximately \$250,000,000, or \$32,000,000 more than Yugoslavia borrowed abroad). Before 1930 the annual influx of the emigrants' remittances was some \$15,000,000, and a considerable proportion of it was invested in numerous home undertakings, especially in navigation (about one and a half milliard of dinars). At the present time the government of Yugoslavia is faced with the task of repatriating the returning emigrants. The Ministry of Social Welfare has created a special section for that purpose, and there is also the organization "Oris" (*Organizacija Iseljenika*). There exists a central organization, the Association of Emigrant Organizations, in Zagreb, with branches in Belgrade and Ljubljana.²⁵

²⁵ According to the latest information, in 1932, 4,372 emigrants returned, mostly from the United States (5,923 in 1931); of these 3,481 came voluntarily, 412 were deported, 375 repatriated.

THE CHINESE TONGS

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ABSTRACT

The Chinese who came to America after the gold strike soon formed the first units of the so-called companies. One of the first societies formed included the whole Chinese population in America. This was gradually broken into smaller groupings. Trade or craft organizations also developed. It is uncertain when true fighting tongs first made their appearance. The real nature of the groups was frequently hidden, or fighting developed from a more legitimate and honorable purpose. The earliest protective tongs began as American forms of an Old China semi-political, semi-religious organization. Economic motives or the motives of group existence were the most important causes of tong violence. The tongs have long since modified their criminal activities and have developed benevolent-protective functions. In San Francisco, tong wars ceased in 1921. Criminal tongs have had far-reaching effects in slowing down the process of cultural assimilation between Chinese and whites. The passing of the fighting tong marks a new era in the growth of understanding and good will.

During two five-year periods extending from March 1, 1912 to February 28, 1917, and from January 1, 1919 to December 31, 1923, in one California newspaper there appeared 223 news stories dealing with fighting tong activities. These stories occupied 1,257 column inches of newspaper space. One hundred and four tong murders are cited in these accounts. In some cases one murder is described more than once, but on the other hand it is probable that many fatalities were never discovered by the authorities or reported in the press. It is certain that during the existence of these fighting tongs or criminal gangs in America many hundreds of the Chinese residents have been murdered through inter-tong warfare.

The nature and social significance of the "fighting tongs" of the Chinese in America have been very imperfectly understood throughout their existence of more than seventy years. The same difficulties that prevent thoroughgoing studies of other criminal gangs in our American cities, such as the Camorra or the Molly Maguires, are, in many ways, intensified in the study of the fighting tongs. General interest in the activities of these societies has been sustained throughout their existence, and much journalistic material concerning them has appeared. Very little of this material, however, is free from the deep coloring of an outside, Occidental mind that fails to sense the

existence of basic cultural elements accounting for the appearance of the tongs and for the subsequent evolution of their activities.

The writer has collected material concerning the tongs from newspapers published along the Pacific Coast from 1850 to 1930, from the court records of cases arising out of "tong murders," from investigations conducted by committees of Congress and of state legislatures, from memorials and pamphlets dealing with "The Chinese Question," from interviews with Chinese residents, police officers, social workers, and newspaper reporters, and from a few histories of the coast states that give a little consideration to Chinese-white race relations. Newspaper accounts of all the important "tong wars" have been collected, and for one period during the accommodation era after the Exclusion Act every article in one newspaper dealing with tong activities for a ten-year period has been secured and evaluated. Chinese residents could be induced to give their honest opinions of the fighting tongs only under most favorable conditions and only after solemn promises were made to them that the source of information would not be revealed. The fear of arousing tong hostility was significantly pervasive. It is also significant that whenever these Chinese residents are active members of a tong, they attempt to justify the tong's existence and its activities in the light of the abnormal environment of the Chinese in America, especially as regards the attitude of the white population; and that, whenever the resident interviewed is not a tong man, he expresses his utter lack of understanding of the fact that the American police and courts have not freed him and his countrymen from this subjection to criminal gangs.

The Chinese interpretation of the fighting tongs insists that it is a phenomenon of the Chinese in America and that there is no precedent for it in China. This generally accepted statement does not mean that there were no habits of organization in China having a bearing upon the growth of organization in the new world. There are similarities between the form and functions of family organizations, trade organizations or guilds, secret organizations, political organizations, such as the town and district councils, and the form and function of the organizations out of which evolved the fighting tongs in America. This relationship is evident if we compare the functions

of the Chinese "Six Companies," the family organizations, such as the "Four Brothers," and the trade organizations in America with clan and guild organizations in China, and with such secret societies as the San Ho Hui. Speer's account of the purposes of the clan organization in China is generally verified by Chinese in America:

The general designs of the support of the clan organization may be briefly stated to be these: defense against the power of the general government; mutual aid and protection in business and the common transactions of life; festive enjoyments; and the maintenance of the worship of the spirits of the dead. There are about four hundred and fifty clans in the empire. Branches of the most important of them are found in nearly every province. A town, however, never consists of people of one clan alone, since a man is not allowed to marry a woman of the same name. The organization of them is so complete that, while it sometimes secures justice to the innocent, it may besides thwart the designs of the government, and even of justice. In some parts of the country they keep up bitter and even bloody quarrels from generation to generation; and the chiefs of the clan at Peking are able to prevent the punishment of murder and violence committed by members of it elsewhere. In the country in the south of China we have seen tombs broken up and defaced, the dikes of rice fields destroyed and property abused, through the feuds of hostile clans.¹

When the Chinese began coming to America the old social controls were broken and those exercised by local government were faulty and inadequate due, in part, to the failure of American officials to understand the Chinese culture, and to the failure of the Chinese to understand the motives and method of American government. It was impossible to build up the full working clan organizations which in China corresponded, in part, to the American municipal government.² Nevertheless, the idea of the clan influenced the Chinese in their forming of the Six Companies.

In China, where a great number of the members of a clan go away into another province, they naturally live together. If the members of a single clan are too few to form a fraternity then all those who come from the same province form a society. If they come from one district into another of the same province, they adopt the same course. Such societies exist in Peking and Hong Kong.

And these home associations are referred to as *Ui Kun* or company houses.³ Being accustomed to forming such societies in China, the

¹ William Speers, *The Oldest and the Newest Empire: China and the United States*, pp. 546-47. S. S. Scranton & Company, Philadelphia, 1870.

² Fong Kum Ngon, "The Chinese Six Companies" in *Overland Monthly*, XXIII, (May, 1894), 521.

³ "The Chinese Six Companies," *Overland Monthly*, I (September, 1868), 222.

Chinese who came to America in such large numbers, after the gold strike, soon formed the first units of the so-called companies.

This tendency to form societies was accentuated by the early development of discrimination against the Chinese and the exploitation of their labor as well as the dishonesty and cruelty practiced by the rougher elements of the white population concentrated in the mining camps and in the growing cities. It is clear that the Chinese formed the societies so that they might be protected from lawless persons in their own ranks and in the ranks of the white people with whom they began to live. One of the first societies formed included the whole Chinese population in America. Its functions included many of those of our local government and of our benevolent societies. It was known as the "Meeting Hall of the Middle Kingdom."

As the Chinese in America increased in numbers the force of the old clan organization began to break the single society into smaller groupings. The "Meeting Hall of the Middle Kingdom" continued to exist with distinct functions, but, one by one, new societies were formed on the basis of the districts from which the Chinese came. In China, in the clan organization, control is centered in the hands of the elders and scholars of the group. In America, among the merchants, it was usually in the hands of elected men. The Sam Yap society was organized in 1851, including the Chinese from three (sam) districts virtually including the city of Canton. The Sz Yap (later Kong Chan) was also organized in 1851 and the Yeung Wo and Hip Kat in 1852. Then followed the Ning Yeung and the Hop Wo. Later two other companies were added to the original list of six.⁴ These companies function together in a sort of federation with a headquarters and a congress with permanent officers, which takes up matters referred to it as affecting the general interest of the Chinese on the coast.

Other organizations developed among the Chinese in America, the result of old patterns adapted to differing needs in a new environment. Prominent among these were the trade or craft organizations patterned after the Chinese Kung Tsor or Kung Saw. In America

⁴ The names given to these companies vary. For example, J. S. Tow, in his book, *The Real Chinese in America*, lists the present members of the Chung Wah Kung Sow, or Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, or Six Companies, as: the Ning Young, the Yan Wah, the Sam Yip, the Young Wah, the Shao Ching, the Kung Chow, the Hop Wah, and the En Kai.

these attempted to control workers in a special field for mutual advantage in securing employment, favorable wages, and general occupational well-being. Thus the laundry workers, shoe-makers, cigar-makers, and others formed societies.

Whatever may have been the source, the Chinese population along the Pacific Coast, and especially in San Francisco, Sacramento, and other cities of California, soon contained a minority element of non-social, parasitic, criminal or near criminal class. This is borne out by testimony before the Congressional committees, by the newspaper accounts of crimes committed, by surveys of Chinatown, by police reports and other evidence.⁵

There were other peculiarities in the social environment of the Chinese in America. The population was almost entirely made up of young Chinese men who planned to return to China, since women and children did not migrate as members of families. Thus the influences of close kinship were not in operation as a form of social control. Two important Chinese vices also operated in the new country to increase criminal behavior, use of opium products and the habit of gambling. Both were indulged in by the Chinese in China, in general, with temperance, but the basis for their temperance was largely removed in America. These vices were seized upon by members of the white population with still less temperance and soon became illegal practices. From the first period of Chinese immigration, moreover, the smuggling-in of undesirables, especially slave girls, became illegal acts from which great revenue could be obtained.

⁵ The *U.S. Industrial Commission Reports*, No. 184, Vol. 15, pp. 762-63, state: "Among 25,000 Chinese population of the City of San Francisco, about 1,000 represent the worst class of criminals on earth. Many of them have been compelled to flee from their native country on account of crimes committed there. They live without work and fatten upon the prosperity of others of their race. They impose fines arbitrarily and levy blackmail at will."

John E. Bennett, writing in *Harper's Weekly*, August 11, 1900, on "The Chinese Tong Wars in San Francisco," states: "Amongst the thirty-two or thirty-three thousand people at present in Chinatown, there are fully three thousand criminals, most of whom if deported to China and identified there would be executed. There are in the colony seventy-four gambling houses, conducted mostly by these persons and these employ not less than a thousand of their class in the business of either assisting to conduct them or of purveying tickets for the drawings to those who might buy them upon the highways or elsewhere. Aside from these there is a highbinder element comprising not less than fifteen hundred persons."

After a short period of welcome and of pleasant relations between the races in America, the mistreatment of the Chinese by many of the white people caused fear and hostility, and desires for retaliation. Here again was an occasion for lawless activity. Finally, the Chinese environment was peculiarly favorable to blackmail. All the controls that might operate to protect innocent victims of lawless exploiters were either non-existent, or very imperfectly operating.

We see, therefore, that conditions were favorable for the sudden emergence of criminal groups. Wherever such a stage has been set, criminal gangs have arisen, as witness the Camorra of Southern Italy and the racketeer gangs of our modern American cities. The temptations for gain for the Chinese gangsters lay in blackmail levied against Chinese merchants or against rival tongs, in monopoly control of the slave-girl and opium traffic, in the operation of gambling dens and the protection of gamblers from the American police, in the sharing of bribes with corrupted police departments, and in cash settlements for damage or redress of injuries in the making of peace after inter-tong warfare.

For a number of years the existence of these fighting societies was not known to the American public. While brawls between groups of Chinese were of common occurrence, and sudden and violent death was frequently met by Orientals, the participation by societies was generally attributed to the Kung Saw, the clan organization, or even to rival district companies, which occasionally clashed with violence. It is uncertain as to when true fighting tongs first made their appearance. In the newspaper stories, there are accounts of battles in the early fifties which bear strong suggestion of tong activities. Detective Sergeant John J. Manion, of the Chinatown Detail, San Francisco Police Department, places the first fighting tong as the Kwan Ducks, organized about 1852, with the Hip Yees and On Sungs a year or two later.⁶ Early groups frequently disappeared, changed their names, merged with others, or subdivided. The period of origin is difficult to discover, because the real nature of the groups was frequently hidden or because fighting developed from a more legitimate and honorable purpose at the group's beginning. Furthermore, fighting tongs were frequently confused by the white citizens and by

⁶ Detective Sergeant John J. Manion, "Tongs and Tong Wars," a typewritten description of the subject on file at San Francisco Police Headquarters.

the police with the other organizations which often clashed with each other or with the criminal groups.

When first clearly recognized by the police and the press, members of these societies came to be known as "highbinders," a term given to a particular Chinese gang offender by a New York policeman and "played up" by the newspapers. It was not until the late eighties that the Chinese term "tong" came into general use by the white population. The word tong signifies hall, parlor, or a place to meet and talk, and the Chinese character which represents it is built up out of elements which indicate that meaning. There had been some use of the term tong in a similar way in China in connection with secret societies, for example in the case of one maintained for the express purpose of overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty. This was the Chee Kung tong and for a time an organization under that name played a part in the early tong history of New York City, more like that of the fighting or highbinder tongs than like its Chinese political forerunner.⁷ Similarly, in the early history of the "highbinders" in New York, the clan organization of the Four Brothers was drawn into tong warfare in a way which placed it, in the popular mind, as a fighting tong.

Of course, the Chinese in America freely use the term tong in connection with a considerable range of organizations. Most of the family organizations, many business organizations, and some charitable organizations are designated as tongs.⁸

Any account of the origin of the fighting tongs, however, must be an account of the origin of the entire class of benevolent-protective tongs. Unlike the district associations, which restrict membership to persons coming from particular districts, the protective tongs receive members from any districts. They are not limited, as are the family organizations, to persons of the same surname, nor, as are the trade unions, to persons from some particular trade. Instead, they cut across all groups and even include as members representatives of other races such as Americans or Filipinos. The earliest protective

⁷ Robert Wells Ritchie, "The Wars of the Tongs," in *Harper's Weekly*, August 27, 1910, pp. 8-10.

⁸ Tai Chuang Meng, "A Preliminary Study of the Basic Social Organization of the Chinese in America" (Stanford University Master's Thesis), p. 85.

tongs began as American forms of an Old China semi-political, semi-religious organization known as the San Ho Hui or Sam Hop Wui, according to the Cantonese. In the Southern provinces from whence most of the early Pacific Coast Chinese migrated, this society had played a leading rôle in the attempted overthrow of the Tsing Dynasty. It operated through five subdivisions, each known as a Kung Shaw and controlling a particular district. When the Tai Ping rebellion failed, many of its supporters escaped to America, and they established three societies patterned after the organizations in China but designated here as Kwong Duck tong, Hip Yee tong, and Don Sun tong. The entire group seem to have been referred to as Sam Hop tong at first and later as Gee Kung tong. It is this latter name with which we are most familiar.⁹ Many of the early protective tongs in America were either evolved from this Gee Kung tong, or their members were largely also members of Gee Kung. The relationship was very confusing to early writers and especially so to newspaper reporters dealing with tong wars.

At present, Gee Kung tong seems to have little to do with the benevolent-protective tongs in America, although there are, according to Mr. Meng,¹⁰ some interesting influences remaining. They still observe some of the religious traditions of Sam Hop Wui and venerate the triangular flags and secret seals which the parent Kung Shaws had used in China. The development of later tong associations seems to be largely through Kwong Duck tong which is frequently referred to as the mother tong, and the earliest "offspring" were the Hip Sings, Suey Sings, and Bing Kongs.¹¹

In nearly all cases, the non-regional, non-vocational, non-familial tong organizations style themselves "benevolent-protective societies," and they operate partly as do all societies of that type. In the long list of tong societies are a number that have remained uniformly free from inter-tong strife and illegal activities. These are often referred to as the non-fighting tongs. Their functions are very largely indicated by the term "benevolent-protective association."

⁹ Cheng Yeh Long, "The Chinese Social Organism" (translated from Japanese into Chinese by Chu Chia Tsing), pp. 279-94.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹¹ Eng Ying Gong and Bruce Grant, *Tong War*, pp. 27-38.

As a result of the large number of organizations of all types existing among the American Chinese, as well as of the varying degrees of illegal activity and violence indulged in, there is great confusion as to the societies that should be included in a list of fighting tongs. Nora Sterry, in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, for July and August, 1923, states in an article, "Social Attitudes of Chinese Immigrants," that

a tong is a fraternal and political organization intent upon furthering the interests of its members and imbued with an intense spirit of rivalry toward other tongs. There are only two in this city (Los Angeles), the Hop Sing and the Bing Gong, although there are four others in the United States.

The Industrial Commission of 1901-2 reported:

There exist in the city of San Francisco numerous "tongs" or associations of Chinese of the criminal class, organized for the express purpose of committing crimes. They exist on blackmail and pay large sums annually for the protection of gambling houses and other disreputable places which are conducted by the members of these "tongs." . . . There are in San Francisco at the present time the following highbinder tongs: Chee Kung Tong, Suey On Tong, Bow On Tong, Hop Sing Tong, Hip Sing Tong, Suey Sing Tong, Wa Bing Tong, Bing Gung Tong, Bow Sin Sue Tong, Gi Sui Sen Tong, Hip Yee Tong, Quong Duck Tong, Jo Lung Sen Tong, Leon On Tong, and Jew Yee Tong.¹²

In all the news stories dealing with tong activities and appearing in one California newspaper for two five-year periods, the following tongs are mentioned: Sen Suey Ng, or Sen (Sin) Suey Yeng, Hop Sing, Hip Sing, Suey Sing, Kim Lum Soy, Bing Kong (Bing Kung and Bing On), Gom Yom Lee Sor, Suey Dong, On Dick, On Yick, Bow Leong, Four Brothers, Four Families, Suey On, Suey Ong, Jung Ying, Suey Bon, Suey Don, Sam Yip, Don Leong, and Chee Kung. As all English spelling of tong names is only an approximation, there is considerable variation. The newspaper accounts treated all those mentioned as though they were distinct fighting tongs but several are clearly different spellings of the same society, and several others are better classified as non-fighting organizations. Thus the Chee or Gee Kung tong, or Chinese Freemasons of the World, is not a society of the same stamp as the Hip Sing tong or the Bing Kong tong, and the same might be said of the Sam Yip tong.

Sergeant Manion states:

¹² "Immigration," *U.S. Industrial Commission Reports*, No. 184, Vol. 15, pp. 762-63.

The following is a list of the tongs now in existence: About 1870 the Hip Sing Tong was organized, followed by the Suey Sing Tong about 1873, and the Hop Sing Tong about 1875, then the Suey On Tong, Bing Kong Tong, On Yick Tong, On Leong Tong, and Ben Suey Tong, which was about the last to organize, about 1892. The Bing Kong Tong and the On Yicks and the Ben Suey Ying Tong form the Suey Sing Tong.¹³

Sergeant Manion also mentions seventeen other tongs which existed for a time and then disbanded or which exist today "but do not claim themselves as fighting tongs."

As in the case of other criminal gangs, so with the tongs: the leaders profited most. Many of the tong members were merchants who were forced to join a tong for protection from other tongs, membership thus becoming a regular means of paying blackmail or buying protection. Aside from the selling of protection, however, the tong revenues came largely from the working of monopoly territory in the traffic in opium, the control of prostitutes, and especially from gambling. Tong wars were waged to secure a monopoly control of territory, and other wars were waged to hold it. Most of the cases of violence may be traced ultimately to this economic factor, the tong fighting for its sources of income. To be sure, the strength of the tong demanded a show of power to protect its members, and wars sometimes broke out over injuries inflicted by members of one tong upon members of another, when the issues were largely personal. These and other apparent causes of conflict were, however, usually secondary in importance. As in the case of wars between nations, so in gang wars: economic motives or the motives of group existence occupy the important positions in the list of causes.

The methods of the tongs in securing their revenues and in conducting their battles were the usual methods of gangdom. From the beginning, the tongs relied upon hired fighters for their use of force, and the early fighters were "hatchet men," who stole upon their victims unaware and buried their weapons in the skull. The gun finally supplanted the hatchet, and the hired fighters became the gunmen. In large-scale encounters, when several tongs have been involved, the number of available gunmen has, in some instances,

¹³ Detective Sergeant Manion, Chinatown Detail, Police Department, San Francisco. An article on "Tongs and Tong Wars," on file at the Police Headquarters, San Francisco.

been inadequate for the demand, and more than one peace has been signed due to the inability of a tong to hire fighters to wage its battle. In these wars, prices are set for the death of prominent members of the hostile group, and when a peace is arranged a balance is paid by the losing tong in settlement for injuries inflicted upon the conquerors.

The police have been charged many times with participation in tong activities to the extent of receiving "hush money" for overlooking offenders of the laws against gambling, selling opium, or conducting houses of prostitution. When the police have seriously attempted to interfere, convictions, especially for murder, have been rare, due to the fear the Chinese feel of incurring the enmity of a tong by witnessing against it. In the early days, American courts did not make an appeal to the Chinese as an effective means of securing justice, since perjury before such a court was not, in the minds of the Chinese, a serious offense.

For a number of reasons the problem of the fighting tongs has been dwindling in importance. Until very recently the number of Chinese in America has been steadily declining, and those who remain include now many who are American born and who are less easily intimidated or imposed upon by the criminal gangs. There is less demand for the wares of dealers in opium and slave girls, and fewer patrons of gambling dens. The police, facing a less difficult situation and backed by a more insistent public have attacked the problem more successfully. In San Francisco, in particular, the operations of the tongs have been curtailed and open tong wars have been practically nonexistent since 1921. In attacking the tongs in San Francisco, the police have struck at the tong leaders, holding out the threat of trial for conspiracy in murder in the event of tong murders. For many of these leaders there is the fear of possible deportation. In addition to this control through the leaders, the police have consistently rounded up and harassed the hired gunmen, who usually without visible occupation hang around the tong headquarters. Finally, the police have succeeded in partially controlling the slave-girl traffic and gambling dens. As these attacks proceed, the law-abiding Chinese, always greatly outnumbering the criminal classes, become more independent, and the proceeds from blackmail decline. Many of the

tongs show signs of modifying their criminal enterprises and developing the benevolent-protective functions of the order. There are many indications that the day of the highbinders' reign of terror has passed.

The story of the passing of the fighting tong would not be complete, however, without mention of the Chinese Peace Party. This was organized in 1912, and since that date most of the tong disputes have been settled with its aid. Its headquarters have been in San Francisco with branches in Portland, Oregon, and New York City. With its officers sit two representatives from each tong and family Kung Shaw in its jurisdiction. This organization was a powerful factor as the fighting tongs worked out a solution of their problems occasioned by the conditions that led to effective police intervention.

Far-reaching effects of the criminal tongs upon inter-racial attitudes, however, are not so easily eradicated. The exclusion legislation of the eighties removed the fears which the whites had felt of growing economic competition. Processes of accommodation rapidly developed, and an era of better feeling followed the recognition of the fact that the Chinese invader had learned his place and was keeping in it. The criminal practices of the tongs, however, tended to intensify a feeling of the vast distance between the East and the West. It was not so much that the tongs were feared as the fact that the tong behavior was accepted as one manifestation of the whole Chinese nature and Chinese culture. Not merely the tong leaders and the gunmen seemed mysterious and sinister, but, too often, the generalization included the entire Chinese race. Such an attitude slows down the processes of assimilation. In the interesting and rapidly moving story of Chinese-white race relations in America, the passing of the fighting tong marks a new era in the growth of understanding and good will.

POLICE GRAFT*

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ABSTRACT

According to evidence before the Lexow Committee in 1894, police protection of underworld activities resulted from relationships directly between the police and individual operators of small businesses of the underworld. This changed with the introduction of highly organized methods. A large proportion of a given line of illegal activity is brought under centralized control. The organization may be under the management of one individual carrying on a single line of business. Operators may own their business but be subject to the dictation of a syndicate. A corollary of the licensing power is the power to instigate police raids upon independent competitors. The granting of protection may be centralized for the entire city in the hands of a powerful official, who deals with the syndicate head or heads. When a city-wide arrangement cannot be made, the syndicate must deal with the individual police captains. The ward committeeman, district leader, or layman may be the more prominent figure in the territorial arrangements. The management of a police-graft system depends upon the impermanence of tenure of the police commissioner, the inexperience of police executives, and the corruptibility of officials. Subordinate officers are controlled through fear of demotion. The operation of a smoothly running police-graft system depends on definite assignment of functions and fair distribution of the graft. It is facilitated by the police rule of silence.

The rise of organized underworld interests has been accompanied by a marked change in the patterns of accommodation through corrupt methods between the forces of the underworld and counterpressures. An analysis of the evidence before the Lexow Committee in 1894 indicates that the procedure in arrangements for police protection in New York at that time consisted of periodical collections in each police precinct by the wardman from the proprietors of individual houses of prostitution, saloons operating illegally, and gambling establishments. These payments were relayed from the wardman to the captain and thence on up the police hierarchy, with appropriate subtractions at each step. There was a beginning of circumvention of the police by direct relations with the political organization. In some types of gambling territorial monopolies were granted to a group corresponding closely to a modern "syndicate." Generally, however, the protective system resulted from relation-

* The material presented here in a slightly different form constituted a section of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1934.

ships directly between the police and individual operators of small businesses of the underworld.² This discussion will indicate in broad outline the nature of the newer underworld organization, the general patterns of protective systems, and suggest some of the problems of the management of police in such situations.

The protective system changed when the business organization and methods of the underworld assumed the forms characterizing "big" business. And perhaps the primary factor in stimulating this change in organization was the transfer of the function of "licensing" individual operators from the police to some extra-governmental center of power of the underworld.³ The tactics of both legitimate and illegitimate "big business" have been directed toward bringing as large a proportion of a given line of business under centralized control as possible. The effect, and usually the purpose, of such monopolistic situations is to alter the distribution of the total yield of an interrelated series of acts so as to swell the proportion received by a relatively few individuals able to exact this larger share by virtue of control of an essential link in the chain. Thus, it was said that the power of the meat "trust" rested upon its control of the means of distribution such as refrigerator cars, cooling depots, and stockyards.

The most essential items in the control of vice or gambling appear to be the power to offer protection against arrest and prosecution and in later days, especially during the prohibition era, against the violence of potential competitors particularly in the liquor business. That there is "big" business in the "underworld" it seems hardly necessary to show. The federal district attorney in Chicago traced nearly \$2,000,000 to Ralph Capone, brother of the notorious Al;

² See *Report and Proceedings of the Senate Committee Appointed to Investigate the Police Department of the City of New York* (5 vols.; Albany, N.Y., 1895).

³ Cf. Steffens' remarks with reference to the Lexow disclosures: "The grafters studied those revelations and they saw in their wisdom that the old graft was too democratic. . . . They took away from the police force in general the power to deal with privileged vice and crime. They centralized this power. They required the vice promoters to get together, divide their businesses and their territories and deal only with a part of the police force under political heads. . . . [The 'vice-squad' was] set up to 'regulate' vice and crime as a railroad commission regulates railroads . . ." ("As Steffens Sees It," *Survey Graphic*, XX [1931], 13).

about \$700,000 to Frank Nitti; and over \$1,000,000 to Jack Gusick—all prominent characters in Chicago gangsterdom.⁴ Federal investigators, Pasley says, estimated the sources of revenue commanded by Al Capone from illicit liquor, gambling, vice, and business "rackets" at \$105,000,000 annually.⁵ The *New York Times* as early as 1900 reported the existence of a gambling "commission" which, it was estimated, received over \$3,000,000 annually for the protection of gambling.⁶

In what does the "organization" of organized crime consist? What form does the "syndicate" or "trust" take? In some cases there may be a rather large organization under the ownership and management of a single individual carrying on a single line of business. For example, the management of a "policy" game requires a "banker" who employs "collectors" to go about and sell policy tickets, on which the chances of winning are about 1 to 600. A large sales force may be built up for this purpose. José Enrique Miro, Harlem policy "banker," deposited a total of \$1,251,556.29 in about two and one-half years. Another "banker," Wilfred Brunder, in a six-year period, ran up accounts totaling \$1,753,343.33.⁷ To accumulate these sums probably required a rather large organization of directly controlled subordinates.

Illustrations of another type of organization are seen in Chicago race gambling in which the outstanding figure for a long while was Mont Tennes. At one time one of his employees testified that Tennes owned directly a number of bookmakers,⁸ but the more common arrangement was to gain control over "independent" bookmakers through the local monopoly of racing information and by furnishing

⁴ Testimony of G. E. Q. Johnson, United States attorney for the northern district of Illinois, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Judiciary* (U.S. Senate, 72d Cong., 1st sess.), on the nomination of James H. Wilkerson to be United States circuit judge (1932), p. 233.

⁵ F. D. Pasley, *Al Capone* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1930), p. 60.

⁶ Quoted by M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), pp. 416-17.

⁷ Samuel Seabury, *Final Report: In the Matter of the Investigation of the Magistrates' Courts in the First Judicial Department and the Magistrates Thereof, and of Attorneys-at-Law Practicing in Said Courts* (1932), pp. 137-38.

⁸ John Landesco, "Organized Crime in Chicago" (in *Illinois Crime Survey* [1929]), p. 895; hereafter cited as *Organized Crime*.

them protection. In 1907 evidence in the possession of the state's attorney indicated that Tennes "was dictator over hundreds of Chicago bookmakers, who were permitted to run pool rooms without interference from the police." The bookmakers secured racing information at rates varying from \$50 to \$100 a day. There was reason to believe that the city administration protected gamblers designated by Mont Tennes and his associates. Further, "that all pool-room owners or operators turned in to the Tennes combine fifty per cent of their business; that is, fifty per cent of the total transactions daily. The Tennes syndicate paid half the money lost to betters who won from the bookmakers and received fifty per cent of the net receipts after the racing sheets were balanced each day." Tennes had agents who frequently made the rounds of the subscribers to make collections. "It was an understood thing among the gamblers that when they took the syndicate's system of racing information they would receive protection."⁹ The individual operators owned their businesses but were subject to the dictation of the syndicate because of its monopoly of protection and racing information.

A similar pattern of organization more effectively administered appeared more recently in other lines. During Mayor Dever's administration in Chicago there was a migration of illicit business to certain suburban municipalities. In each gambling place, saloon, and brothel an agent of the powerful Capone-Torrio gang was posted. "So thoroughly organized was the combine and so autocratic were its methods that the proprietors had to pay the salaries of the agents, whose jobs were to see that the places received protection and that the combine got its split. This varied from twenty-five to fifty per cent of the gross receipts."¹⁰ With the political defeat of Dever, there was a movement cityward of gamblers, prostitutes, and allied groups. Under the new administration in the city the Capone organization "usually 'muscled in' for forty per cent of the 'take' of these independent gambling places." This took care both of the

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 872-73.

¹⁰ Pasley, *op. cit.*, p. 41. On syndicate-controlled gambling in Kansas City see report of grand jury in *Kansas City Star*, September 9, 1933. On a San Francisco ring see A. M. Holden, "Graft Investigations of a Year," *National Municipal Review*, III (1914), 532-533.

gangs and of the law.¹¹ There is evidence to indicate that the syndicate, like some holding companies, provided certain services. It recruited girls for disorderly houses and put them through an apprenticeship.

The most elaborate underworld organization was perfected in the business of illicit liquor. This required an extensive organization for the manufacture, importation, and distribution of the merchandise to thousands of saloons in metropolitan areas and in some cases a numerous body of armed men to protect the syndicate's customers and territory from conquest by rival groups. In this connection a practice appeared not unknown to legitimate business with monopolistic tendencies—that of pushing the sale of side lines, using the leverage of the principal product to break down sales resistance. In Chicago the customers of the Capone liquor syndicate purchased their towels and table linens, cigars, cigarettes, ginger ale, and pretzels from "subsidiaries" of the syndicate. If they did not, the consequences were unpleasant.¹² Similarly, in 1912 Kate Adams attributed control of two hundred houses in Chicago to the Colosimo vice syndicate which, she said, paid for arrangements with the police and made political contributions. The houses were required to patronize certain grocery stores and to take out all their insurance in a company represented by a powerful politician. Three doctors were especially indorsed by the trust.¹³

A corollary of the power to "license" speakeasies, gambling houses, and brothels is the power to instigate police raids upon independent competitors. A member of a Chicago gambling syndicate in 1912 testified that all raids made by the police were done under the instructions of the protected ring for the purpose of driving competitors out of business.¹⁴ The syndicate is not entirely dependent upon collusive police raids to suppress competition. In an earlier time brass knuckles and similar weapons were employed. Then came

¹¹ E. D. Sullivan, *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1929), p. 189.

¹² See F. D. Pasley, *Muscling In* (New York: I. Washburn, 1931), pp. 54-56.

¹³ Landesco, *Organized Crime*, pp. 847-48. For a description of similar practices in Pittsburgh see Steffens, "Pittsburgh: A City Ashamed," *McClure's Magazine*, XXI (1903), 32-33.

¹⁴ Landesco, *op. cit.*, p. 886; see also p. 569.

black-powder bombs, and more recently machine guns and other modern devices.¹⁵

At times there may be a division of territory in order to maintain monopoly conditions and equilibrium in the underworld. A syndicate may have a concession only for a certain section of the city. In New York long before 1900 gambling concessions were granted by wards, and operators encroaching upon a territorial franchise were very promptly closed down by the police.¹⁶ If there are competing syndicates or gangs, neither with complete monopoly rights protected by the police, there may be efforts to divide territory by agreement just as occurs in the business of the upperworld. Various agreements were made during the prohibition era for the division of Chicago among rival gangs, although the understandings were short-lived, and the solution eventually came by warfare, extermination, and consolidation.¹⁷ In some cases there occurs a functional division of the various lines operating under separate syndicates; in others, vice, liquor, gambling, narcotics, and others may be in effect merged.¹⁸

¹⁵ The outlines of the modern business and commercial "racket" are almost precisely the same as those of a vice or gambling syndicate although the participants and methods of coercion may differ. In popular parlance both types are lumped together as "rackets." The underworld syndicate permits individuals to pursue illegitimate businesses and demands a part of the profits. The techniques of coercion have been principally the police and other law-enforcing agencies, although illegal violence has been used when criminal gangs secured control of the syndicate. The business racket fixes prices, limits competition, and collects for its services with the co-operation in some instances of a large proportion of the business men involved, cleaners, dyers, laundrymen, or whatever group is involved. The non-conforming fringe is not disciplined by officers of the law but by use of control of labor unions or various forms of violence or threatened violence to persons or property. The successful execution of the conspiracy depends upon the purchased acquiescence or the incompetence of the officials directly concerned, usually the police and prosecuting officials. Sometimes inaccurately called a "racket" is extortion by breaking plate-glass windows or damaging other property and securing money for "protection" without any attempt at monopoly. On rackets see G. L. Hostetter and T. Q. Beesley, *It's a Racket* (1929); D. T. Lynch, *Criminals and Politicians* (1932); *Official Records of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*, Sen. Doc. 307 (71st Cong., 3d sess., 1931).

¹⁶ See Lexow investigation, *Report and Proceedings*, pp. 1800-1816.

¹⁷ Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, 55-57.

¹⁸ See H. B. Chamberlain, "Some Observations concerning Organized Crime," *Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII (1931-32), 652-70.

The newer types of underworld organization make for protective arrangements unlike those prevailing in the individualistic situation such as that revealed by the Lexow inquiry. Under the big business régime in the underworld, several patterns of protection are discernible. One of these types is the "downtown fix" in which the granting of protection is centralized for the entire city in the hands of a powerful politician, the chief of police, the chief of detectives, or the mayor. These individuals deal, usually through intermediaries, with the syndicate head or heads.¹⁹

A very simple case of this type will illustrate the general nature of such agreements. The chief of the detective bureau in Chicago permitted, for some consideration, one Bertsche to operate certain confidence games. "Subsequently others, through Bertsche's arrangement with the detective bureau, were permitted to go into the same business." Halpin, the detective chief, assigned Officers O'Brien and Carmody to the game involved. O'Brien received one hundred dollars per month. Thus Bertsche was the head of a syndicate with the power to "license" persons to enter the business, and probably to drive others out. A special police detail was assigned presumably to avert difficulties in delivering protection. This was a rudimentary form of a pattern that may operate on a larger scale over a much wider sphere.²⁰

During Dever's administration as mayor there was no "downtown fix." Dever's chief of police was approached with a tempting offer which was rejected.²¹ When Dever ran for re-election in 1927, representatives of the liquor and other interests offered \$100,000 for his campaign fund, but the sum was rejected.²² "Big Bill" Thompson was elected. Landesco declares:

In circles close to Capone it was well known that he had contributed substantially to the Thompson campaign.²³ At any rate, Capone, who had oper-

¹⁹ See C. E. Merriam, *Chicago* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), chap. ii, "The Big Fix."

²⁰ *People v. Halpin*, 114 N.E. 932 (1916); *People v. O'Brien*, 115 N.E. 123 (1917).

²¹ Sullivan, *Chicago Surrenders*, p. 234.

²² It would have been wiser to accept the money and return it after the campaign, as Carter Harrison, former mayor of Chicago, was said to have done when the gamblers offered a campaign donation. See C. O. Johnson, *Carter Henry Harrison I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 187.

²³ Some estimates of the amount ran as high as \$250,000, but this is perhaps excessive. The Republican county chairman left town when it was announced that he would be questioned before the grand jury on the sources of the campaign fund.

ated just outside the city during the Dever administration, immediately after the election of Thompson returned to his old haunts in the old levee district and established headquarters at the Metropole Hotel.

A syndicate was formed to which every gambling-house keeper, handbook owner, vice-resort keeper, and beer runner had to contribute a percentage of his income. "The protection and immunity enjoyed by the syndicate members was almost conclusive indication that certain public officials and politicians were receiving their share of the booty from the syndicate."²⁴

What happens to the underworld organization when there is no downtown fix?

It is a curious anomaly in the history of organized crime that when there is an honest chief of police and no central downtown fix, the period is characterized as one "when the police get the graft," which means that the "small fry" get the graft. When the graft is centralized city-wide in the office of an important politician, the politicians get the graft and the police get only a lean skimming.²⁵

In other words, the syndicate must deal with the individual police captains when a city-wide arrangement cannot be made, and this may have its repercussions on the underworld organization. During Dever's administration in Chicago when the mayor and chief of police could not be reached, arrangements of this sort were made. The confession of the office manager of a liquor warehouse illustrates the type of arrangement. His confession was to the effect that each month the warehouse was visited by about four hundred policemen who were paid off, appropriate record being made of the transactions. To prevent imposition by police not assigned to the district, a list of the star numbers of the police in the district was sent from the station house to the warehouse each month.²⁶ In the face of opportunities to supplement their salaries, some of the police then may fail to enforce the policies of the mayor and chief of police.

The ward committeeman, district leader, or alderman may be the more prominent figure in these territorial arrangements. Ward lines sometimes divide a city into independent strongholds in which the ward leader controls completely many phases of municipal ad-

²⁴ There may be a "downtown fix" in which the syndicate head is merely a "collector" rather than the ruler of the business concerned. See *State v. Ames*, 96 N.W. 330 (Minn., 1903).

²⁵ Landesco, "Prohibition and Crime," *Annals*, CLXIII (1932), 123.

²⁶ Quoted by Pasley, *Al Capone*, pp. 93-95.

ministration, particularly the police. The old First and Eighteenth wards in Chicago were such.²⁷ In 1921 the *Chicago Daily News* made an exposé of conditions in the Eighteenth Ward, where it appeared that the two leading Republican politicians of the ward were involved in a protection ring.²⁸ In New York it is generally conceded that the district leaders in recent years have had nothing to do with prostitution, but the Seabury inquiry revealed the existence of professional gambling in the district clubhouses.²⁹ Even the clubhouses were raided by the police.

These appear to be the broad outlines of the principal patterns of protection. There are numerous variations in detail, and this presentation undoubtedly oversimplifies the picture. Everybody who could possibly have any influence is reached in one way or another if it is at all possible, and the result is a tangled skein of lines of influence and control which can be neatly fitted into simple categories only with some violence to detail.³⁰

How may a graft system be managed in a police department with hundreds or perhaps thousands of men, many of whom are merely by the law of chance certain to be honest? How is the degree of secrecy essential to be maintained? How is the promised protection delivered? How do the men below the corrupt officials know what places not to raid in order that the system may operate smoothly?

Before considering these questions it should be noticed that the business of administering a police department is an exceedingly difficult one. The common opinion is that it is merely a matter of giving orders to which response is automatic, but such is far from the actual situation. The commissioner of Police is subject to pressure, control, and removal by the mayor. His policies may be disregarded or

²⁷ See G. K. Turner, "The City of Chicago," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (1907), 586.

²⁸ Landesco, *Organized Crime*, p. 858. For an account of the police, politicians, and vice in Chicago see W. C. Reckless, *Vice in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 70-95. On gambling see *Chicago Daily News*, February 24, 27, March 1, 3, 5, 6, 30, 1934.

²⁹ See Raymond Moley, *Tribunes of the People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), p. 119.

³⁰ See the summary of records of disbursements left by Jack Zuta, murdered Chicago gangster, in Sullivan, *Chicago Surrenders*, pp. 67-74.

grudgingly carried out by his subordinates. A former police commissioner of New York declared that in the department there were very few officers whom he could trust to carry out his orders. He said:

The reason was very simple. I was head of the department for an indeterminate period, which might end at any time. Back of me was the Mayor, who chose me, and whose office would also end at an early date. Back of him was the permanent political machine, which elected him. As the policeman is in office for life, he very logically looked past both the Mayor and me and made his alliances and took his orders from the only permanent influence concerned—the politician.³¹

Between the mayor, the political organization, the interests behind it, and his subordinates, the official life of a police commissioner is a precarious one.³²

The difficulty of controlling the force, the special skills required, and the practice in many cities of appointing as police executives prominent men who have no knowledge of police work make it possible for a graft system to be operated by the police in spite of the most sincere exertions of the transitory superior. The police executive will usually depend for advice upon his permanent subordinate officers. "Only long experience," says Vollmer, "can save the police executive from being hoodwinked by the crooks in the department." The chief must have an intimate knowledge of the personnel of his department.

Is the detective who arrests a great number of pickpockets an efficient officer, or is he a crook working in combination with a shyster attorney and a crooked bondsman? Is the active anti-vice policeman fearlessly performing his duty or merely arresting people at a time and place agreed upon by his employers, the "vice lords"? Is the busy traffic-tagging policeman treating all violators the same, or is he selling privileges to a few for a definite consideration? Is the squad car crew with the biggest list of arrests to their credit an efficient group of hardworking policemen or just another squad of "smart coppers" who devote most of their time collecting from the liquor transporters? . . . Is the smart and active captain in the district actually keeping down major crimes, or

³¹ T. A. Bingham, "The Organized Criminals of New York," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXIV (1909-10), 62; see also William McAdoo, *Guarding a Great City* (1906), pp. 50-51.

³² See *Reports of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee To Investigate the Affairs of the City of New York, 1921-1922*, Leg. Doc. 107 (1922), pp. 214-20.

is he just another one of the "hold out" men who fail to chronicle all the events that transpire in his district but does keep a watchful eye upon the places from which he collects huge sums of money for allowing the owner to violate the law?³³

In another connection he observes that "evidence presented to the grand jury seemed to indicate that grafting policemen operated successfully through four successive police administrations."³⁴

When the police executive, the commissioner, chief, or captain, is himself corruptible, the problem of managing the protective system is carried out through the instrumentality of control over assignment of the men to posts, control over their promotion, and the disciplinary powers. The police executive may operate through an intermediary who is intimately acquainted with the crooks both on the inside and outside of the department. Men on the force who can be trusted will be transferred to the most remunerative posts—the vice squad, the gambling squad, or to particular territorial districts.³⁵ At times the police executive issues orders for transfers and new assignments at the direction of the collector or syndicate head.³⁶

The subordinate police officials may receive verbal instructions regarding the particular places that are paying for protection.³⁷ If there is any doubt about the integrity of the administration, officers in the lower reaches of the organization usually act very circumspectly, for if they chance to raid a protected place, they may be promptly transferred to undesirable posts. If a place is open, it is usually assumed that protection is being paid; otherwise a raid would be ordered from headquarters or by the captain.

If a patrolman reports a violation to his superior and no action is taken or the superior officer says "I will attend to it" and does not, the inferior is not expected thereafter to again report the facts or to take any individual action. If he persists, he knows he will be transferred "to the prairies," or as one witness testified, would need "to have his head examined."³⁸

³³ At p. 33 of the *Report on Police*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (1931).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁵ See the generalized description of this procedure by a former state's attorney of Cook County, Ill., quoted by Reckless, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁶ See, e.g., *Curtis v. State*, 148 N.E. 234 (1925), "Bouklas [the collector] was even permitted to name the vice squad."

³⁷ E.g., see Landesco, *Organized Crime*, p. 955.

³⁸ Chicago Civil Service Commission, *Final Report Police Investigation* (1912), p. 46; see also Sullivan, *Chicago Surrenders*, p. 50.

Various symbols have been used from time to time to convey the intelligence to the police that a place has paid for protection. In New York, Seabury found that the "Liberty League" was a protective organization, the members of which would receive membership cards which conspicuously displayed in speakeasies would protect them from raids.³⁹ Similarly, policy "bankers" paid for protection and gave their employees certain buttons, the effect of which was to make them immune from arrest.⁴⁰

When a ward politician is the principal figure in the pattern of protection, the techniques of managing the police are similar except that the actual power to make transfers is vested in the politician and not in the police executive. A powerful ward leader may be able to keep a pliant police captain in his post against the wish of the commissioner of police and all the reformers in the city.⁴¹ As a matter of self-preservation, the captains at times must take their orders from the politician. There may be, of course, rivalry among the police for the lucrative assignments, and when there is a change in the administration there will be a corresponding shift in the police organization of individuals friendly with the new administration to such posts.

In the operation of a smoothly running police-graft system one of the most important considerations is that there be a definite assignment of functions and that every officer entitled to a share of the graft in his line of duty gets it. In dealing with New York prohibition violators there was a division of sources between higher police officials and the rank and file. Judge Seabury found:

The low class violator who was not in a position to pay any substantial sum for protection was left to the mercies of the plainclothes patrolmen, the larger operators, who could and were willing to pay for protection, were reserved for the higher-ups. This does not mean that the lower police officers were not left with plenty of opportunities for graft. One of them, who was shown to have deposited \$99,000 in ten years, stated that "the cop," such as himself, got only "the crumbs from the table."⁴²

³⁹ *Final Report: Investigation of Magistrates' Courts* (1932), p. 136.

⁴⁰ W. B. Northrop and J. B. Northrop, *Insolence of Office* (New York, 1932), p. 220.

⁴¹ See Landesco, *Organized Crime*, p. 849, n. 1.

⁴² *Intermediate Report: In the Matter of the Investigation of the Departments of Government of the City of New York*, pp. 82-83.

If the law-enforcement officials of overlapping jurisdictions have power over the same matters, the operation of a successful protection system requires some sort of alliance or agreement between them for co-operation or division.⁴³

The management of a system of police graft is facilitated by the police rule of silence.

It is an unwritten law in police departments that police officers must never testify against their brother officer. Viewing it from the inside, it is soon found that as a general rule policemen believe that the average citizen is opposed to them and they must fight their battles together against their common enemy.⁴⁴

After an investigation of the Chicago department in 1912, the Civil Service Commission observed that

the machinery used in levying and collecting tribute from vice is complicated and the hands through which the money passes are numerous. All being of equal guilt, direct evidence could be obtained only through informants. If a minor police officer acting as a collector should come out into the open and testify as to such payments, it was the unanimous belief in the service that this would mean sooner or later his elimination from the force, even if granted immunity by the commission.⁴⁵

Many other factors must be considered in interpreting the relationships of police and the underworld. They may only be suggested at this point, but they include the play of the political forces of the community, the techniques of deception such as through collusive police raids, and the community traditions and standards.

⁴³ E.g., in *Scott v. State*, 141 N.E. 19 (1925), the court in upholding a conviction of the director of public safety of Youngstown for solicitation and acceptance of bribes remarked that in the record there was *prima facie* evidence of a conspiracy between the federal prohibition officer for Youngstown and the defendant to protect bootleggers.

⁴⁴ Vollmer in *Report on Police: National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*, p. 48.

⁴⁵ Chicago Civil Service Commission, *Final Report Police Investigation*, pp. 9-10; also McAdoo, *op. cit.*, chap. xvi, "The Solidarity and Prejudices of the Police."

TEXTBOOKS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

The need of the student is to grasp the life of himself and of his fellows as a whole, and to develop a scheme of life in harmony with such an understanding. Teachers of sociology have a peculiar opportunity to afford this, especially in the more comprehensive sociological courses. Instructors will concentrate on the social situation as a whole, its internal relationships, its spatio-temporal patterns, its basic components or factors. They will present a situational rather than an aspectual analysis, beginning with the student's own situation. The subject matter of texts will center largely in the student's world but will attempt to expand it for an understanding of his larger social relationships. The introductory text will contain much case material; for the sake of interest appeal, dramatic features should be accentuated. Use of bibliographies, footnotes, section and sub-section headings, tables, etc., should be reduced to a minimum. Such texts should be used as a tool in cultivating sensitiveness to the world in which the student lives.

I

The use of textbooks is an integral part of the teaching and learning process, and we can hardly come to sound conclusions about it without first making clear to ourselves what the salient objectives of the total process may be, and what the process itself must needs be in order, so far as possible, to reach those objectives. And this implicates problems of valuation and of motivation which are far from being settled.

In attempting to state *the* objective, rather than various specific objectives, of sociological study, one should perhaps begin by rejecting a number of candidates for this exalted position. The objective for the college student is not to fill his head with a knowledge of sociology, or learn what the leading sociologists have written on the subject, or discover what sociologists think about questions of the day, or even to solve sociological problems for himself. One would not exclude these, duly subordinated, as specific objectives, and would even stress one or another of them for students whose interests might justify it.

The objective is, rather, to contribute as much as may be to intelligent, responsible, creative living by the learner, both in the present and in the future; Since, however, this is at least one major

objective of all education, both in and out of school, we must determine the specific contributions which may be justly demanded of sociological study. It is not sufficient to say that these have to do with social relationships, for so, also, have physical, biological, or literary studies—directly or indirectly. We come nearer the mark by saying that they are concerned with the understanding of social life, its formative influences on the individual personality, its deficiencies and problems; and with the reconditioning of the student's attitudes and valuations in the light of needs and opportunities thereby defined. And this must have a dynamic, progressive quality, for the great objective is the good life throughout the career of the individual.

Even this is not the exclusive prerogative of sociological inquiry, for the study of other social sciences, of psychology, philosophy, and literature contributes in manifold ways to this more specific objective and perhaps as vitally as does the study of sociology.

Well, why not concentrate on aspects of social life that no other discipline treats systematically or adequately, and for such reconditioning of the student's behavior as may be thus indicated? There are, for example, culture patterns, social processes, group interests, with their sequences, pathologies, and problems of control, which furnish plenty of material for specialized study and instruction.

The student will be helped toward the major objective of all education by coming to understand these phenomena and shaping his career accordingly. Doing this and doing likewise with the subjects treated by other departmental disciplines goes far to meet his greatest need, but nevertheless falls far short of it. His great, one might even say his all-embracing, need is to grasp the life of himself and of his fellows as a whole, and to develop a *scheme* of life, a purpose, a set of objectives in harmony with such an understanding. College education is now too specialized, too departmentalized, and also too intellectualized to render this supreme service.

Something like this, especially on its intellectual side, is attempted in "orientation" courses, as well as some courses in philosophy and literature. We need not stop to inquire how well it is done. There is little danger of too much being done, however, and in the field of the social sciences there is room, alongside specialized courses, for

broad, integrative studies headed toward the same objective. For the social approach does offer a view of human life as a whole, and its context in the general order of nature. May we not say that teaching sociologists have here a great opportunity, if not a definite responsibility to their students, depending, of course, on the equipment of the individual instructor, and the situation in his particular institution? Even if there are orientation or philosophy or other courses with a like purpose, the sociologist with the requisite interest and ability will still have his opportunity. We require much more attention to the forest as against the trees in order to appreciate the complex whole and its variegated content.

These suggestions have particular reference to the broader, more comprehensive courses in our field—those in introductory sociology, social institutions, social theory, and so on. But the general principle applies also to particular sectors of the field, with due allowances, naturally, for the exigencies of specialization, and for backgrounds already built up through the broader courses. The special content of any course becomes more significant, and contributes more to central educational objectives, if its contextual relationships in social life as a whole are explored.

II

Let us consider the implications of the position for the introductory course. Instructors accepting this position will not concentrate on selected aspects of social life to the exclusion of others, but rather on the social situation as a whole, its internal relationships, its spatio-temporal patterns, its basic components or factors. That is, they will not present a cultural, processual or other aspectual, but a situational, analysis of the social. One could readily name a dozen if not a score of situational components that are severally as significant as culture traits, social processes, or other aspects of social life now accepted by one or another party as *the* subject-matter, or *the* field, of sociology. These are quite properly treated in introductory and other courses, but the proposal is that *all* of them, not alone certain ones, be studied, and studied as components of the situational wholes apart from which they have no existence and no meaning.

There will be vigorous dissent from this position. A large percentage, perhaps a majority, of sociologists have espoused both in teach-

ing and in research an aspectual view of sociology and its problems, considering it none of their business as professional specialists to formulate a theory of social life as a whole, and teach it to their students or readers of their papers. They may consider such situational study an impossible undertaking or else assume that philosophy or some other discipline is responsible for it. They will not be readily weaned away from this view, however questionable it may be.

But it may be argued further that, from a purely pedagogical standpoint, the situational approach to the study of sociology is superior to the aspectual approach. To use a much abused pair of terms, one centers attention on the concrete, the other on the abstract. Our students, especially in the beginning of their sociological study, are much more interested in the concrete social situation than they are in aspectual abstractions of it, and for the very good reason that they are better acquainted with it. The concrete is their acts, ideas, feelings, sensations, all fused together; the abstract is in their minds or heads only; and *our* abstractions are not in *their* heads at all. A taste for *such* abstractions, like that for olives, is but slowly, often painfully, acquired. It is an axiom of educational psychology that we must begin with students where they are, not where we are or where we would like them to be.

This means that we are not to begin with any concrete situation, but with the students' own situation, or rather with the diverse situations of particular students; begin, that is, with their actual interests and problems, including genuine intellectual ones, if any. One cannot say, in advance of actual inquiry, what their more common interests and problems may be; but likely those pertaining to dates for the week-end or getting more money from home or securing a job after graduation come higher on the list than any concerned with American civilization, community organization, or the family as a social and educational institution. We have to begin with their interests and problems, whatever they are, and in a sense we must end with them, so far as students themselves are concerned. But if we not only begin with but really understand and respect their interests, we are in a position to guide them, to help them in meeting *their* problems, and at the same time to collaborate with them in developing their interests toward the greater life-objectives for them-

selves and their society. This general approach and method, because it operates with actual motives and interests, should be superior to others, even from the standpoint of those who do not believe in a situational sociology but in some one or another of the aspectual sociologies. Naturally, the aspectual sociologist who may take such an approach will aim at objectives differentiated from those accepted by the situational sociologist.

III

The foregoing discussion has been concerned with the teaching and learning process as a complex, unitary whole, and therefore as much with texts and their use as with any other phase of the process. We may now center attention on the textbook itself, considering it with special reference to the introductory course.

The implications of the discussion relative to the content of the introductory course and hence of the introductory text should be pretty clear. The subject matter will center largely in the student's world, rather than in the "great society" or in the field of pure sociology (whatever that may be) where the instructor may dwell. It will deal with flesh-and-blood people in that world—with students themselves, their relatives, friends, neighbors, lovers, "profs," deans, and so on; and, of course, with the significant groupings in this circle of acquaintances. Dealing with flesh-and-blood people it will be concerned with their ideas and feelings no less than with their actions; and it will give particular attention to their attitudes, purposes, schemes of life, for therein more than anywhere else will be found clues to the understanding of their behavior and experience.

This will be, so to speak, the raw content. In the study of origins—which will be essential—man's original nature and the general order of nature in which he has his place will be stressed not less than the culture that shapes his development, for man is a creature of racial heredity and geographic environment fully as much as of habit derived from the social milieu.

On analysis, the concrete behavior and experience of our flesh-and-blood people will be found, not neatly distributed among the constituent groups and institutions of society, but familial, economic, political, religious, educational, etc., all in one. Thus will be defined

a perspective from which specialized social or individual interests may be most fruitfully considered, their essential unity being emphasized equally with their functional diversity.

Though the content of the introductory text will center in the student's world of flesh-and-blood people, one of its prime functions will be to expand his world and help him realize that he is, even now, or is likely to be, a founder of a family, a member of a vocation, a citizen of local community, national state, and international society, and that his destiny is bound up with these and other groups. While dealing with his actual present, it will orient him toward the awaiting future.

There will be, thus, a treatment of the student's own interests and problems, their larger context in human affairs, and of cultural, processual and other aspects so dear to the heart of the sociologist. As intimated, perhaps too hopefully, all schools of sociology might find such a text acceptable on the ground of its superiority as a teaching and learning instrument. The specific objectives which they made it serve could and inevitably would be many and diverse.

According to these specifications, the introductory text will contain much case material, not only on individual personalities, but also on specific groups and social situations. This material will, of course, be as representative as possible, but its prime function will be to depict the social context of human life, rather than to illustrate any principles of pure sociology. The principles will emerge, in the analysis, as aspects of something far more "real," and to the student at least more interesting and stimulating. This case material and its analysis might well have more space in an introductory text than the systematic, generalized exposition of aspects and principles, though this also will have an important place.

It may be submitted, further, that "practical" problems deserve as much consideration in any sociology text as do "theoretical" problems, and for the very good reason that human beings and their social groups are far more concerned with ways and means of surmounting their difficulties, of carrying out their plans and purposes, than with the acquisition of knowledge about these problems for the sake of its own intrinsic values. Practical interests are at the heart of social life, whether past or present; specialized intellectual inter-

ests, by comparison, are at the periphery, though, of course, vitally conditioning practical concerns.

These features are stressed, be it remembered, on the ground that the student's interest in the subject matter of the course will be thereby stimulated most potently. He is naturally most concerned in his own concrete world, and much more in its practical than in its theoretical problems. We want to cultivate his intellectual interests, but we do that best by starting with the concrete situations of his own experience, in and from which that type of interest is gradually differentiated. Not only can interest in all sorts of sociological problems, aspectual as well as situational, be best stimulated by the use of such materials, but the greatest progress in understanding problems of any sort comes perhaps in the same way, taking for granted, of course, the necessity of expounding systematically facts, laws, and principles of general significance.

Still other devices might be utilized in making the textbook interesting to the student, so that, if humanly possible, he would require no pressure to read and ponder over it. Accuracy and balance are cardinal virtues in a text, but even more cardinal, if the expression be allowed, is its intrinsic appeal to the student. For this reason it would be in order to accentuate the dramatic features of the case material. It would even be legitimate to subordinate its fact values to its story values, much as does a good newspaper article. Let it tell absorbing stories—if possible, because of its cumulative appeal, a single story—and the student's interest will take care of itself. Likely he will not have to be driven to the study of the principles in the more methodical expositions. So vital does this seem that if the requisite case material were not available it would be worth while to invent it, making it representative, of course, and presenting it as fictional rather than "factual" material. Indeed, many a novel would serve teaching and learning purposes better than many a text. A teacher giving a course on culture could do worse than start with *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*; or, if giving a course on logic, with *Life on the Mississippi* by the same author. Actually, students are apt to be much more interested in *Middletown* and Kent's books on politics than in any texts dealing with the same

subjects. And those books exemplify, in various ways, the points that have been emphasized.

Certain features prominent in textbooks of the conventional sort might well be subordinated or excluded altogether. It is not necessary to have chapters chopped up into numerous sections and subsections, each heralded by a generous display of bold-faced type; it does not flatter a student's intelligence to give him artificial helps of this sort. Of doubtful value are the elaborate paraphernalia at the ends of chapters, such as extensive bibliographies, questions on the text, and problems for further study; these imply a rather low estimate of the teacher's intelligence and resourcefulness. Of questionable value, too, is a lot of footnotes yapping at the heels of the student, to paraphrase one of James' vivid phrases. It would seem advisable to make only a sparing use of statistical data, particularly in the form of tables. These are rather boring to the student, though he needs to be familiarized, gradually, with this type of material. And, finally, there is no good reason why publishers should choose a format commonly thought appropriate to the textbook—the dull binding, unattractive typography, and the like.

There is, of course, a place for references to significant literature and for suggestions as to problems the student might work out for himself. But these need not be so obtrusive as they have been in most texts; they could be relegated to the end of the book and serve their purpose just as well, without marring the main body of the text.

One might sum up these suggestions in the form of an Irish "bull": The best sort of text is not a textbook at all, but what the publishers somewhat quaintly call a "trade book." That is, textbookish features are excluded or subordinated, and it is designed to entertain as well as instruct the reader, just as are books written for the so-called general reader. This will give authors a freedom they do not now enjoy. They will not need to take themselves quite so seriously; they will not be so concerned to display their erudition; they can take their readers into their confidence; and they may resort freely to incident and illustration in order to adorn the tale and intrigue the reader's interest.

IV

How best to use texts of this and other sorts is, of course, a vital problem. The entire discussion has its implications for this question. But a few additional observations may be offered. Perhaps the lowest-grade use of a text is memorizing it and reproducing portions of it on the demand of the instructor. And the highest-grade is employment of it as a tool in cultivating the sensitiveness of the student to the world in which he lives, in helping the student to find himself, to develop a drive, a purpose, without which the good life will be for him impossible. And this involves collaborating with the student, not alone in acquiring knowledge, but in finding things to *do* that will evoke the highest initiative and effort of which he is capable. We do not sufficiently appreciate the fact that learning and growth are no different, in principle, for students and their instructors. They require much the same sort of freedom, initiative, driving purpose as we do. Yet in our courses we largely arrogate to ourselves these prerogatives, while our students, by comparison, play a passive, subordinate, aimless rôle. Texts of the sort here recommended should do much to correct this situation. But students need better teachers even more than they need better textbooks.

TOPICAL SUMMARIES OF CURRENT LITERATURE

MENTAL HYGIENE AND PERSONALITY TESTS

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Tests designed to measure traits other than intelligence and achievement have been designated by various names including character, interests, attitudes, mental hygiene, and personality. Indeed, the terms "mental hygiene" and "personality" have been used to cover almost every trait of the individual. Although such tests have not been widely used, they have now reached a stage in development where it is possible to determine the lines along which they are being formulated.

This paper includes a review¹ of tests reported in twenty-nine psychological, sociological, and educational periodicals from their beginning to June, 1933. Eighty-one tests were found which may be classified as either mental hygiene or personality tests. The method of analyzing tests reported in periodicals was considered desirable because most tests of mental hygiene and personality have been published in periodical or monograph form. It should be added, however, that several tests have been published only in commercial form, and some of these have been included. So far, publishing houses have been skeptical of the value of such tests and consequently only a few are available for public use.

REACTIONS MEASURED

One of the major aims of mental hygiene is to stabilize emotions. Normal individuals show, what is conspicuously absent in the abnormal, the presence of such balancing factors as power of inhibition, emotional control, and nervous stability. The Woodworth Personal

¹ The writers are indebted to Miss Maurine Martel, graduate student in the University of Colorado, for aid in collecting material.

Data Sheet or Psychoneurotic Inventory (80) is designed to identify individuals who are emotionally unstable. The Laird test (46) is designed to discover persons in need of mental hygiene and to measure quantitatively the degree and kind of mental deviation. The test is valuable in that it detects students in need of treatment who otherwise would be overlooked until serious mental difficulty is encountered. Freeman considers the Pressey X-O Tests for Investigating the Emotions as the most ambitious attempt which has been made to construct an instrument for the measurement of emotions. Tendler (66) states that his Test for Emotional Insight is valuable as an approach to emotional behavior in its normal phases. Other tests for measuring this trait have been constructed: by Ball (4), Blatz and Bott (9), Heidbreder (35), Leach and Washburne (47), Papurt (57), Pressey and Pressey (59), Town (69), and Weber (74).

Closely allied to emotions is the relation of introversion to extroversion. Laird (46), Marston (50), and Heidbreder (35) published almost simultaneously tests designed to measure introversion-extroversion, all of which show the influence of the Woodworth Inventory. Another test of this trait is the Bernreuter Personality Inventory (8); Whitman (77) has developed a Short Scale for Measuring Introversion-Extroversion based upon the Colgate Personal Inventory, Form C. Other typical tests of this classification include: Conklin Determining of Normal Introversion-Extroversion Differences (19), Freyd Introversion-Extroversion Test (27), Gilliland-Burke Objective Measure of Introversion-Extroversion (30), and Neymann-Kohlstedt Diagnostic Test for Introversion-Extroversion (55).

TYPES OF TESTS ACCORDING TO CONSTRUCTION

Of the eighty-one tests reviewed, sixty-six were designed for group testing while the remainder were for individual examination. Representative of the group tests are: A Measure of Sociability by Gilliland and Burke (30), An Objective Measure of Introversion and Extroversion by Gilliland and Morgan (31), the Thurstone Personality Schedule (67), A New Measure of Character Traits by Shuttleworth (64), and the Pressey X-O Test for Investigating the Emotions (59). There are eleven individual tests (2, 5, 9, 18, 21, 24, 29, 33, 37,

44, 69) illustrated by the McGill Preschool Character Rating Charts (5), Downey Individual Will-Temperament Test (23), and the Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenses (13). Four tests (1, 3, 7, 19) may be used for either group or individual examination. Characteristic of this type is the Neymann-Kohlstedt Diagnostic Test of Introversion-Extroversion (55).

It is difficult to classify these tests according to their degree of objectivity because there is much variation. All are classified as objective tests although it is difficult to eliminate the subjective element since, at times, the subject may be tempted to "work" the test and give the normal reaction to a situation rather than the natural or personal reaction which he would give in action. A greater difficulty is encountered in attempting to classify these tests according to construction as questionnaire, inventory, or rating scales. The Woodworth Psychoneurotic Inventory (80) may be classified both as inventory and questionnaire. The same is true of the revisions of the test as the Woodworth-House Mental-Hygiene Inventory (37), Woodworth-Cady Questionnaire (15), and the Woodworth-Mathews Questionnaire (51). A questionnaire is in reality one form of an inventory test. Gilliland and Burke (30) believe that the questionnaire is the best single method devised for measuring sociability. The questionnaire has also been found a convenient instrument for measuring introversion-extroversion. Laird's Personal Inventory (45) is in the form of a graphic scale. The Heidbreder Self-Ratings and Preferences (34) is an inventory test. Typical of the questionnaire are: Jones's Personnel Questionnaire (42), Symonds' Social Attitude Questionnaire (65), Allport's A-S Reaction Test (1), Gilliland and Morgan's Objective Measure of Introversion and Extroversion (31), and Kornhauser's Questionnaire on Likes and Dislikes (45). Typical of the inventory test are: the Bernreuter Personality Inventory (8), the Thurstone Neurotic Inventory (67), and Conklin's Test of Introversion-Extroversion (19). Typical of the rating scales are: the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule (32), McGill Preschool Character Rating Chart (5), New York Rating Scale for School Habits (21), Brown's Character-Conduct Rating Scale for Students (12), and Upton-Chassel Scale for Measuring the Importance of Good Citizenship (71).

NUMBER AND TYPE OF ITEMS

A common limitation of the majority of tests is their brevity. Usually where few items are used, the coefficient of reliability is low. Forty-three per cent of the tests have less than fifty items, 26 per cent have from fifty to one hundred items, and 19 per cent have from 100 to 150. The median number of items is sixty-two. A typical short test is Symonds' A Social Attitude Questionnaire (65) which has a reliability coefficient of .67 for thirty-two items. The discussion of the test suggests that the reliability coefficient would be raised to .83 by increasing the number of items to 120. Gilliland and Burke's Measurement of Sociability (30) contains only twelve items; Jones's Personnel Questionnaire (42) twenty-five items; and Vernon and Allport's Test for Personal Values (72) thirty-four items.

Many tests have fewer than twenty-five items. This group includes the Brotemarkle Moral Concept Tests (11) with only seven items; Clark's Whittier Scale (18) and the New York Rating Scale for School Habits (21) with ten each; Downey Individual Will-Temperament Test (23), twelve; Hill's Civic Attitudes of High School Pupils (26), twenty; and Tendler Test of Emotional Insight (66) with twenty items. No coefficient of reliability is reported for these tests. An exception to this relationship of a small number of items to a low reliability coefficient is Whitman's Short Scale for Measuring Introversion-Extroversion (77). This test has only ten items and a reliability coefficient of .89. Compared with these are Cason's Annoyance Test (16) containing 217 items and a reliability of .91, Shuttleworth's New Measure of Character Traits (64) with 350 items and a reliability of .92, the Pressey X-O Test (59) with 125 items and a coefficient of .85, and Woodworth Psychoneurotic Inventory (80) with 116 items and a reliability coefficient of .90.

The types of items used are important factors in constructing tests. Different types are supposed to measure different reactions, although it is difficult to determine the kind of reaction measured by such items. Questions are usually constructed with a view both to their objectivity in meaning and scoring. Rating, multiple choice, yes-no, true-false, completion, free association, and cross-out are the most common types of items. Some tests use several types of items.

The George Washington University Social Intelligence Test (39) uses multiple choice, true-false, and matching exercises; the Raubenheimer Study of Behavior Traits (60), and Watson's Measurement of Fairmindedness (73) use multiple choice, rating, and controlled associations. The Pressey X-O Test (59) uses multiple choice and cross-out items.

Thirty-one per cent of the tests use the rating method of answer which includes two forms. One is ranking in the order of merit in which the series of words, phrases, sentences, pictures, or other stimuli are arranged in the order of merit according to specific directions. The tests which use this method are the Brogan Test of Moral Perception (10) which arranges sixteen practices in the order of their undesirability; Gilliland-Burke Test of Sociability, Test III (30); Raubenheimer Behavior Traits, Part VI (60); and Travis Measure of Fundamental Character Traits, Part I (70).

The other method is that of rating according to a point scale. The majority of these use a five-point scale although they range from a two-, i.e., merely good or bad, to a nine-point scale. Symonds attempted to determine the type of point scale most reliable. He claims that usually three or five items are sufficient except for the rating of reactions when the optimum number of classes is seven. Few items tend to yield low reliability; more than seven have such a small increment that it is hardly worth while to attempt to make finer discrimination. The tests which use this technique of answering (2, 5, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 25, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 44, 51, 63, 73, 78) are illustrated by the Cason Annoyance Test (16) and the Jasper Measure of Depression-Elation (41).

Multiple-choice responses include Allport A-S Reaction Test (1), Raubenheimer Behavior Traits (60), and Watson Public Opinion (73). Tests using true-false responses include Weinland Statement of Opinion (75) and Zeleny Measure of Social Opinions of Students (81). Sometimes a third alternative is added, the sometimes true response. Another form of the true-false response is the yes-no answer.

Other types of items and tests representing them include recognition of photographs used in the Gilliland-Burke Measure of Sociability (30), free association method used by Kent-Rosanoff Free As-

sociation Test (43), and cross-out technique used by Pressey X-O Tests (59) and Watson Public Opinion (73). The completion question which eliminates to some extent opportunities for guessing is used in Rhodes Personal Inventory for High School Pupils (62) and the Tendler Test for Emotional Insight (66).

METHODS OF SCORING AND EXPRESSING TEST SCORES

The method of scoring depends partly upon the use which is made of the test. Sometimes the answer to each item conveys an important phase of information which is separately tabulated. Some investigators do not recommend the computation of composite scores because each answer is valuable in itself. If, on the other hand, trends of reactions, general attitude, degree of successful adaptation, or deviations from normal reaction are desired, a score representing the composite items is needed. A test which uses this method of combining the scores is Heidbreder Introversion-Extroversion (35), a +8 score representing a tendency toward introversion and a score of -20 a tendency toward extroversion. This method is used also in Woodworth Inventory (80), Ream's Social Relations Test (61), and Cason Annoyance Test (16).

Pressey (59) and Brotemarkle (11) use a score which is the difference between the number of items checked or crossed out or performed correctly and some group norm. This method is also used in the Weinland Objective Measures for Attitudes (75) and in the McGill Pre-school Character Ratings (5). Almost all social perception tests which use photographs are scored on the basis of the difference between test performance and standards established by expert opinion. Moore and Gilliland's Test of Aggressiveness (29) is scored by determining the difference between test performance under different controlled conditions. Some of Downey's Will-Temperament Tests (22, 23) are scored by finding the ratio of one response to another.

Some authors who use a graphic rating scale are confronted by the task of evaluating the position in the scale in order to obtain a total score. Laird (46) determined the point on each rating scale above which lie 25 per cent of the answers in the direction of introversion and gave one point credit for any answer in this area and

disregarded all others. However, this method seems to defeat the purpose of the rating scale. The usual method is to allow for a five-point scale value as does Cason in his Annoyance Test (16), allowing 3, 2, 1, 0, X. The Bernreuter Personality Inventory (8) has four stencils and the score is the algebraic sum of the values.

THE MATURITY OF SUBJECTS FOR WHICH TESTS ARE DESIGNED

Tests designed for various age levels increase in number from the preschool age through college and decrease rapidly at the adult level. Some tests, such as the Cason Annoyance Test (16) and the Woodworth-House Mental Hygiene Inventory (37), may be used for more than one age level.

In 1919 Upton and Chassell (71) developed a chart of habits and attitudes desirable for good citizenship in the elementary school. Since this test appeared, fifteen others have been developed for use in the elementary school. Typical of these are Baker, Telling What I Do (3), Olson, Measure of Nervous Habits in Children (56), Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Schedules (32), May-Harts-horne Scale for Measuring Attitudes (52), and Weber Emotional Age Scale (74).

One of the first tests applicable for the high school level was the Pressey X-O Test, Form B (59), which appeared in 1920. The first for the high-school level only was Spaulding's Study of Personality (63). These were followed by the Hughes Rating Scale for Individual Capacities, Attitudes and Interests (38), and Clark's Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenders (18). Other tests for this level are the Bernreuter Personal Inventory (8), George Washington University Social Intelligence Test (39), Jackson Personal Data Sheet for Junior High School Pupils (40), Laird Personal Inventory (45), and Watson Measure of Fair-Mindedness (73).

The first test found for the primary pupils was the Woodrow Picture-Preference Character Test (78). Others on this level included the Burdick Apperception Test (14) and Blatz-Bott Studies in Mental Hygiene (9). Measurement of preschool children began with Marston's Introversion-Extroversion Test (50). Others for this group were Conrad Behavior Inventory for Nursery School Children (20) and Olson's Measure of Nervous Habits in Children (56).

VALIDITY

Forty-three per cent of the tests have established validity coefficients, which range from .04 to .96 with a median of .638. Tests are validated by correlations with ratings, intelligence tests, tests of the same reaction, school marks, and other criteria, some using more than one method. The validity of the McNitt Psychological Interview (48, 49) is .88 when correlating criterion score with test score, .87 by correlating associates' score with test score, and .76 by correlating teachers' ratings with test score. The validity of the Watson Test of Public Opinion (73) is .80 when correlated with an outside criterion. This test contains six parts and each is also correlated with the whole, giving a range of coefficients from .53 to .94. Similar results are found in validating the Allport A-S Reaction Test (1).

The method of validation by ratings is used in 52 per cent of the tests. Ratings furnish a means of obtaining valuable information that can be obtained in no other way. The ratings should be made to yield quantitative scores; the raters should be sympathetic, extraordinarily careful, and should be trained in the technique of observation. Cady (15), in validating his tests by ratings, used one of the most carefully controlled validation methods.

Another method of validation is one which considers the extremes of the distribution and disregards the middle ranges. In two widely separated groups two extremes are selected. The validity of the test is determined by the extent to which it makes a similar differentiation. An illustration of this method is found in the Moore and Gilliland Measure of Aggressiveness (29) in which are selected by ratings a more aggressive and a less aggressive group. These two groups are examined to determine whether the battery of tests will separate the groups with slight overlapping. Neymann and Kohlstedt (55) used this method in validating their test of Introversion-Extroversion and found that the curve was not bi-modal, one of introversion, the other extroversion, but an apparently normal distribution with one extreme introversion and the other extroversion. One advantage of this method is the opportunity that it affords for evaluating each item of the test. If one group does well and the other poorly the

item is valid. One limitation of this method is often the inability to obtain two extreme groups, while another is that it fails to show how well the test discriminates in the middle ranges.

RELIABILITY

The reliability of a test is one of the most important criteria for its evaluation. If the measure is unreliable it is useless in its present form. Reliability may be improved by increasing the number of items, by extending the sampling of subjects, or by standardizing the procedure. Fifty-three per cent of the tests analyzed have coefficients of reliability. The range of coefficients is from .40 to .98 with a median coefficient of .851. The test with the lowest expressed reliability, .40, is Barry's Test for Negativism and Compliance (6), while those with the highest reliability, .98, are the McGill Preschool Character Rating Chart (5) and the Upton-Chassell Scale for Measuring the Important Habits of Good Citizenship (71). Of the tests having reliability coefficients, 44 per cent were determined by the method of split halves, 20 per cent by the method of retesting, and 16 per cent by duplicate forms. Some authors determined the reliability of their tests by two or more methods.

NORMS

A critical evaluation of norms involves not only an examination of the number of cases used in their establishment but also the representativeness of the group from which the samples are taken. Norms are usually expressed in terms of age, grade, percentiles, and sex.

Only 65 per cent of the tests furnish norms and 58 per cent of these are expressed in terms of percentiles. This condition is due to the fact that the majority of tests are limited to a definite age level. Some tests are also designed to determine deviations from normal performance which can best be expressed in terms of percentiles. Typical of this type are the norms for such tests as Bernreuter Personality Inventory (8), Brotemarkle Moral Concept Test (11), Conrad Behavior Inventory (20), Gilliland-Morgan Objective Measure of Introversion-Extroversion (31), Jasper Measure of Depression-Elation (41), Laird Mental Hygiene Test (46), Moore-Gilliland Aggressiveness Test (29), Neymann-Kohlstedt Diagnostic Test for

Introversion-Extroversion (55), Ream Social Relations Test (61), and Tendler Test for Emotional Insight (66).

The median number of cases is 325. Forty-eight per cent are based upon 200 cases or less, and these often do not indicate the method of sampling. In most cases this sampling is limited, and the norms should be used with caution. Some norms have been revised since the tests were published in periodical form.

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NEWS AND NOTES

American Sociological Society.—The American Sociological Society held its annual meeting in Chicago, December 26-29, at the Hotel Morrison. The program was organized around the central theme of "Human Problems of Social Planning," with President E. W. Burgess in charge. The registered attendance was approximately 550, the second largest attendance in the history of the annual meetings of the Society. Meetings were held by the following sections of the Society: Rural Sociology, Educational Sociology, Criminology, the Family, Sociology and Social Work, the Community, Social Statistics, Sociology of Religion. The divisions this year were on Social Research, General Sociology, Social Biology, Human Ecology, and Social Psychology. Five joint sessions were held with other social science societies. The first, a general meeting of all of the social science organizations, was devoted to three papers around the theme of "Recent Economic, Social, and Political Changes." The papers were presented by Calvin B. Hoover, Duke University; William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; and Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago. The second joint session was a meeting with the American Political Science Association devoted to the presentation of the presidential addresses by President Walter J. Shepard of the Political Science Association and President Ernest W. Burgess of the American Sociological Society. Two joint sessions were held with the American Statistical Association, one on "Social Statistics in the F.E.R.A. Research Program," and the other, with the American Association for Labor Legislation also, on "Economic Insecurity and Social Insurance." The fifth joint session, with the American Economic Association, was devoted to "Decentralization of Population and Industry." The section on rural sociology held a joint session with the Purnell Conference on "Retrospect and Outlook for Research in Rural Sociology," and a joint luncheon session with the American Farm Economic Association on "Social and Economic Significance of the Subsistence Homestead Program."

Of noteworthy interest was the adoption of the report of the Research Planning Committee of the Society, which is seeking to arrange for the employment of a full-time secretary who may devote his time to the encouragement and promotion of research among sociologists

and act as a liaison agent with different governmental bureaus and agencies. The report of the committee which is considering the opportunities for the employment of trained sociologists in other fields than that of teaching presented its report and was instructed to continue its investigation of the problem during the current year. The committee on publication investigating the printing costs of publishing the publication of the Society was also continued during the current year.

The newly elected officers for the current year are: President, F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; first vice-president, Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University; second vice-president, Clarence M. Case, University of Southern California; elected members of the executive committee, James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, and J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska; secretary treasurer and managing editor, Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago; assistant secretary and managing editor, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., University of Chicago.

Professor F. S. Chapin, University of Minnesota, who is this year's president of the Society, has announced that the program for the 1935 annual meeting will have as its central theme "Social Theory and Social Action." Suggestions are invited from the membership concerning papers relevant to this topic.

The autonomous sections of the Society have elected the following chairmen: Rural Sociology, B. L. Hummel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D.C.; Sociology of Religion, Jerome Davis, Yale University; Criminology, Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania; Educational Sociology, Lloyd A. Cook, Ohio State University. The chairmen of the remaining sections and of the divisions of the Society who are to be appointed by the President will be announced in a subsequent issue of this *Journal*. Each section and divisional chairman earnestly solicits the co-operation of the members in suggesting papers that might be appropriately presented at their sectional and divisional meetings.

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the January issue and up to January 15 are as follows:

Beck, Mrs. Dorothy Fahs, 501 West 122d St., New York City

Blakeman, Edward W., University Hall, W. M., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Church, Mrs. Mary H., Horace H. Rackham and Mary A. Rackham Fund,
Nickels Arcade, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Clare, Tom, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.

- Compton, Ross, Teachers College, Denton, Tex.
Coutu, Walter, Hawthorne Court, Madison, Wis.
Daniel, W. A., 3763 South Wabash Ave., Chicago
Davis, Charles F., 11c3 East Forest Ave., Wheaton, Ill.
Ellingson, Bertha L., 61 East Goethe St., Chicago
Fiero, Maude L., 4902 Linsdale Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Fletcher, Ralph C., 519 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Frohman, Raleigh, 228 Linden Ave., Ithaca, N.Y.
Gallagher, Ralph A., 1911 West Thirtieth St., Cleveland, Ohio
Gibbs, Raymond L., 5515 Ingleside Ave., Chicago
Green, Mrs. Loraine E., 5526 Ingleside Ave., Chicago
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- Williams, G. Croft, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
- Williams, Mrs. Gertrude Marvin, 15 North Franklin St., Wilkes Barre, Pa.
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American Council of Learned Societies.—A series of three seminars are being planned during the summer of 1935. The Section on Chinese and Japanese Studies will be part of the Summer Session at Columbia University, July 5—August 16, 1935. The second Russian Language Institute will be held at Columbia University, June 25 to August 31. A seminar on Arabic and Islamic Studies is being planned at Princeton University, to run approximately from June 20 to July 31. For further information address Mortimer Graves, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Eastern Sociological Conference.—The annual sessions of the Eastern Sociological Conference will be held April 27 and 28, 1935, at Columbia University. Address communications to Dr. Earl E. Muntz, Secretary Eastern Sociological Society, New York University.

International Congress of Sociology.—The Twelfth International Congress of Sociology will be held at Brussels, August 25–30, 1935. The general theme for discussion will be "The Elementary Forms of Social

Life." It is not intended, however, that members and associates feel that their papers must necessarily be confined to this subject. An outline of the subjects and problems to be considered is contained in the June, 1934, number of *Archives de Sociologie*, entitled "Introduction à l'étude des formes élémentaires de la vie sociale," by G. L. Duprat, professor of sociology at the University of Geneva. Inquiries may be addressed to Prof. C. A. Ellwood, Duke University, Durham, N.C., who is the president of the International Institute of Sociology for next year and will preside at the Congress.

International Industrial Relations Institute.—As an outgrowth of the World Social Economic Congress held in Amsterdam, Holland, under the auspices of the Industrial Relations Institute, a conference designed primarily for those concerned with adult education on social economic issues, was held at the Russell Sage Foundation Building, New York City, November 23-27, 1934. The general subject of the conference was: "What kind of economic planning can end unemployment, establish security, and raise standards of living in proportion to productive capacity?"

Marriage Hygiene.—Dr. Norman E. Himes, Hamilton, New York, is the Editor for the U.S.A. of the new journal *Marriage Hygiene*, of which announcement was made in the January *Journal*. Correspondence, manuscripts, and subscriptions should be sent to him. Annual subscription price is \$4.10.

Pacific Sociological Society.—During the holidays the Pacific Sociological Society, formerly centered about Los Angeles, decided to extend its activities to include the organization of persons interested in sociology who are in residence west of the Rocky Mountains. Dr. Richard La Piere, of Stanford University, was named first vice-president in charge of the central division, northern California, Nevada, Utah; Dr. Hertzog, in charge of the southern division, including part of California, also Arizona and possibly western New Mexico; and Dr. Howard Woolston, in charge of organizing the northern tier, consisting of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana. Dr. Neumeyer, of the University of Southern California, is secretary-treasurer for the whole territory.

University of Denver.—Dr. Ben M. Cherrington, director of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences of the University of

Denver, and Henry W. Toll, of the American Legislative Association, sponsored a three-day "planning session" for some fifty Colorado legislators on November 26, 27, and 28.

University of Hawaii.—A series of six conferences on race relations were held in Honolulu, Hawaii, during July and August, 1934, in conjunction with the University of Hawaii Summer School. Visiting and resident faculty members from continental United States, Hawaii, South Africa, Central Europe, Russia, the Pacific Islands, and China, and representing the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, human geography, political science, psychology, and education participated in the discussions.

Conceived primarily as an experiment for funding knowledge from some of the major areas of racial contacts in the modern world, major emphasis was given to the comparison of experience and information from the several regions represented rather than to the formulation of theories of race relations. A preliminary frame of reference prepared by Dr. Robert Park was used as the basis for a series of ten papers presented to the conference. The subjects of discussion included the following: "Racial Fusion in Colonial Areas," "Miscegenation and Acculturation in Hawaii and South Africa," "Bilingualism and Associated Problems in Areas of Race Contacts," "Marginal Types of Extraterritoriality," "Nationalism in Central Europe," "Nazistic Movements in the Pacific," and "Caste and Race Prejudice." Dr. Romanzo Adams was chairman of the conference.

University of Heidelberg.—Vacation courses for foreigners will be given in 1935 from July 1 to August 24. The main course will include lectures by professors of the University on subjects of German literature, folk lore, music, art, pedagogy, history, political science, economics and law, psychology, philosophy, geography, geology and also on problems concerning the intellectual life of Germany. For further information address the Institute of International Education, 2 West Forty-fifth Street, New York City.

University of Iowa.—The McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., announces the publication of *Race and Culture Contacts*, edited by Professor E. B. Reuter. This volume is comprised of a number of the papers presented at the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society.

University of New Hampshire.—Dr. Charles W. Coulter, formerly at Ohio Wesleyan University, has been appointed professor of sociology.

New York University.—Thomas Nelson and Sons announce the publication of *Survey of Contemporary Sociology* by Henry Pratt Fairchild, chairman of the department of sociology.

Municipal University of Omaha.—Dr. T. Earl Sullenger was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the united chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta, national honorary sociology fraternity, at the bi-annual election held in Chicago, December 28, 1934. He also edits the official publication, the *News Letter*. Other officers elected were: Dr. Read Bain, Miami University, president; Dr. John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, vice-president; and Dr. H. N. Shenton, Syracuse University, and Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, members of the executive committee.

University of Pennsylvania.—Professor James H. S. Bossard will give two courses in the Summer Session at the University of California, at Berkeley, June 24—August 2, 1935.

University of Pittsburgh.—Professor F. F. Stephan has been appointed secretary of the American Statistical Association.

Purdue University.—Mr. T. K. Noss has been appointed as instructor in sociology during the second semester of 1934-35.

University of Redlands.—Professor Glen E. Carlson has been appointed by the Governor of the State of California to membership in the new California Relief Commission, which is to have control of all state and federal relief funds and relief problems in the state. For the past year he has acted as chairman of the San Bernardino County Emergency Relief Committee.

Smith College.—Professor Howard Becker (on leave of absence in France for 1934-35) has been elected a corresponding member of the Masaryk Sociological Society of Czechoslovakia and an associate of the Institut International de Sociologie. At the Twelfth International Congress of the Institute, to take place at Brussels in August, 1935, he will present a paper on "The Sacred and the Secular in the Elementary Forms of Greek Social Life."

Westminster College.—Morris G. Caldwel has been appointed to the faculty as professor of sociology.

William Jewell College.—Dr. William C. Smith, professor of sociology, was elected chairman of the Sociology Section of the Missouri Academy of Science, which held its first meeting at the University of Missouri, December 6-8. Dr. Smith was visiting professor of sociology at the University of Missouri during the past summer.

PERSONAL NOTE

Dr. Kenneth E. Barnhart is Camp Director of the Tennessee Transient Bureau.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Pareto: His Sociology. By GEORGE C. HOMANS
and CHARLES P. CURTIS, JR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934.
Pp. xii + 299. \$2.50.

The French translation of Pareto's treatise on sociology has been available since 1917 and has received ample notice from American scholars. Graduate students have been examined on it for the last ten or twelve years. This introduction is not, therefore, as the authors and publishers assume, the revelation of an unknown genius, but rather an effort to popularize an author whose writing, like his thinking, is unclear.

A professor of physiology in Harvard has organized a group of amateurs in sociology, and this book by "a Boston lawyer" and "an alumnus of Harvard" seems to be an effort to promote the cult of the "Paratians," as they call themselves. The sociologist who reads it will find it written in a pleasing style and with a naïve and disarming candor. After several pages devoted to the discussion of a fact, and after deciding that headaches, belly-aches, and "strong feelings of anger or of pity" cannot be called facts, they compel forgiveness by saying: "But, as usual, all our flounderings trying to say what we mean by *fact* have only involved us in further trouble." Much space is devoted, of course, to the concept of *residues*, which includes far more than the invariable element which Pareto proposes in the earlier part of his book. Such diverse phenomena as religious revivals, squash-playing, snobbery, the Declaration of Independence, faith, hope, charity, tapping on the floor when moved by music, and the English "heroic line" (normally an iambic pentameter), are included, besides many more. "One of the things that convinces us that residues are important is that into our cataloguing of them we can work almost any subject in which we are interested." But no impatience is possible with men who write, as they do on page 90: "We have struggled hard to make clear what we mean by a residue, and we are afraid that our struggles have only involved us more deeply in the mire of words."

Pareto was deficient in a sense of humor. This little book makes atonement. It may not be informing, but it is certainly amusing.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Rotary? A University Group Looks at the Rotary Club of Chicago.

By a committee of social scientists from the University of Chicago:
Louis Brownlow, Frank Bane, Carl F. Huth, Frederick L. Schuman,
Charles E. Merriam, Donald Slesinger, Charles S. Ascher.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xxii+293.
\$2.00.

It is not often that an organization of an exclusive character and in no need of soliciting anything from the public engages a committee of academic social scientists to survey it. Prompted apparently by honest concern, the Rotary Club of Chicago has done this unusual thing. The results put upon us the burden of discussing just what it is, apart from erudition and availability at relatively low cost, that social scientists have to offer the Rotary Club or any other such organization.

Surely, it is not a more intimate knowledge of, or feeling for, the facts; nor is it access to hidden records, as the authors justly recognize (p. xx). Nor are social scientists offering much when they undertake "an unbiased and entirely independent survey," (p. xix). Independence is merely a matter of courage. The term "unbiased" implies no more than a fair weighing of the facts according to principles of judgment upon which there is general agreement. It smacks, as does this volume, too much of the impartial but sympathetic judge who wants, in keeping with the times, to deal out "constructive justice."

What the social scientist, if he is to deserve the name, should have to offer is a principle of analysis, a point of view from which the facts can be seen in systematic order. Observation from such a point of view would, no doubt, reveal to the leaders of the organization that there are important facts which have hitherto been unobserved, considered of no consequence, shunned, or even denied. Something in the nature of an exposé might result; certainly the margins of bias—conscious or unconscious—would have to be pushed back. These results, however, would be mere incidents of the investigation. The main thing about the point of view is that it should be implicitly, if not explicitly, comparative. The organization should be tentatively put into a class, so that its problems and difficulties might be treated not in isolation but as those typical of organizations of a certain order. Thus the members of the organization would meet face to face the fundamental assumptions upon which they are acting. They might get a livelier sense of possibilities and limitations of their collective activity.

We do not here refer to the minor limitations of this or that item of

policy, or to problems of administrative efficiency. The leaders of the Rotary Club are masters of efficiency in this narrower sense. They have probably appealed to an outside group just because they sense that there may be some deeper problem which they themselves cannot quite formulate. The problem is essentially this: What functions can such an organization, by its very nature, perform? Following this: Are the difficulties of the club due to some fundamental error in its policy? It does not appear to the reviewer that the authors adopted as their guides any such fundamental questions. They have certainly questioned some of the assumptions on which the organization bases its activities and have dealt with some of its inherent limitations. They should have done so much more systematically and drastically.

We have already suggested that the first problem is to find the peculiar place of this club among the constellation of organizations of a modern city. This involves a functional classification of such organizations and a discovery of their relations to each other. The authors undertake something of this sort in a chapter entitled "The Rôle of Rotary." They speak of it as a "brotherhood of leadership" and a "vocational parliament." We shall refer to this characterization in discussing a second, and related problem, namely: The basis of membership of Rotary being what it is, what can the club expect to undertake without alienating or boring its members, and what can it not undertake?

Rotary, by its constitution, allows no two of its members to be in business competition with each other. A trade or professional association, on the contrary, admits no members who are not in competition with each other. Yet associations of the latter sort easily find the limits of their collective action, sometimes men of action without much mutual loyalty or cordiality. Yet Rotary, made up of "men of action" whole-heartedly devoted to "service," has singular difficulty in finding a line of action. Its services strike one as being only those which would offend no one, Rotarian or not. Whence comes this fear of offending, this shunning of controversy, which seems so characteristic of the Rotary Club? It lies obviously in the anomalous capacity in which the individual has to act within the Rotary Club. Each member is elected as a "representative" of a certain type of business. Hence the authors' suggestion that it is a "vocational parliament." "Vocational fair" would be a better term, for the members are not representatives in the parliamentary sense at all. They are healthy examples of their several species, selected by outside judges, just as fine apples chosen to represent a given species at a country fair. They are without mandate from their peers in their own line of

business; and, since many of them are salaried employees of large corporations, they probably cannot speak even for the very concerns in which they work. The anomaly is, then, that Rotarians are chosen for their large responsibilities and demonstrated abilities, but they come to the Club shorn of these very attributes. Hence, any reference that might be made in the Club to business responsibilities or duties can be taken only as an impertinent encroachment on a phase of the member's life which is entirely irrelevant to his membership in the Club. The Club is thus, by its own constitution, confined to "service" which these men can perform in their capacities as good citizens, possessed of the same benevolent impulses as all right-thinking members of American society. Their collective action must proceed from the same general stock of good works as those of a lodge, woman's club, or church brotherhood.

In this connection, the authors state, as their own, two assumptions which are no doubt those of the club itself. We quote them:

In the days before the extension of trade and professional associations, when competition was keen and often bitter, fellowship and cordiality were difficult to perceive among business and professional competitors [p. 73]. Any organization which fails to promote intimate and cordial personal relations among its members is incapable of achieving its social purpose. There can not be developed that unity of sentiment, that bond of fellow-feeling, that high morale, that indispensable loyalty and *esprit de corps* without which no group can accomplish anything of permanent social utility [p. 76].

It may be doubted whether business men themselves believe that competition and cordiality are mutually exclusive, or that co-operative action is impossible without personal intimacy, loyalty, and unity of sentiment. The very problem of this club seems to lie precisely in understanding the relationship of cordial fellowship to collective action. In assuming that they are necessary conditions each of the other, the authors have abdicated the job assigned them. For Rotary brims with cordiality; yet it can agree on service only in spirit. Surely a group of political scientists, historians, and lawyers know of instances of successful co-operation in a line of action with not only no loyalty, but even active dislike, existing between the parties to it.

This leads to a final question: What is the relation between "fellowship" organization and organization for action in our society? This suggests an inquiry into the basis on which "fellowship" is built in our world. Max Weber developed the significance of such an investigation in his report to the German Sociological Society in 1910. Among other things he observed that each of the numerous *Vereine* in Germany was related in

some way to the occupational class and the secular success of the individual members. In an individualistic society—certainly in ours—one is likely to be admitted to a series of "fellowship" groups as he moves from a humble station to success in his business or profession. Few of our "fellowship" organizations are sufficiently catholic to follow the individual from the village to the metropolis, and from honest poverty to the pinnacle of worldly success. Even the church cannot usually do so. It is but natural that men who have attained recognition in their callings should seek new and more interesting fellows as they rise.

Rotary, it seems, is concerned about the turnover of its membership. It does not appear to have occurred to the authors of this survey that this turnover might be a function of the rate at which business men attain, pass, or fall back from the particular degree of success which makes Rotary want them and which makes them want Rotary. A mere handful of life-histories of present and past members would have revealed some of the relations between the business career of a man and his career as a church, lodge, and club man. The insight thus given into the place of Rotary in our "fellowship" hierarchy might have explained some of its difficulties.

The problem of the Rotary Club seems to the reviewer somewhat as follows: What can a group, whose members are selected on the basis of business or professional success, but which is not organically related to the business and professional structure of the community, carry out in the way of collective action under the name of "service" and in a spirit of "fellowship"? It is not our purpose to answer this question. Indeed, the authors have answered it in part. It is rather our purpose to suggest what should be the procedure in making such an investigation under the given circumstances. That procedure, even when writing for laymen, should be that of adopting a scientific principle of analysis, rather than that of making liberal ethical criticisms and judgments. For after all, the layman yields to none in making such judgments, and is not likely to be slow in saying so. He is not, let us hope, our peer in the matter of the systematic study of collective behavior.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Vérité et révélation. By D. DRAGHICESCO. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1934. Pp. xiv+491.

This work is the second volume of a trilogy entitled *La nouvelle cité de Dieu*, the whole constituting an apology for a particular world-view and

philosophy of history which the author proposes, like his model St. Augustine, as a rallying center for the faithful in a society threatened with chaos. The rampant eclecticism and rather discursive exposition which mark the book find their rationale in this underlying apologetic motive.

The old argument that man bears within him a divine seed and that human history, which is its efflorescence, will eventuate in the realization of Godlike perfection on earth is therefore appropriately put into the language of modern thought. The "spheres" of nature and life are contrasted with that of human society, the first being "evolved," the second still evolving. Existential sciences, which deal with the first, describe uniformities of behavior derived by use of the discursive reason (*esprit géométrique*); normative sciences, which deal with the second, define ends of action, discovered by intuition, *révélation modernisée* (*esprit de finesse*). There are correspondingly two logics of existence and of values, proper to these two realms of being. Primitive animism and sociological positivism exemplify the correlative fallacies of misapplied method. The only possible positivistic science of society is practical, analyzing *means* of action; but the definition of *ends* is the work of a hierarchy of normative sciences leading from politics, law, and economics, through aesthetics and ethics ultimately to religion. A paradoxical confirmation of this view is seen in the figure of Comte, the supposed founder of sociological positivism, who eventually converted his sociology into religion.

For those readers who are not interested in the author's special thesis, references to the following discussions may be useful: relation of magic and religion, science, metaphysics, and the arts (pp. 20-46, 363-79); formal elements in society (pp. 112-13); classification of the sciences (pp. 348-54, 421 ff.); emergent evolution (pp. 65-126); Petrajitzky and the theory of law (pp. 392-407); causality and finality in science (pp. 471-76); the reaction against sociological positivism (Dilthey, Rickert, Eucken Ravaissón, Renouvier, Boutroux, and especially Bergson and Husserl) (pp. 235 ff.) Echoes of Augustine, Comte, and Hegel occur throughout the book. Unfortunately, there is no index.

E. Y. HARTSHORNE, JR.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Social Change and Social Problems. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD.
New York: Harper & Bros., 1934. Pp. xii+786. \$3.50.

This volume is, as the author states, "at once a revision and an enlargement of *Problems of Social Well-Being*, which appeared in 1927."

The problems treated (income, unemployment, health, the aged, acci-

dents, mental hygiene, the family, child welfare) require a volume in each case for adequate treatment, and volumes have been written on each problem. A book which gives a cursory treatment of several problems may, however, serve a worth-while purpose, that is, may indicate various relations of the problems to one another; and it may attempt to show how certain sociological concepts throw light on all the problems and thus serve as principles of interpretation for social problems generally. The author prefaces this treatment of the problems with seven chapters of these concepts, but makes little use of them. For instance, he discusses the "regional approach" and has an admirable opportunity to use this concept in his chapters on "Social Work and the Depression," but, to our regret, makes no use of it and does not include in his bibliography several of the best sources for the study of social work in different regions during the depression.

The book will be of value to those who desire a conservative view of the social problems treated, and to teachers, who, in their teaching, wish to stop short of an inquiry into essential social psychological processes.

JAMES M. WILLIAMS

GENEVA, NEW YORK

Bare Hands and Stone Walls. By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. Pp. xii+441. \$3.00.

Russell has had more or less to do with almost every reform movement in the United States since the 1880's. Henry George, "Greenback" Weaver, the Muck Rakers, the Trust Busters, and many more make up the vivid procession. Russell is here, as always, a first-class reporter. He also includes some good, though rather slight, sketches of his foreign investigations.

There is an undercurrent of levity, almost of frivolity. This is evident in the subtitle: "Some Recollections of a Side Line Reformer." Looking back over the many crusades of his long life, he is persuaded that none of them mattered fundamentally. None of them attacked the root evil, private capitalism. Still, he says, the movements were well worth while for the partial benefits resulting from them. The book closes with some general statements about reform movements—too long for summary here—well worth the attention of professional sociologists.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

BARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Social Problems. By HENRY GEORGE. New York: Robert Schalkenback Foundation, 1934. Pp. 256. \$1.00.

This book was first published more than fifty years ago. The problems with which it deals—concentration of wealth, overproduction, unemployment, public debt, the plight of agriculture, etc.—are continuing ones in any capitalistic society. But the balance of social forces today is so different from what it was in 1883 that the contemporary student can gain little from reading the book, so far as insight into our present difficulties is concerned. But there is a fundamental social philosophy in George that is a permanent contribution to human thought, and it is a philosophy which needs emphasis today as, perhaps, never in the past. A single illustrative quotation must suffice here: "Whoever, laying aside prejudice and self interest, will honestly and carefully make up his own mind as to the causes and the cure of the social evils that are so apparent, does, in that, the most important thing in his power toward their removal. Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciation; by the formation of parties, or the making of revolutions, but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought, there cannot be right action, and when there is correct thought, right action will follow."

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

BARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Etiologie de la repression des outrages publics aux bonnes mœurs. By J. P. HAESAERT. Bruxelles: L'Eglantine, 1931. Pp. 260.

This is an effort to supply a sociological basis for the criticism of the articles in the *Code pénal* concerning public indecency. The greater part of the study is devoted to a survey of rather familiar territory, viz., the historical development of the notion of "outrage aux mœurs." The first chapter (thirty pages) on the nature of the problem gives an excellent statement of the problem presented by recent decisions under the Franco-Belgian code.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

An Experimental Study of Rewards. By EDWARD L. THORNDIKE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. 72.

Thorndike attempts to solve the problem of the rôle played by after-effects in the learning process. His experiments consist in fifteen varia-

tions upon the plan of simple-stimulus, simple non-logical response, reward or punishment, using small numbers of adult human subjects. He concludes that not only do "rewards" work back to strengthen the rewarded connections, but also exert a spread or scatter influence, strengthening punished connections.

Thorndike's study is exemplary of an over-objectivism in psychology which leads to the use of such highly simplified data that the objective reality becomes distorted rather than properly abstracted. Psychologically the explanation of his results might be otherwise, viz.: rewarding a connection focuses attention upon it, re-operates it, and thus strengthens it. There being but two possibilities, "reward" or "punishment," the total configuration is a maze of backward and forward "radiations of influence," in which the low irregular measures presented are virtually meaningless. At best his results give some brute statistical facts on the learning of nonsense materials, and show a small, uncertain tendency for false connections to be learned grouped about a right connection. This throws out of the picture the questionably significant, ill-defined, and uncomparred rewards used.

We also suggest that the concept of reward might more profitably be studied with a defined relevancy to the social configuration contexts of the experimental subject.

RICHARD HAYS WILLIAMS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Business and Personal Failure and Readjustment in Chicago. By

JOHN H. COVER. ("Studies in Business Administration, School of Business, University of Chicago," III, No. 4.) Pp. x+106. \$1.00.

While this is primarily a study in business administration, nevertheless it has certain social-economic implications which merit the consideration of the sociologist. For example, the author found that unemployment was particularly severe in low-standard neighborhoods, thus reducing purchasing power of customers "to a point endangering liquidity of the most enterprising merchants. Part-time employment was more noticeable in higher-standard sections, leveling purchasing power to a point where, in at least one instance, seasonal stabilization of sales was facilitated." Nevertheless, the number of bankruptcies bears no discernible relationship to unemployment. The human factor was the most outstanding element in business failure in the form of errors in management. Environmental conditions beyond control were the next largest dominant factor. Chain-store competition was one of these environmental factors. Inauspicious location of the store and real estate factors landed many busi-

nesses on the rocks. Among personal factors should be noted illiteracy, repugnant personality, and deliberate fraud. "Individuals resorting to bankruptcy to relieve themselves of personal debts have distinctly the employee-consumer point of view." In a very considerable number of these cases, "living beyond income," speculation, and real estate operations are factors. The author finds that probably 40 per cent of the liabilities in personal bankruptcy would not have been contracted under a budget. Remedies proposed comprise stabilization of business, including commodities, wages, interest, and rent; aids to rehabilitation, particularly through creditor management; and, as an important innovation, the establishment of a permanent staff of experts connected with bankruptcy courts. For the individual consumer-bankrupt a federal rehabilitation service is recommended, which would co-ordinate administration of employment and placement, of unemployment relief, and of guidance in training.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Race Relations: Adjustment of Negroes and Whites in the United States. By WILLIS O. WEATHERFORD and CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. x+590. \$3.20.

This volume is designed as a systematic and comprehensive presentation of Negro-white relations in the United States. Brief attention is given to certain general considerations under "The Philosophy of Race Relations." The second group of chapters deals with certain aspects of "American Negro Slavery." The remainder of the book, approximately one-half the total, deals with present-day conditions and problems. Each chapter is the independent work of one of the authors. This type of collaboration gives the book a peculiar interest at the same time that it explains its weaknesses. It is in reality a group of related papers, rather than a systematic treatment. The lack of unity is accentuated by the absence of a consistently maintained point of view and by the uneven quality of the work. The book is in part sociological, but it is not consistently so; many of the chapters have merit, some of them considerable merit; others must, and then only with some charity, be classed as feeble. But in spite of its weaknesses, the book is one of the three or four reasonably competent general books in the field.

E. B. REUTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Japanese in California. By EDWARD K. STRONG, JR. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1933. Pp. 188. \$1.00.

Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States. By EDWARD K. STRONG, JR., REGINALD BELL, GLADYS BOND, MALCOLM A. CAMPBELL, ALFRED S. LEWERENZ, and H. K. MISAKI. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1933. Pp. 183. \$1.00.

These volumes comprise two of the four monographs which set forth the results of a recent study at Stanford University of the educational and occupational opportunities offered to American citizens of the Japanese race. The general statistical material compiled from more than nine-thousand completed schedules is presented in the monograph, *Japanese in California*, and covers such topics as birth- and death-rates, size of families, education, occupation, religious affiliation, income, and ownership of property. A considerable portion of the information laboriously collected through personal interviews by the field investigators is available in the files of the Bureau of the Census in unpublished form, and at comparatively small cost could have been secured and used to great advantage in the study. Since the Census volumes on population do not include a detailed analysis of the Japanese population data, students will find the statistical tables compiled by Dr. Strong of great value. The real worth of the study lies in the fact that it provides carefully collected source materials needed for an understanding of the problems of the second generation. The volume on vocational aptitudes of the Japanese is based on the results of psychological tests and is primarily of interest to psychologists. After trying out a large variety of tests upon groups of whites and second-generation Japanese, the authors conclude that "the differences between the two groups are slight in comparison to their remarkable similarity."

JESSE F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The Second-Generation Japanese Problem. By EDWARD K. STRONG, JR. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934. Pp. viii+292. \$3.25.

This book is an integration of results secured from three monographic studies of the Japanese in California, but integrated, however, with respect to general conclusions bearing upon practical problems. The material on race prejudice is concise and clear but offers no new insights. The

statistics appear to be reliable and are a beginning in a field where more are needed. The book seems to be devoid of the sentiment, passion, and myth which one frequently finds in this field. The research was apparently directed toward questions of control and unwittingly suggests the many opportunities for social psychological studies of emerging personalities and processes within this group. For those who are advisers, for leaders and members of the group, this work offers suggestions of merit for consideration of individual problems of policy.

FORREST E. LA VIOLETTE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Christian Unity in Practice and Prophecy. By CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. xvii+396.
\$2.75.

The General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches for a quarter of a century sums up in this volume the results of a long and varied experience. One who wishes to acquaint himself with the problems that face organized Christianity cannot do better than to begin with this book. Every page is packed with information, and the value of the book is enhanced by liberal citations from important documents in both text and appendixes. The book is written without literary charm.

Mr. Macfarland is a man of spiritual vision but not of a radically reforming type. He distrusts blasts of the ram's horn as a means of leveling the walls of Jericho. He brings infinite patience and tested wisdom to the baffling task of introducing unity and co-operation in the Adullam's Cave of American Protestantism with its 212 different sects. His faith is, as yet, largely "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It is, however, a vigorous faith. One gets the impression that he sees in church unity, whether federated or organic, the solution of most of the problems of institutionalized religion. He reflects the American flair for efficiency and comes perilously near to asking the churches to organize themselves into the kingdom of heaven.

The problem, of course, is not so simple. The cultural sociologist will recall the philosophy of the Founding Fathers, and especially of Madison, stressing a multiplicity of sects as the best practical safeguard of religious liberty. Unity inevitably breeds imperialism; and when imperialism has conceived, it brings forth intolerance. It was the courageous champion of religious liberty, Isaac Backus, who wrote to Washington in 1790: "Religious ministers, when supported by force, are the most dangerous

men on earth." He had in mind the intolerant New England establishments, but history proves that religious organization has been a menace to religious liberty directly in proportion to its extent and power. It is of course natural that the movement toward centralization in the federal government and business should find its parallel in religion, and the same arguments may be used to justify both. But a central bureaucracy necessary to the vitality and efficiency of a great nation with vast interests at stake cannot be applied to the pluralistic welter of American sects where the same organic unity does not exist and cannot exist without running counter to cherished American traditions. The melancholy spectacle of deserted churches dotting the landscape in an age of religious indifference may bring heartache to many religious leaders. But the solution is not the mere mechanical rearticulation of the dry bones of dead churches and moribund sects. The solution is rather to be sought in Jehovah's advice to Ezekiel: "Prophesy over these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of Jehovah and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you and ye shall live." When once the *élan vital* is revived, it will create for itself its own appropriate forms. To impose forms that outrun the expanding inner life or presuppose such life where it does not exist is worse than useless.

JOHN M. MECKLIN

HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Leisure in the Modern World. By C. DELISLE BURNS. New York: Century Co., 1932. Pp. xii + 302. \$2.50.

This volume is based on a series of radio talks which the author gave from Glasgow and London in 1932, with some added material. The principal thesis is that recent changes in the amount of leisure and its uses have caused social tendencies toward experimentalism in daily life, toward equality, and toward movements which aim at modifying the traditional position of women and children and of youth. A chapter is devoted to each of these classes. A lucid and intelligent discussion of "The New Food and Clothing," "The Home in the Modern World," "The Social Effects of Motor-cars," and "Moving Pictures and Radio" make up the bulk of the rest of the book. These subjects are treated from the viewpoint of consumption economics and represent a valuable addition to the literature on this subject. "Obviously the whole subject, 'the economics of leisure,' needs discussion," says the author, "as a part of the analysis of consumption, which the traditional economic science has neglected."

"The expenditure of public funds on facilities for recreation may be a first sign of returning civilization, after the barbaric concentration on wealth-getting in the earlier industrial period."

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The New Leisure Challenges the Schools. By EUGENE T. LIES. New York: National Recreation Assoc., 1933. Pp. 326. \$1.50.

This volume, based upon a study made for the National Recreation Association, attempts to define the rôle of the public schools in sponsoring recreational activities and reviews recent progress made in this field. It is essentially a compilation of the leisure-time programs of representative city school systems in various parts of the United States. The emphasis throughout the book is upon things accomplished rather than upon a critical appraisal of the value of the different types of recreational programs. The volume should be of great use to those actively engaged in the field of public recreation.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Control of Conception. By ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON and LOUISE STEVENS BRYANT. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1932. Pp. xii+290. \$4.50.

The Practice of Contraception. EDITED by MARGARET SANGER and HANNAH M. STONE. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1931. Pp. xviii+316. \$4.00.

Birth Control in Practice. Analysis of Ten Thousand Case Histories of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau. By MARIE E. KOPP. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1934. Pp. xxvi+290. \$3.75.

The medical manual by Dickinson and Bryant is undoubtedly the most important on technique now in print in English. What marks off Dickinson's work from that of most others in this field is his unusual gynecological experience, penchant for fact-collecting in the form of case histories, a willingness to face facts when others had "blockings," moral courage to publish his results when timid souls quietly approved but failed to act, high scientific and ethico-medical standards, unusual skill as a draftsman and artist (incomparable drawings!), and a social point of view. I venture to think that his work for maternal health will be viewed by posterity as the crowning achievement of an already distinguished career.

After a discussion of the anatomy, physiology, and chemistry of contraception, there is a full treatment of various techniques now employed, followed by a discussion of sterilization, therapeutic abortion, and the medical indications for each. There are short chapters on "Clinical Organization and Service" and on the "Legal Status of Contraception and Sterilization." Here, in brief, is medico-social leadership of first quality.

The symposium edited by Sanger and Stone is not a general medical manual. Part I, on "Contraceptive Methods," considers mechanical, intrauterine, chemical and biological techniques, as well as sterilization. Part II deals with "Abortion"; Part III, with clinical reports from the United States, Germany, England, Russia, Austria, Holland and Denmark, India, China and Japan; Part IV, with a general summary.

Kopp's *Birth Control in Practice* is the most statistical of these studies, being a statistical analysis of ten thousand case histories at the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City. I believe that Kopp's treatise is the most important quantitative study of contraception ever made.

It seems a commentary on American civilization that it was judged wise or necessary to conduct and publish Kopp's investigation under the supervision and sponsorship of a scientific committee—as if the facts and few deductions could not speak for themselves without such indorsement. Do we erect sponsoring committees when a mathematician publishes new analyses? To pose the question is to answer it. But, you will say, birth control is more controversial. Admitted; but why must we act as if scientific research in this field could not stand on its own feet, as if it must come to us labeled and approved by names, however eminent? Can it be that American readers must have labels on their ideas, must receive their fodder predigested?

The clients at New York, predominantly of foreign birth and extraction, found their way to the clinic as a result of publicity (20 per cent), reference by friends and former patients (50 per cent), reference by physicians or other professional groups (20 per cent). Constitutional disease appeared in 40 per cent of the cases; prejudicial heredity, in 10 per cent. Regarding religious affiliations, 42 per cent were Jewish, 30 per cent were Protestants, and 26 per cent were Catholics. Four-fifths of the husbands belong to the industrial and clerical groups; one-fifth to the skilled worker, professional and high executive classes. Three-quarters of the husbands earned less than \$50 weekly, one-half less than \$40 weekly, with an average of 4.5 dependents. Those with little or no schooling averaged 6.44 pregnancies; those with higher education (11 per cent), 2.24 pregnancies. As a group, early marriage was common—one-third before age twenty.

More than half had four or five pregnancies in eight and one-half years of marriage.

Since Miss Kopp has performed a monumental task with high distinction, it may seem ungenerous to complain that her book might have found wider usefulness had she seen fit to compare her conclusions with those of prior studies. Failure to make these comparisons may be attributed, I suppose, to the labor involved; but it would have paid. Someone else ought promptly to undertake the task.

Though these works are essentially medical, there are many social data here that sociologists, especially those interested in the family, cannot afford to neglect. It seems doubtful wisdom to overlook the sexual factor in social interaction, as we have been accustomed to do. The social biologist will also profit greatly by the careful perusal of these objective, well-reasoned, more or less quantitative studies. It is upon such reports as these that the generalizations of the future regarding the sexual life of man must be founded. This field has been so long dominated by quacks that it offers unusual opportunities to those who have even the most modest scientific standards. Is it not high time that more sociologists advanced our knowledge of the sociological aspects of this phase of social behavior?

NORMAN E. HIMES

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

La femme américaine dans le mariage moderne. By SONYA RUTH DAS.

Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934. Pp. 195. Fr. 25.

Mrs. Ruth Das has succeeded in treating so ticklish a subject with an exquisite sensibility. The most prudish reader will never be shocked, and the people most opposed to giving the woman equality of status will be compelled to surrender many times to the convincing logic of this book.

Three parts can be distinguished. First, Mrs. Das deals with the position of woman in the past. In her opinion (which is supported by a great variety of materials) this position was once a position of equality. But this equality was lost in the course of social evolution; and it is only recently, on account of the social, economic, and political developments of the last years, that woman has regained part of her prerogatives.

These developments had manifold consequences, the study of which makes the second part of the book. They have changed the relations of husband and wife, of mother and children. They have made of the patriarchal family a democratic institution.

But the task is still great for those who wish complete equality of

status. The people do not always share in the privileges which have been recently conquered by the intellectuals; and even among those much has still to be done.

Mrs. Das concludes this enlightening work in stating the dilemma with which the modern woman is confronted, the dilemma of Ann Vickers. How is she to be at the same time a wife, a mother, and a person?

ROBERT MARJOLIN

PARIS, FRANCE

The Migratory Worker and Family Life. By MARION HATHWAY.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xiv + 240. \$1.50.

On the Pacific Coast they have a perennial problem of seasonal labor. It involves agriculture, lumbering, and fishing. Through the years, the thousands of migratory families have shifted very well for themselves because the seasonal jobs overlapped somewhat. That time has passed. The depression has increased the number of families. Seasonal jobs do not overlap as formerly. The result is that we are developing a population of automobile gypsies. Miss Hathway has made a study of life and living among these families in the state of Washington. It is a hard existence, especially for the children. This book considers the problem from the viewpoint of social work and public policy. The book was written before the federal program began.

NELS ANDERSON

F.E.R.A., WASHINGTON, D.C.

Egskeiding en Huweliks—en Gesinsontbinding. By G. CRONJÉ.

Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1934. Pp. xii + 326. 5.50 guilders.

The author gives an able survey of the literature and available data on the general problem of divorce. The book is unique in its abundant source material and in the clear demonstration of the similarity of trends throughout the Western world. The American literature is handled with discrimination; and it is fitted into a framework of German, French, Dutch, and South-African experience. The South-African Dutch text will be an obstacle to many, but the rich bibliographical apparatus and the statistical tables should make the book a useful tool even to those who cannot avail themselves of the author's well-balanced interpretation.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Die Bildungsinteressen der deutschen Arbeiter. (Recht und Staat in Geschichte und Gegenwart, No. 107.) By REINHARD BUCHWALD. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934. Pp. 36. M. 1.50.

The author believes that people's education (*Volksbildung*), so popular in German, can accomplish something of real importance only if built upon a thorough knowledge of the interests and inclinations of the mass of the working population. He here presents data upon the enrolment in various types of courses in the people's high schools (*Volkshochschulen*) in Dresden and Leipzig, and upon the selection of books by working-class readers of the public libraries. Even the select minority which attends classes in these schools is by no means unanimous in seeking political and social enlightenment; the readers in the libraries are still less so. The author quite rightly assumes that the great majority of workers who patronize neither school nor library is still less so. The classification of readers into types on the basis of their borrowings from public libraries should be of interest to American students of the demos and its culture.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Readings in Educational Sociology, Vol. II. By E. GEORGE PAYNE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934. Pp. xxi + 793. \$3.00.

Volume I of Professor Payne's *Readings* appeared in 1932. Those who found this volume valuable and have been awaiting the second for nearly three years will find their patience amply rewarded. It is vastly superior to the first, showing more painstaking editing and a better choice of materials. Volume I dealt with the social backgrounds of education and contained much sociological material of import to educators but whose application to specific educational problems was not always made clear. In Volume II, however, every selection is directly concerned with some one of the many social implications of education in current civilization.

Chapter I deals with the school as a social agency, followed by nine chapters discussing various phases of the expanding function of education. Under this heading come such subjects as health education, civic education, character education, adult education, creative and progressive education, and special education. Further chapters are given to the social aspects of the curriculum, method, child guidance, school organization, measuring the results of education, and sociological research in education. While this range of topics is as broad as could be treated in one volume, it still leaves gaps to be filled by later publications.

The *Readings* will be welcomed by teachers of educational sociology who find difficulty, because of the newness of the subject and the wide range of periodicals containing valuable materials, to make sufficient reading references available to students. They should also aid in drawing general attention to the expansive and vital nature of courses in educational sociology for broadening the insights of teachers into our increasingly complex educational problems.

WALTER R. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Education of Primitive People. By ALBERT D. HELSER. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1934. Pp. 316. \$3.00.

This book is something new. We have had books with the same title giving plans for the training of the native for life in the world of his white masters. And there are books telling how the elders of the tribe conduct their informal, but admirable, induction of the young into the secrets and customs of the race. But Dr. Helser sets forth in detail his own use of the native folk lore as material for systematic moral training. The criticism so long made that the missionaries make a tragic break with the native culture has thus at last been heeded. Here is one missionary who has written a veritable textbook, transcribed verbatim in the words of his Nigerian friends, from which he has deduced an amazing body of wisdom. Even though the "moral" is sometimes a bit forced, yet it is never inconsistent with the tale, and the book will make interesting reading for any student of preliterate culture. And every missionary might well read it and immediately take up the idea.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Training in Psychiatric Social Work. By SARAH SWIFT. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1934. Pp. xii+177. \$1.75.

The author gives a comprehensive evaluation of a six-year training experiment in a child-guidance center in which the emphasis in the training of social workers was on giving them a background of experience which could be profitably adapted to any field of social case work. The techniques and methods which emerge from this experiment are therefore relevant to all social case work training rather than to the specific field of psychiatric social work. There emerges also a dynamic philosophy rather than any rigid formulations applicable to a given situation. It is

not a theoretical treatise but instead a vital presentation of basic concepts derived through practice, which should make a contribution to those participating in the development of social case workers.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls. By ELSIE M. SMITHIES.
New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1933. Pp. x+284. \$2.00.

Eleven chapters present as many case studies of girls in a private high school whose school difficulties had brought them to the attention of teachers or administrators. Each case includes a record of school work and experiences, test scores, home conditions, and the girl's account of her troubles. This material is well organized, and its value is greatly increased by a record of the treatment given and a brief summary of the outcome and, in some cases, of the girl's adjustment some years after the difficulty was first uncovered.

An introductory chapter outlines the need for case work in the schools, suggests the administrative organization necessary for such work, and gives the outline used by the author in collecting data on problem cases.

The author nowhere states the psychological principles from which she proceeds to the analysis of a case. The interpretations show familiarity with current mental-hygiene concepts and indicate no particular bias. The relation of the girl's conduct in school to her home and social experiences is thoroughly investigated, and the connection between poor school work or emotional difficulties and earlier or present experiences in the home is uncovered in many of the cases.

The book may be recommended as showing the types of difficulties faced by "normal" adolescent girls, and the relation between such end results as poor grades or poor social adjustment and the underlying social experiences which have disturbed the mental and emotional reactions of the girl.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

The Courts and the Public Schools: The Legal Basis of School Organization and Administration. By NEWTON EDWARDS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1933. Pp. xvi+591. \$5.00.

Professor Edwards has done a very thorough and comprehensive piece of work that should be extremely useful to school administrators and enlightening to groups of citizens concerned for the maintenance and ex-

tension of the educational functions of the government. The carefully selected excerpts from judicial opinions supply evidence of the range of Professor Edwards' acquaintance with the issues that have been brought before the courts. Professor Edwards has done what he has done so thoroughly and so well that to call attention to what he had not done seems unduly carping and critical, but the reader can hardly fail to be struck with the fact that he has not in any way emphasized the extent to which the school system is a creature of statutory origin and therefore free to be developed as social needs are realized and public resources increase. The school is not like the family, nor the relation of master and servant, an ancient institution imbedded in earlier habits and relationships that must be positively replaced. The court, then, here is not the source but the interpreter. There are relatively few common-law principles. There are sometimes apparent issues between the statute and the constitution; but the constitution is itself only a glorified statute.

Leaving the legislature out, as he does, Professor Edwards then is justified in maintaining a completely neutral attitude on the subject of policy. Although one suspects Professor Edwards of that deep concern for the interest of the community in the intelligence of its citizens that might be said to characterize the liberal, he maintains a perfect neutrality in his discussion. There is no suggestion of the implications for possible policy of the determination that education is an interest of the state rather than of the locality. A student might easily appropriate the idea for purposes of acquiescing in certain confusing relationships between the state and the district, and never ask where the true central interest must eventually be found as over against the locality. The discussion of the right of boards of education to make celibacy for women a condition in the same way gives no clue to Professor Edwards' view of the effect of such regulations on the professional quality of the work done. As has been said, it is an extremely thorough, careful, able contribution; and while its purpose was in part to set out "the relation of the state to education," the author was thinking of the courts as authoritative rather than as supplementary and interpretative.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Use of Radio Broadcasting as an Advertising Medium in the United States. By HERMAN HETTINGER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xxi+354.

This survey of radio advertising in the United States is no doubt supposed by university authorities to be the evidence of a clear-visioned

search for scientific truth. The reviewer, however, would classify it as propaganda for vested broadcasting interests in view of (1) its occasional emotionalism, (2) its concealed, yet biasing, motivation as revealed in (3) the presentation of half-truths and of selected evidence.

Dr. Hettinger does not go beyond epithets in his branding of the efforts of the National Committee on Education by Radio as propaganda. It will be noted that the reviewer (and reviewers are always propagandists) implies certain criteria of propaganda. There is a presumption of bias in the fact that Dr. Hettinger has for some years been employed by broadcasting companies and is apparently an ardent advocate of radio research as a handmaiden to the profit motive.

There are numerous examples of selected evidence. In making a favorable comparison of the radio medium to other advertising media, he concludes that the tendency is for the good advertiser to be rewarded and the poor advertiser punished. This ignores the familiar "halo effect" and the obvious likelihood that an unfavorable reaction to a specific program tends to lead to a blanket judgment on radio programs in general. A rather questionable attempt is made to prove that the radio reaches all classes from the fact that in many areas the number of radio sets exceeds telephones and automobiles. In drawing conclusions from a 30 per cent return on a clumsy questionnaire sent to station managers, little attempt is made to consider and discount the bias in the sample.

The analysis of radio programs over a period of years on the basis of actual network records is valuable. There is no consideration of classification reliability, however; and Dr. Hettinger is as innocent as a babe of any insight into the possible effect of personal bias and is apparently unaware of existing methods of checking reliability. There is a conspicuous omission from the program analysis of the broadcasting time. A minute-by-minute auditory observation study of Twin City broadcasting revealed about 14 per cent of broadcasting time devoted to advertising. There is an almost complete exclusion in this survey of all serious evidence and criticism against radio advertising. One is not at all surprised to find the American broadcasting system upheld against other systems. Great stress is laid on the relatively greater freedom of radio speech in this country. As might be expected, however, no mention is made of the monopolistic control of the radio and the exclusion of certain individuals and groups, as, for example, birth-control advocates, from the air.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Hettinger in his own researches finds about one-third of radio listeners liking classical music, and yet from the program records of key stations only about 7 per cent of program time

(advertising omitted) is devoted to classical music. He concludes, however, that "the program structure of American broadcasting, both network and station, is fundamentally sound." In regard to classical music he condescends to say, "However, a few classical programs, placed at strategic hours during the day and week, would add greatly to the pleasure derived from broadcasting by important minorities among the listening audience and would go far to quell the criticism often heard of American programs among certain groups of listeners." The ethical presuppositions of the thesis are implied in the statement that "in the long run, spot broadcasting *should* (italics his) show continued growth, since it is doubtful whether it has been employed as yet by all the concerns who profitably could use it."

The dissertation contains a wealth of factual material carefully selected to interest, rather than to disturb, those concerned with making money out of radio advertising. There is no doubt, however, that the mores of advertising are completely accepted by Mr. Hettinger and can make *anything* right.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Radio Control and Operation. Compiled by E. R. RANKIN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. 80. \$0.50.

American Broadcasting: An Analytical Study of One Day's Output of 206 Commercial Radio Stations Including Program Contents and Advertising Interruptions. Ventura, California: Ventura Free Press, 1933. Pp. 15.

Radio Control and Operation is a compilation of articles into a debate handbook bearing on the resolution: That the United States should adopt the essential features of the British system of radio control and operation. This resolution was selected for North Carolina high schools as the query for 1933-34. The ten general references are followed by eight references supporting the affirmative and four supporting the negative.

Vigorous articles, chiefly from magazine sources, have been chosen which reflect very clearly the public interest in problems of radio operation. From a sociological point of view the discussions provide an interesting study in rationalization. It would be interesting to gather personal data, including source of income, for each author, prior to reading the compilation, and then attempt to predict their various viewpoints. One

would be surprised, indeed, if employees of vested economic interest could not find good reasons for conclusions favorable to their respective pressure groups.

The war between the giant pressure group known as "the press" and its lusty young upstart brother, the radio, has caused something of an uproar and will doubtless cause more with the essential collapse of their recent truce concerned with news broadcasting. The pamphlet issued by the Ventura Free Press is, however, less calculated to show the immorality of pirating news service than to show the inferior broadcasting service that is offered the American people.

On the basis of an analysis of one day's output of 206 commercial stations, it is revealed that (1) about 32.3 per cent of broadcasting time was devoted to the playing of phonograph records, (2) there were 5.3 interruptions per hour, (3) about 8.6 per cent of the time was devoted to sales talks, (4) less than 0.5 per cent was devoted to symphony concerts, (5) only 3.1 per cent of the time was utilized in broadcasting news and 4.6 per cent in radio lectures.

The methodology of the study is not given in detail, but it should be noted: (1) the study covered only one day (December 29, 1932); (2) observers were appointed by newspapers; (3) there was no check for "observer reliability"; (4) observation was made by 15-minute intervals; (5) reports were obtained from only about 43 per cent of the quota units; (6) it may be inferred indirectly that 131 out of the 206 stations were under 500-watt power. It is interesting to note, however, that the proportion of broadcasting time reported as devoted to advertising was even less than that obtained by the reviewer using more careful methods of observation in Minneapolis.

The pamphlet states that "various surveys have established that fact that the program preference of adult listeners runs in the following order: (1) News and information, (2) Classical music, (3) Popular music including jazz, (4) Dramatic presentations, including vaudeville sketches." This passage apparently has reference to the writer's study in Minneapolis and assumes that study to be far more definite than the reviewer would himself claim. Nevertheless, the pamphlet contains important material which renders pertinent its conclusion that a fundamental change is needed in the American system of radio financing to provide the broadcasting content which listeners want.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Inventor and His World. By H. STAFFORD HATFIELD. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1933. Pp. 269. \$2.40.

This book is peculiarly a reflection of the author, an English physicist and successful free-lance inventor and science writer, who here contributes to sociology in spite of himself. His unacquaintance with our science is proved complete, were there no other evidence than his statement that man is naturally a solitary animal (p. 225). Our author's contribution is a description, from inside acquaintance, of the personality of inventors and the people they encounter, how they act and what problems face them in each field of invention, whether making or selling inventions. But the inventor assumed is always the free-lance, romantic, classic type of the author himself. This type is getting out of date in America, superseded by the corporation hands whom Dr. Hatfield rather pooh-poohs, as stifled slaves, while yet acknowledging that in fields demanding great equipment, or close co-operation with existing industry, the team inventor is indispensable. He even invites amateurs to take up inventing, though acknowledging that they accomplish little.

Dr. Hatfield does know psychology, as well as invention. This is reflected in keen insights throughout the book, and in an especially good chapter for sociologists, on "Psychological Inventions." Here he shows that many a modern invention, such as the in-a-door bed, or a safety device, or electric indicator or recorder, or biological "invention," is so simple in its technic elements that the reason it tarried a century or so after it was first possible (and perhaps proposed or built), before it sprang into use, cannot have been the technic difficulty of inventing it but must have been some psychological, moralistic, customary, business, or economic obstacle to its use, notwithstanding that its most obvious aspect is that of a technical invention. In recognition of the hardest, the key difficulty, he calls these "psychological inventions." It were perhaps better to call them "social inventions," or, not attempting one name, simply to observe that when technocrats ascribe all cultural change, or even all invention, to invention and science as the moving force, they are simply running wild with a dogma, which has no better basis than that Karl Marx said so.

The author's lack of social science is reflected in some interesting passages of business-style half-conscious cynicism about the business problems of the inventor. For instance, he advises inventors to beware of lecturing, and to write their patent specifications as obscurely as permitted, to hinder others from developing the same line. And there is a

story of a firm selling an article for £40 that cost £8 to make, who found themselves undercut by a better article at a lower price but saved themselves by adding £5 to their selling price, and giving the whole addition to the salesman.

Yet he sharply criticizes, and would almost abolish, the patent system, in favor of freedom to use most ideas, but with royalty grants by public authority to patentees of successful inventions, and also to their courageous financial backers, whose neglected importance he rightly emphasizes. Furthermore, he would grant monopolies to responsible firms definitely undertaking to establish a new industry. And he would increase publicity about a patent, and make our old yes-or-no legalism recognize that many people contribute to one invention. Finally, he echoes a long-standing proposition, partly realized of late, for an inventors' institute, to give disinterested and intelligent advice and help to that most helpless but useful creator, the free-lance inventor.

The book is well and vigorously written. It has a bibliography and index, and with all its limitations is unusually competent and modern and will be useful to all students of invention.

S. COLUM GILFILLAN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America's Hour of Decision. By GLENN FRANK. New York:
McGraw-Hill, 1934. Pp. 263. \$2.50.

This book by President Frank of the University of Wisconsin is the most colorful liberal manifesto of the year. As a criticism of our national evils and weaknesses it is unexcelled for its lucidity and vivid word-painting. The author is at his best in his flaying of the renunciation of the economy of abundance by the New Deal and in his castigation of rampant nationalism. In his solutions he well illustrates the dilemma of the liberals. On the one hand he shows that individualistic capitalism has been so stupid in the past as to lead one to suspect almost deliberate suicidal intent. On the other hand he places his faith in the ability of the leopard to change its spots, and hopes that the same men who wrecked the American economy will lead us on to bigger and better things in the future. The reviewer would like to follow him in this hope, but he sees no evidence upon which to base such a probability.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Europe—Its History and World Relationships, 1789–1933. By ARTHUR H. NOYES. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. xv+698. \$3.75.

Twenty years ago there was only one decently up-to-date and comprehensive manual for college use in modern European history. Today there are a dozen, and this is one of the best. It deals with the period since 1815 and well represents the point of view of the so-called "new" history. It gives ample attention to social, economic, and cultural matters, as well as to world-affairs, and is very well written. Not the least gratifying aspect of the book is the fact that it is one of the few which is thoroughly conversant with the civilized and scholarly interpretation of the causes of the World War. It exhibits real skill in the selection of materials.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Europe since the War: A Sketch of Political Development, 1918–1932.

By J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1933. Pp. 142. \$1.25.

The period since the World War is likely to appear in future historical perspective as one of the great transitional epochs in human history. Hence, the necessity for the social scientist to acquaint himself with the outstanding facts of the last fifteen years. There have been several excellent historical summaries on a somewhat extended scale, such as the books by Professors Benns and Langsam. But these are rather too long for any save professional students of history. We need a brief, reliable, and objective review of the facts. Such a work we have in Mr. Jackson's brilliant résumé, all compressed within less than one hundred and fifty pages. As a condensation of political and diplomatic history, the book could hardly be excelled. More attention might have been given to outstanding economic and financial developments, but even these are not ignored as they used to be in the old-fashioned historical manuals. It is the best book in the English language since 1918 for a sociologist who wishes to organize and clarify his knowledge on political events.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

A Short History of the New Deal. By LOUIS M. HACKER. New York:—
F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934. Pp. 151. \$1.75.

Professor Hacker has written what is by all odds the most realistic, discerning, discriminating, and intelligent history of the New Deal. It escapes both the imbecile mutterings of the Old Guard and the rhetorical twaddle of New Deal apologists. It continues the same high standards which characterized the author's *History of the United States since 1865*, written in conjunction with Professor Kendrick. Especially important for social scientists is the author's analysis of the amateur *solidarism* on which the New Deal theories have been constructed and the clear account of their illogicality and failure. It is the most definitive appraisal of the Roosevelt administration which has yet appeared. The author gives promise of being the most penetrating historian of American life since Charles Austin Beard.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Political Parties in the Irish Free State. By WARNER MOSS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. 233. \$3.00.

This book is a description of the origin, growth, organization, and methods of the political parties in the Irish Free State. It is not a sociological study of politics, but it points in that direction. It gives some analysis of voting behavior and has an Appendix containing biographies of Irish politicians. Apparently, sociological methods and concepts are having some influence on political science. This influence is not strong enough to bring Dr. Moss to the study of the actual behavior of the individual voter. "Practical" politics does not figure in the book. It would seem that political scientists still leave such matters to the Shouses and the Farleys. The author seems to be of the opinion that the situation in Ireland contains in embryo all of the elements necessary for the growth of a party dictatorship in line with the dictatorships of Italy and Germany.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

BARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The World Court (1921-1934). By MANLEY O. HUDSON. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1934. Pp. viii+302. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$0.75.

This is the fourth edition of what has come to be the standard handbook on the World Court. In addition to affording well-organized information

on the history and progress of the court it presents an interesting exposition of every judgment, order, and advisory opinion rendered by the judges. A distinctive feature of the book is the heavy black-letter leads which head each case decided by the court. Each of these headings is a masterpiece in the art of summarizing the essential contents of the case in one single and clear sentence.

Dr. Hudson is known to the legal world as an eminent international jurist, but the members of a much larger lay world look to him as their sympathetic interpreter of what the World Court is doing to substitute its judicial decisions for war as a means of settling international controversies. This book is one of Dr. Hudson's lay books on the subject and as such will be received and will be welcomed by the general public.

H. MILTON COLVIN

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

The Law of Citizenship in the United States. By LUILLA GETTYS.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xxii + 221. \$3.00.

The book is an informative record of the law of citizenship in the United States as found in statutes, court decisions, and administrative rulings. These sources reveal what this citizenship is; at what times it is single, dual, or multiple; and under what circumstances it adheres to one naturally or has to be pursued through illusive legal pathways—even then at the risk of loss after its acquirement has been achieved. Dr. Gettys' historical treatment shows the effect of strong social forces in changing the law, such as the restrictions placed on immigration and the liberalization of the law of citizenship of women.

In the closing chapters it exposes the conflicting claims of different nations on one's citizenship, especially in time of war, and analyzes the present earnest, although apparently rather vain, efforts to bring about international uniformity in citizenship laws.

H. MILTON COLVIN

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Twentieth Century Crime: Eighteenth Century Methods of Control.

By JAMES EDWARD HAGERTY. Boston: Stratford Co., 1934.
Pp. iv + 222. \$2.00.

The crime problem is very much in the air just now, and national conferences are being called to cope with it. Mr. Hagerty has written one

of the very best brief popular summaries of the crime problem in all of its aspects which has appeared in the English language. There is no better place in which the citizen can get a clear and comprehensive picture of the crime problem in our day. Mr. Hagerty does well to lay special emphasis upon the fact that, while our crimes are of twentieth-century character, our efforts to control them are based upon ideas and methods of the eighteenth century or earlier.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Private Police. By J. P. SHALLOO. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1933. Pp. ix+224.

Dr. Shalloo has written a timely book on a subject which has almost wholly been neglected by students of police administration. As its subtitle indicates, this volume deals primarily with the situation in Pennsylvania, where private police have multiplied and flourished for many years. Yet other jurisdictions have not been ignored, and the author's facts and conclusions will be found to have a general application and importance. The railroad police, the coal and iron police, private detectives, industrial police services, store detectives, and watchmen—all are included here and come under Dr. Shalloo's critical scrutiny.

It is to be regretted that no space is accorded to the volunteer bank guards or "vigilantes" which have appeared in a considerable number of our western and midwestern states. While they find no exact counterpart in Pennsylvania, their importance in the general field of private police protection seems steadily to be growing, and merits attention.

An extensive selected bibliography provides a useful added feature of this book.

BRUCE SMITH

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW YORK CITY

Work Relief in Germany. By HERTHA KRAUS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1934. Pp. 93. \$0.50.

This book shows the author's first-hand experience with work relief. The Cologne Public Welfare Office, of which she was for years the head, developed some of the most interesting pieces of welfare work relief in Germany. The perspective of distance and memory subordinates the friction and cross-currents between the various agencies concerned with

work relief, particularly the insurance and the welfare offices, and brings out the significant issues and contributions. If the resulting picture is a bit oversanguine as to widespread accomplishment, giving, in fashion considered truly American, the best of thinking and performance rather than the mode, it nevertheless shows the ideas and accomplishment that were becoming increasingly prevalent with the continuation of unemployment.

The years of depression, almost unrelieved since the termination of the war, and the excessive population, estimated by some at twenty millions beyond the capacity of Germany to provide for under her post-war conditions, gave time and impetus to the development of work-relief programs of great variety and ingenuity. They were undertaken by public agencies with different approaches to and interests in the problem. They expanded to include persons and occupations usually disregarded in a work-relief program because of their superior professional skill or because they were unadapted to, or otherwise outside of the category of, those customarily unemployed. They tried out various types or principles of remuneration. The account of the results is stimulating and suggestive.

The account shows many areas of service and improvement of living that can be aided by mobilizing unused labor to the mutual benefit of the laborers and of those profiting from the services or improvements. In this respect the book gives suggestions for normal, as well as for depression, periods. The author, however, rightly refuses to accept work relief for usually employable persons as a substitute for an economic order that offers work and remuneration above the subsistence level to relatively large numbers of people.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program. By C. J. RATZLAFF. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. Pp. xix+211. \$2.00.

This addition to the distinguished list of contributions to our understanding of unemployment is especially timely in view of the President's Committee on Economic Security. It gives the experience with unemployment relief in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, where there is a sensitive social democracy, a high degree of organization among both employers and workers, and a comparatively long history of attempts to relieve unemployment.

The study gives accounts of the experiences of the three countries

with cash relief, unemployment insurance, and public works, an experience extending over more than twenty years and tested by three severe peaks of unemployment. The author then sets forth the criticisms or analyses of the major points in each of these types of relief as made by the trade unions, the employers, and the government. There are excellent appendixes.

The concluding chapter should be studied carefully by all who are offering programs for meeting unemployment in this country. It points out the difficulty, or impossibility, of separating unemployment from other problems of maladjustment and of dealing with unemployment apart from closely related social questions. It shows the need for a high degree of centralization of administration, since unemployment is a counterpart of mass production, with decentralization of supervision to prevent demoralization of the worker or indifference of the public. Scandinavian experience indicates that effective administration of public works for purposes of unemployment relief is vastly more difficult than is generally realized. Specifically, the author shows the problems inherent in the selection of projects that are usually suitable only for unskilled manual labor, their restricted usefulness in testing willingness to work, the destructiveness to skill of most of the jobs, and the competition with private industry if a program of public works gives a fuller range of occupational activity. He indicated that compulsory unemployment insurance has much greater limitations than current discussions indicate. He suggests that, since unemployment relief presents a set of interrelated social questions concerning assistance to the worker, training of youth, and support of the poor, delimitation and definition are necessary to prevent excessive claims for any specific measures of unemployment relief. He points out that unemployment and its relief are bound up with the industrial organization of the country and its monetary and credit policies.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Theory of Wages. By PAUL H. DOUGLAS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xx+639. \$5.00.

This book, which won the Hart, Schaffner and Marx prize for Professor Douglas, bears witness to his entirely legitimate theoretical interests. He previously published a very remarkable study, *Real Wages in the United States, 1920-1925*, and another, *The Movement of Money and Real Wages, 1926-1928*, both of which were primarily statistical. But he holds that

it is now possible, even though the data are incomplete, to rise above mere empiricism and formulate explanations which permit prediction. He here refers to the neo-classical theories, particularly the notions of elasticity of demand and supply. Clark, Marshall, and Pigou, however, followed an abstract and mathematical method; whereas Douglas has set two goals for himself: first, to amend and adapt these theoretical conceptions in such a way that their application is not limited to static conditions having no relation to economic realities; and second, to obtain by induction, by beginning with facts, answers to the problems posed by theory. Thus, he shows through observed phenomena how marginal productivity increases when, with fixed capital, the percentage of workers is augmented, or when, with a fixed number of workers, the percentage of capital increases. These are problems of vital importance, for they concern production, distribution, and the relations of the two; and the work of Professor Douglas represents an appreciable advance toward their solution.

MAURICE HALBWACHS

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

Collective Bargaining in Chicago, 1929-30. By C. LAWRENCE CHRISTENSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. Pp. xv+396. \$3.00.

This is one of the admirable series of the "Social Science Studies," directed by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. It is an excellent cross-section of the status of unionism and the nature of collective bargaining as found in the United States, prior to the advent of the N.R.A. and "except for mining, textile manufacturing, and railroad transportation." In showing the low state that union organization reached even before the depression made its deep dent, this study confirms what has become common knowledge among students of labor—that unionism is primarily confined to localized businesses and is practically nonexistent in the factory industries. While the author acknowledges that he has not exhausted the reasons for this situation, he rightly indicates that employers in the latter industries find no advantage in dealing with unions. Where employers rely upon skilled workers, political support, regular supply of labor, etc., they find it advantageous to recognize a union. But in industries operating on the factory system and relying upon national markets, the unions have failed to prove of help to employers. Moreover, "where large amounts of technical equipment are utilized, employers find that freedom to regulate hours and arrange produc-

tion schedules is at a premium. It is significant in this connection that the resistance to union control . . . appears to have been fully as much to objections to union rules as to union wage scales." On the other hand, the unions have not devised the proper procedure and technique for coping with these problems.

The situation has undoubtedly changed since the N.R.A. came upon the scene. Collective bargaining now having been legalized, the unions have an advantage. This study will prove of great service in comparing the effects of the N.R.A. on organized labor.

Methodologically this study has again demonstrated the paucity of statistical data pertaining to labor problems. The author has skilfully supplemented the inadequate statistical data obtainable by the survey method. Description based upon research, observation, and interviews is still the means of securing a relatively accurate picture of a given social situation.

DAVID J. SAPOSS

BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

A Health Program for the Children of a County. By THOMAS GORDON BENNETT. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. Pp. viii+196. \$2.00.

A program linking preventive and curative medicine with the public schools and the child welfare interests of a rural county of 15,000 population in Maryland is effectively outlined in this book. Urgency to the program is given by such facts as these: "Of 2,000 families only 40 per cent were able to pay the usual fees for simple hospital treatments"; nearly two-thirds of absences from school were due either to illness of the child or illness in the home; curable physical defects were present in nearly 75 per cent of the children. The author's approach is educational in the broad sense, taking neither the position of the school administrator nor the health specialist, and offering a well-balanced program in both the theoretical chapters and in the more detailed practical suggestions.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Economics of Household Production. By MARGARET G. REID. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1934. Pp. viii+408. \$3.00.

By the returns of the last census 25,000,000 able-bodied women had no other employment than the activities made necessary by the widespread preference for life in small family groups. Economists have not included

this type of production in their field of study, since it is not subject to the control of price. Less excusable than this omission is the fact that they are at times moved to make extremely loose statements on the matter. "The home is now a place for consumption, not for production." "The family which once was a self-sufficing unit is so no longer." "House-keeping is now only a part-time job." "Two hours labor should suffice for all rational human needs." "The gainful employment of married women is due to the transfer of tasks from the home."

Sociologists who also have been prone to hasty judgments concerning the economic situation of the family and of home-keeping women should welcome Miss Reid's careful, scholarly analysis. What she has achieved is a consistent and comprehensive view of the situation, with terms defined, issues made clear, relevant facts assembled and, above all, thoughtfully interpreted.

HAZEL KYRK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment. By CHARLES P. TAFT. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1933. Pp. viii+274. \$2.50.

This is not an analysis or description of the operation of the city-manager form of government. It is of more interest to the urban sociologist. It is the story—told by one of the active participants—of the organization of civic leadership to overthrow invisible government. The unique part of the tale is that in Cincinnati the reformers have kept that organization effective for nearly a decade, carrying on the fight at each election. This book tells how. Mr. Taft is convinced that such reform movements, even though supposedly non-partisan, can be successful only if they attract leadership within the political party locally dominant.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
CLEARING HOUSE, CHICAGO

The Santa Clara Valley, California. A Study in Landscape Changes. By J. O. M. BROEK. Geographische en Geologische Medeelingen van de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht (Papers in Geography and Geology of the University of Utrecht). Utrecht: N. V. A. Oosthoek's Uitgevers, 1932. Pp. 185 and loose map, quarto. \$2.00.

This doctoral dissertation prepared as the result of a traveling fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation is an outstanding example of a

regional study in human geography, which may well serve as a model for similar studies of which we have too few in this country. The physiography of the Santa Clara Valley is well described and a clear picture is given of the changes in the physical aspects of settlement and of the economic and social life of the valley in different periods, the Spanish-Mexican, the early American, the recent American, and the present. Detailed data concerning the changes in population, and social and economic conditions, are given and are abundantly illustrated with exceptionally fine graphs, maps, and photographs. The dominant rôle of the water supply and how it is utilized forms a major thesis. Such topics as the agricultural pattern, agricultural transmutations, rural settlements, and morphology of settlements, are described in detail for the different periods and show the most careful research, giving a truly scientific interpretation of the various forces affecting the life of the area, presented in most attractive form.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Les villages qui meurent. ("Les questions du temps présent."). By ANTOINE BORREL. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1932. Pp. 142. Fr. 10.

The remedy here suggested for the depopulation of the rural districts of France is "to re-establish the equilibrium between conditions of city life and those of rural life." Anyone acquainted with America will be inclined to doubt that improvement of rural living conditions and agricultural technique will keep peasants from being lured to the city. A case study of some rural commune with a view to discovering the springs of communal morals and the circumstances in which the individual finds a satisfactory personal career in farming might not have given the author any ready-made remedies, but it would have given him more insight into the nature of his problem.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Transition Zoning. By ARTHUR C. COMEY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv+150.

This study, Volume V of the "Harvard City Planning Studies," is based upon an inspection of three-fourths of all the zoning ordinances already adopted in the United States. From these the author has selected all transition zoning clauses, reduced them to thirty-six categories, and discussed certain typical cases of transition zoning of use, of building height, and of area.

Transition zoning, "a hitherto neglected phase of zoning practise" is, in short, "the specialized treatment of the *borders* of zoning districts," and its particular function is the "mitigating of the detrimental effect to property on the edge of one zoning district resulting from the actual or prospective development of adjacent property in a less restricted district."

Legal aspects of this special type of zoning are discussed. Diagrams and photographs illustrate the practice in various cities. The practical value of the study is further enhanced by a complete index of cities using transition zoning and by a compilation, by cities, of transition clauses in zoning ordinances.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Il pensiero e la politica sociale di Camillo Cavour. By ANTONIO FOSSATI. Torino: La Federazione Fascista del Commercio della Provincia di Torino, 1932. Pp. 163.

Many tomes have been written about Cavour's diplomacy, but there has been a deplorable dearth of first-class studies on the social phases of his statesmanship. Professor Fossati's volume, which contains an accurate and comprehensive analysis of Cavour's approach to the labor problems of his native Piedmont, should go far to fill this lacuna. The author is mainly concerned with the statesman's views on the relation between capital and labor. It must of course be remembered that the industrial revolution made very little progress in Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. Consequently, Cavour was confronted by social problems which were puny in comparison with those which were challenging the resourcefulness of English and French statesmen. Nevertheless, the subject held an important place in his thinking until the pressure of foreign affairs crowded all else from his mind. The great Piedmontese is characterized as a "progressive" and "evolutionist." He was bitterly opposed to socialism. Faithful to the liberal tenets which he had imbibed from his English contemporaries, he reposed supreme faith in the wisdom and efficacy of economic individualism. He was firmly convinced that the first and indispensable condition of a people's well-being was increased economic production, which, in his view, would bring plenty to all classes.

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Studies in the Psychology of Art. By NORMAN MEIER. Princeton: Psychological Review, 1933. Pp. viii+188.

This monograph shows the vast gap between the talented and the untalented child. It proves the need for individual instruction. Difficult as this instruction may seem at the present time, it must be the goal for the future.

JESSIE TODD

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I Went to Pit College. By LAUREN GILFILLAN. New York: Viking Press, 1934. Pp. 288. \$2.50.

The community pictured in cross-section in this autobiographical account is a mining town near Pittsburgh, the inhabitants of which—mostly immigrants—are exploited and impoverished by the mining company and by the company-owned local government. Pit College is the coal mine. The author, a young graduate of Smith College, is not native to the mining country; she went into it in a spirit of adventure to discover and reveal the life of the striking miners. She shared their life as completely as she could, although she was never fully admitted and was ultimately driven out under suspicion as a capitalist spy. On the whole, her account is impressionistic, but it is not without its penetrating, analytical passages. It depicts realistically the external circumstances and limitations of the miners' lives. It reveals the tragic character of the conflict situation in which they are involved. It discovers the motivations, the fears, the aspirations, the prejudices, and the romantic cravings of an ignorant, depressed group. Some of the rather fragmentary case studies that give the book its value indicate the origin and adventurous character of certain forms of collective action. The moral and political implications of the study exceed its significance as a sociological document.

C. W. HART

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Martin Luther: Germany's Angry Man. By ABRAM LIPSKY. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1933. Pp. xv+305. \$3.00.

Extreme poverty may be an excuse for writing a potboiler, as it may be an excuse for acting the clown in a burlesque show. Rawness, crudity, and superficiality are the outstanding results in both cases. A man who refers to the ascent of the Scala Santa as a "thrilling stunt" shows himself incapable of any sympathetic comprehension of either Protestantism or Catholicism.

Lipsky's ludicrous psychology is matched only by his inchoate and episodic history. He obscures both the character of Luther and the beginnings of Protestantism. Yet this book serves a purpose. Along with a score of others, it shows the cultural poverty and educational backwardness of our reading public. Their honest ignorance has long been exploited in the field of biography by a crowd of noisy, impudent, pushing pretenders, among whom Lipsky is one of the worst.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Knowing and Helping People. By HORATIO W. DRESSER. Boston: Beacon Press, 1933. Pp. vii+259. \$2.50.

Written in simple language, in a cheerful and friendly tone, with a large measure of comforting philosophy, this volume aims to present a non-technical account of salient technical information on the topic signified by its title. General readers should find it to be somewhat superior among the large class of books in this field.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Brain and Its Mechanism. By SIR CHARLES SHERRINGTON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. Pp. 35. \$0.50.

The most eminent British physiologist here gives an untechnical account of some recent advances in the analysis of cerebral functions with a frank statement of the relation between nervous and mental activities as he sees them. Many will be dissatisfied with its conservatism, but more critical readers appreciate its fidelity to evidence.

C. JUDSON HERRICK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Personality, Many in One. By JAMES WINFRED BRIDGES. Boston: Stratford Co., 1932. Pp. vi+215. \$2.00.

An abbreviated, popular exposition of theoretical psychology, cast in conventional form, and with little in the way of new interpretation.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HERBERT BLUMER

The Energies of Men. By WILLIAM McDougall. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. Pp. xii+395. \$2.00.

As the author states, "This book is an outcome of an endeavor to present in one volume of moderate compass the most essential parts of my *Outline of Psychology* and *Outline of Abnormal Psychology*." The only two novel additions are a new treatment of the instinct-intelligence problem and a revised theory of the learning process.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New World-Order. Essays arranged and edited. By F. S. MARVIN. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. Pp. v+188. \$2.75.

This volume contains a series of essays on such diverse topics as "The Atom," "Tendencies in Recent English Literature," "Some Tendencies in Swedish Architecture," "The Present Position in Biology," "Economic Success and Failure," "Race Problems in Industry and Culture," and "Aspects of International Finance." The editor has contributed three of the essays; the others are contributions of different authorities. Separately, the essays are informative and interesting; collectively, they throw little light on the topic suggested by the title of the volume.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

What Policemen Should Know. By JAMES J. SKEHAN. New York: The Police Journal, 1934. Pp. 387. \$2.00.

This practical manual for police is a greatly enlarged edition of the book which Captain Skehan published fifteen years ago. It is a simple and concise treatment of those day-to-day aspects of policing which come solely from experience on the job.

BRUCE SMITH

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW YORK CITY

Sweden: the Land and the People. By AGNES ROTHERY. New York: Viking Press, 1934. Pp. 277. \$3.00.

This is a travel-book, atypical only in its literary merit. The eighteen chapters cover that many aspects of Sweden and its culture. The iron industry of Lapland, the folk culture of Dalecarlia, the ruins of Visby, modern Swedish art and its alliance with industry, the powerful co-operatives, the managed currency, the life of cottage and castle—all these and many more pass in review. The volume is not the result of an intensive study; the generalizations are striking but superficial.

The author is evidently very favorably impressed with the Swedes and their culture. She quotes with approval Count Keyserling's admission that in its social organization "Sweden is one of the most civilized countries in Europe." She also ventures the judgment that the two principal defects of the Swedes are their tendency to grumble and the fact "that there are too few of them." The illustrations are fine, the brief outline of Swedish history useful, the Bibliography suggestive, and the Index adequate.

ANDERS M. MYHRMAN

BATES COLLEGE

The Saga of the Comstock Lode. By GEORGE D. LYMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. 399. \$3.50.

The author is a physician who makes history a hobby. The story is about boom days in Virginia City, Nevada, mainly from 1857 to 1865. He features many of the rugged characters and recklessness who figured in that greatest of bonanzas. The book is well documented but has no index. Lyman's style and method verge on novel-writing. Perhaps he strains too much at points to be literary, having an urge for the superlative. Aside from this criticism, he has written a good account of the frontier beginnings of Nevada. It is a good background against which to read Mark Twain, who began his career in Virginia City. But the days of silver and gold are gone, and that is another story to be told. It would be less colorful but interesting.

NELS ANDERSON

F.E.R.A., WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Human Side of the News. By EDWIN C. HILL. New York: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1934. Pp. 226.

Edwin C. Hill's career has been with the news, first as a star reporter on the *New York Sun*, then as a Hollywood news-reel director, and now as a radio news-commentator. By the title he means an account of some picturesque and romantic events of the past which some man or some place mentioned in the day's news recalls to him. The score of five- or six-page feature stories (for example, "The Story of Opal Whiteley," "The Richest Men in the World") are samples of curio-hunting—a sort of literary "Believe-It-or-Not" collection.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Mystery, Magic and Medicine. By HOWARD W. HAGGARD. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1933. Pp. 192. \$1.00.

In this volume Dr. Haggard condenses his larger works and his broadcasts on medical history into pocket size. The dramatic story of medicine is presented mainly through the medium of its personalities, but there is some illustration of relations with social institutions.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, Illinois

Man as Psychology Sees Him. By EDWARD S. ROBINSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 376.

The content of this book is quite appropriate to its title. It consists of a number of very readable essay-like chapters which present a fairly typical picture of the interests of contemporary psychology in America in studying human beings. The discussion, while not profound, is impressive, and succeeds in its purpose much better than most popular works. It does not contain any new point of view, any unique synthesis of prevailing theories, or any findings of research; yet its careful thought, clarity, and wit should make the book of interest to both lay and professional readers.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

An Elementary Psychology of the Abnormal. By W. B. PILLSBURY. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1932. Pp. x+375. \$3.00.

This text gives a readable but not exciting account of the field of the abnormal. Attention is given to the outstanding points of view, such as those of Janet, Freud, Jung, and Adler; and specific discussion is devoted to the different forms of pathological behavior as they are currently conceived. The author has done a fairly creditable job in representing current knowledge and points of view.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

An Atlas of Current Affairs. By J. F. HORRABIN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. Pp. x+149+iv. \$1.50.

Foreign news dispatches are more intelligently read when one can visualize the place on the earth's surface where the reported event took place. This little book of seventy-four maps, opposite each of which is a single page of explanation, admirably complements the newspaper accounts of foreign affairs. Its contents run a quite complete gamut of places and problems, since the materials were collected and collated "from a mountain of daily and weekly journals." An adequate index is appended.

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Le racisme et l'orchestre universel. By GEORGES LAKHOVSKY. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934. Pp. 153. Fr. 15.

At last we have the key to the races. There are none. Individual variations are due to the oscillations of one's instles in harmony with the soil he lives on. This revelation is followed by a series of inconsistent sermons in which are expounded the inconsistency of anti-Semites and "racistes."

EVERETT C. HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Foundations of Abnormal Psychology. By FRED A. MOSS and THELMA HUNT. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932. Pp. xii+547.

This textbook is written from the physiological point of view. "We begin by giving the physical agents that produce the disorder; we next consider the underlying tissue pathology which these agents produce; third, we consider the mental abnormalities resulting from this tissue pathology; and fourth, we consider methods for preventing the disorder or for curing it when once it is acquired." This emphasis on somatic causation and the accompanying condemnation of all psychogenic interpretation make this work of interest, although of curious interest. The discussion is very readable.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland. By REV. R. B. NAVIN, WM. D. PEATIE, F. R. STEWART, and STAFF. Cleveland: Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, 1931. Pp. 27.

A slum area in Cleveland of 333 acres with a population in 1930 of 22,236, predominately Negro and foreign-born white, showed (1932) a maintenance cost of \$1,747,402, *in excess of income*. Such studies of urban cost-accounting throw new light on municipal bankruptcies—both economic and social.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

La route et sa technique. ("Les questions du temps présent.") By YVES LE TROCQUER. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1931. Pp. 118. Fr. 12.

A brief history of roads and road traffic in France, followed by a statement of the administrative and technical problems of maintenance of roads in the era of the automobile.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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FOREWORD

For a number of years the editors of the *American Journal of Sociology* have been publishing in May a record and analysis of social changes of the preceding year. Last year the regularity of this procedure was broken by publishing, instead, an account of the outstanding events of the New Deal. This was done because the activities in the economic and governmental field of the new political administration greatly overshadowed the regular course of social change.

The burst of activities begun in 1933 continued through 1934. While other trends were somewhat overshadowed, yet the New Deal was seen more clearly as a phase in the effort toward recovery. In the spring of 1935, depression and recovery as social phenomena comprise our thought, rather than the birth of any new social movement.

It appears that the trough of the depression was in 1932-33, and that since that time efforts at recovery have proceeded somewhat haltingly, with occasional serious and prolonged setbacks. The beginnings of recovery have therefore been under way for a year and a half or two years. It is possible, therefore, to examine the effects of depression and recovery on a number of significant social trends. Such is the attempt in the following pages.

The accompanying articles do not deal with commerce and business as such. The course of our economic life during recent years is considered to be generally known. The theme is rather the effect of

the economic factor on social life and social conditions. However, these are not studies in causation. Rather, the social trends are traced through this period of economic disaster and the up-turn. The examination shows clearly enough, however, that none of the social trends studied have been unaffected. Indeed, the economic upheaval has had profound social reverberations. To summarize them here would anticipate the text that follows and not be a proper introduction.

It should be observed, however, that these social aspects of economic changes are noted only for the depression of the 1930's. In other depressions similar effects may have occurred, but such generalizations are beyond the present task of the contributors. To cover for one depression even the main social effects is a herculean task. The few major ones presented here, however, show what a severe shock the recent economic attack has been for the social system.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

WARREN S. THOMPSON

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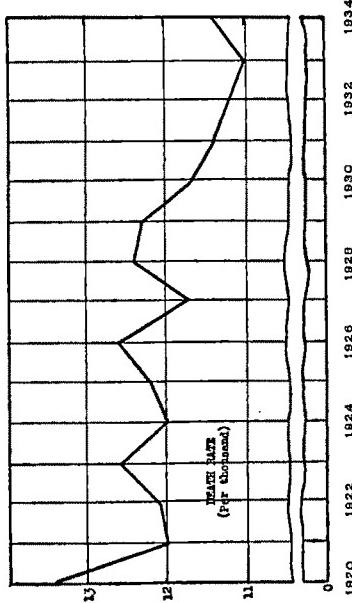
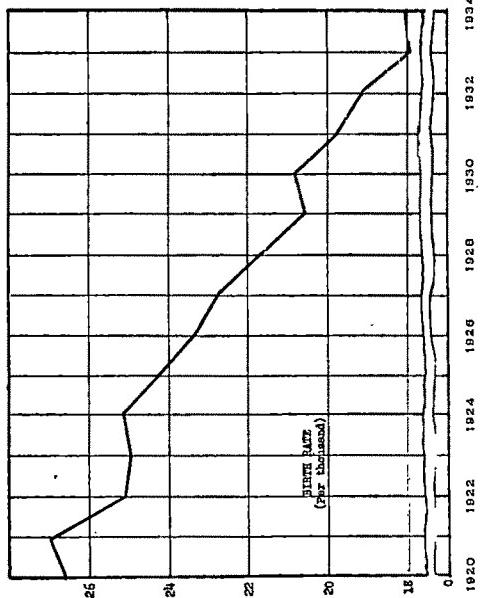
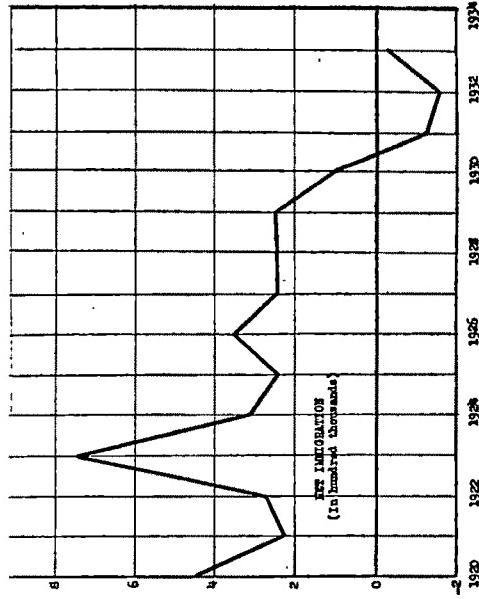
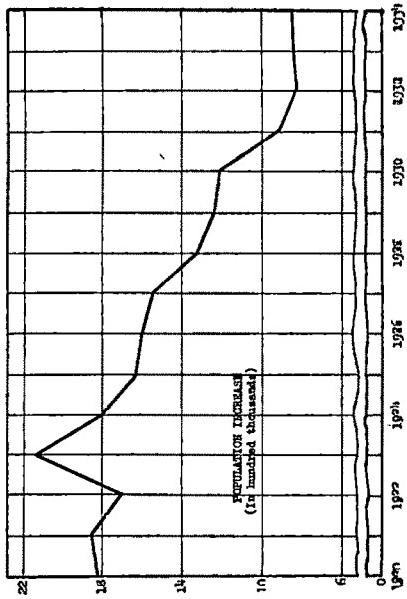
ABSTRACT

The effects of the depression on births and deaths are not very clearly marked. The number of births declined less in the five years 1929-34 than in the five years 1924-29. This was scarcely to be expected. Deaths show a steady decline during the depression until 1934, the lowest recorded rate we have ever had being in 1933. There was an increase in deaths during 1934, but it was not very great and, considering the possibility of error in estimates, is nothing to be alarmed about. Marriages show the effects of the depression about as might be expected up to 1932, when the number contracted was almost 250,000 fewer than in 1929. This loss appears to have been made up by 1934, however, when estimated marriages were in excess of those in 1929. Cityward migration ceased for the first three years of the depression, the net movement being to farms. In 1933 and 1934 the movement was again toward the city, although the country has retained not only its own natural increase but also some of the migrants into it during 1930-32.

It has long been known that movements of population—births, deaths, and marriages—as well as the distribution of population between city and country, are affected by changes in economic conditions. Since the depression is still with us, it is too early to assess adequately its effects on population growth and changes in the United States; but it may be of interest to review briefly the information which is now available on these points.

In Table I such information as can be secured at this time is brought together. The number of births in the United States has been falling steadily since 1924. Even during the good times from 1924 to 1929 there was an actual decline of almost 350,000 births, although population growth at that time averaged about a million and one-half per year. Since 1929 the decline has continued, but it has not been as great, amounting to about 230,000 between 1929 and 1934. Even at the low point of 1933, the number of births was only about 270,000 below 1929. It would appear, therefore, that the depression has not hastened the decline in the number of births as it might well have been expected to do.

On the other hand, the slight increase in number of births in 1934, if more complete data confirm this provisional estimate, is just what one would anticipate from the estimated increase in number of



marriages contracted during 1933; and if the estimate of marriages for 1934 is reasonably accurate, a still larger increase in births during 1935 is to be looked for. But, as explained in the notes to this table, one should not place too much reliance on marriage figures which involve such a large hazard in estimation.

TABLE I
POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1928-34*
(Thousands)

YEAR	POPULA-TION JAN-UARY 1	BIRTHS	DEATHS	NATU-RAL IN-CREASE	NET IMMI-GRATION	POPU-LATION GROWTH	MAR-RIAGES	RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION		
								Birth	Death	Mar-riage
1928....	119,923	2,612	1,490	1,080†	246	1,326	1,182	21.7	12.4	9.8
1929....	121,249	2,527	1,494	993†	252	1,245	1,233	20.7	12.3	10.1
1930....	122,494	2,569	1,439	1,130	98	1,228	1,128	20.9	11.7	9.2
1931....	123,722	2,458	1,418	1,040	-128	912	1,061	19.8	11.4	8.5
1932....	124,634	2,399	1,402	997	-162	835	982	19.2	11.2	7.9
1933....	125,469	2,260	1,384	876	- 31	845	1,077	18.0	11.0	8.6
1934....	126,314	2,296	1,439	857	- 8†	849	1,245	18.1	11.4	9.8
1935....	127,171	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* In all cases the data for 1934 are based on estimates, using such partial information as was available in February, 1935. The births and deaths are estimated on returns from thirty-eight states for most of which either ten or eleven months' data were available. Allowance is also made for non-registration of births and deaths in all years; hence the figures given here do not correspond with those published by the Division of Vital Statistics, Bureau of the Census. The Bureau of the Census ceased collection of data on marriages in 1933; hence the figures for both 1933 and 1934 had to be based on the trend as shown by the few (ten) states for which information could be secured at this time. It was assumed that the trend shown in these ten states was typical of the entire United States. This is a large assumption, and may or may not be justified. Certainly these estimates must be used with much caution.

† Adjusted in order to make population growth calculated from these series agree with intercensal increase.

‡ Net alien movement only. Data for previous years include net movement of citizens as well as of aliens.

The fact that the depression has not accelerated the decline in the birth-rate should not lead one to conclude that it has not had a depressing effect upon births. It is altogether possible that we were approaching the end of the period of rapid decline in the birth-rate in 1930, since births in that year were somewhat more numerous than in 1929, and that, but for the depression, the decline would have been much less than it actually was during the last five years. Of course, no proof of such a trend is possible; but there is reason to think that the marked falling-off of marriages through 1932 was responsible for a considerable part of the reduction in the number of

births through 1933. If this was the case, the decline in births to marriages contracted prior to 1930 was not as rapid during the depression as it had been before that time. Furthermore, over and above the direct effect of fewer marriages upon the number of births during the ensuing year or two, there is no clear evidence in the studies of the factors affecting the birth-rate that hard living has a depressing effect upon it. In fact, most of our data bearing upon the relation between economic condition and births show that the better the economic condition of a group the fewer are its births. It is possible, then, that hard times have actually stayed the decline of the birth-rate among a considerable portion of our population and that the decline of about 230,000, in the annual number of births from 1929 to 1934 is in large measure due to the decline of about 250,000 in annual number of marriages from 1929 to 1932. In any event, the decline in number of births during the depression is less than would have been expected from studying the decline during the preceding five years, while the increase (estimated) in births during 1934, although small, suggests the possibility that there may be no further decline until the effects of increasing marriages have worn off.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the births of 1934 (2,296,000) would maintain a stationary population of 135,896,000 with death-rates as of 1929-31. This is 8,725,000 in excess of our present population. But it should also be noted that the decline of 230,000 in number of births since 1929 means that the births of 1934 will maintain a stationary population 13,613,300 smaller than would the births of 1929, each 100,000 decline in births resulting in a decline of 5,918,818 in a stationary population.

It will be noted from Table I that the total number of deaths declined slowly but steadily from 1929 through 1933. In 1934, however, the provisional figures indicate an increase in number of about 55,000. Although this figure is provisional, it probably justifies the view that the increase in deaths during the past year is greater than that due solely to the increase of population.

It is, at first glance, rather surprising to find that the number of deaths and the rate have both declined in spite of the hardships of the depression and that they are increasing as conditions begin to

improve. No attempt at explanation of this fact will be made here (see Sydenstricker's article, this *Journal*, pp. 804-12) other than to suggest that the enforced leisure of some millions of our people, even with a very modest amount of relief, may possibly be more conducive to health than the work they do under normal conditions. It may also be that the evil effects of hard living do not become immediately apparent in the death-rate but are spread over future years in such a way as to disguise rather effectually their relation to the depression. The absence of any severe epidemic also had its influence in keeping death-rates low during depression years.

Since the estimated increase of deaths during 1934 is greater than that of births, the net effect of the natural movements of population is to reduce the natural increase slightly below that of 1933. The increment to our population in 1934 by excess of births over deaths is therefore the smallest for many decades. Whether the total increase is smaller than during the preceding two years cannot be told, because the net movement of immigration during 1934 is not known at the time of writing. The probability is that the growth in numbers during 1934 was very little different from that during 1932 and 1933. The estimate of a population of 127,163,000 on January 1, 1935, is based on the assumption that there was no net movement of citizens across our national border during 1934. This figure will certainly be changed somewhat when the migration figures are known exactly and when complete returns on births and deaths become available.

The trend shown by data on marriages from 1928 to 1932 are much more in line with what might be expected a priori to follow from a severe economic depression than are those on births and deaths. It is easy to understand that in good times people would feel freer to marry and establish homes than in times of stress and uncertainty. The decline of about one-quarter of a million in number of marriages from 1929 to 1932 is not therefore surprising. The rapid increase in marriages during 1933 and 1934, if more complete data confirm these estimates, is, however, rather surprising, for there is certainly no economic improvement adequate to account for an increase raising the number above that in 1928 and 1929. It would seem that the accumulated deficit of marriages is being made up in

spite of the depression—that after marriages have been postponed about so long they are contracted whether or not the economic outlook for the couple is much improved. It may be that the belief in a better future precedes actual improvement and leads people to be willing to contract marriage even though a job has not actually been secured. It is also possible that the better organization of relief and the removal of some of its stigma as a larger and larger proportion of the people become dependent has led many people to feel that there is no longer any reason for postponing marriage. The spread of the knowledge that marriage need not issue in children unless and until they are wanted would likewise tend to make people less reluctant to marry during hard times. But whatever the explanation of the increase in marriages may be, there can be little doubt that the large increase in marriages during 1933 and 1934 will increase the number of births in 1935 above that of 1934; and if the number of marriages remains high for several years, the number of births may also be expected to exceed that of the past three or four years.

There has been more or less migration from country to city ever since white settlement became well established in this country. We have become so accustomed to such a migration that we take it for granted and regard it as the normal thing. Indeed, there has probably been such a movement ever since man developed towns; for there is good reason to believe that cities, and even towns, have seldom in past ages had enough births to balance deaths, to say nothing of any excess of births. In pre-depression years we had a very large net movement of rural population into the cities, reaching the huge total of 1,137,000 in 1922, according to the figures of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. In 1930, however, this movement was reversed for the first time in our history, and there was a net movement of about 17,000 to the farms. This trickle increased to a stream of over 200,000 in 1931; and in 1932 it became a flood, amounting to 533,000. In 1933 the cities again attracted more than they sent away, by about 227,000. What happened during 1934 cannot be told at this time. If the movement to the cities during 1933 was caused by an improvement of economic conditions there or by the better organization of relief, it may or may not have continued during 1934, for there is no clear evidence that 1934 witnessed any

marked improvement over 1933 in these respects. The only point of which we can be reasonably certain at present is that if, and when, industrial conditions improve in the cities they will soon claim again those who left them during the depression and as many more of those young people now dammed up on the farms as can find jobs in industry. It is interesting to note that from one-half to five-eighths of our total natural increase is now found in the farm population, although this group constitutes just about one-fourth of the total population. It is probable that on January 1, 1935, the farm population was about 32,750,000. This was an increase of about 2,600,000 since 1930, most of which was due to the natural increase of the farm population being kept at home because of lack of opportunity in the city. Since 1930, for the first time in our history, the proportion of our people on the farm has begun to increase. This piling-up of population in an industry already burdened with an excess production and having relatively low standards of living in at least half of its homes is a very serious matter. One can but conclude that, entirely apart from the subsistence homestead movement, subsistence farming is becoming the lot of an increasing proportion of our population. One is driven to wonder whether this excess farm population will not drag even that part of our agricultural population still maintaining reasonably good standards down to the subsistence level it occupies. This would have a very serious effect upon the level of economic activity in the nation, for a subsistence farmer is not more likely to be a good customer of the implement manufacturer, the shoemaker, the weaver, or the house-builder than is the recipient of relief in the city. No doubt many people will prefer subsistence farming to relief; but to those of us who believe that we could all have a decent living if our economic life were properly organized, this increase in the farm population during agriculture's worst depression is a matter of grave concern. Are we witnessing the development of an agricultural population which will regard mere *subsistence* as a normal condition?

THE CONDITIONS OF RURAL LIFE

T. B. MANNY

United States Department of Agriculture¹

ABSTRACT

The great drought and, to a lesser extent, acreage adjustment measures, reduced the production of principal farm crops in terms of per-capita figures for the total population of the United States to the lowest level on record (1866-1934). Nevertheless, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program, in combination with other factors, brought about a substantial increase in farm income and some improvement in the purchasing power of that part of the 1934 farm income available for family living. The improvement, however, was by no means uniform throughout the country. Farm families increased their purchases of consumption goods to some extent, but many families were so seriously involved in debts that they continued to use as much of the available cash as possible to reduce these pressing obligations. Rural social institutions apparently did not show as much improvement in 1934, because of the usual failure of their incomes to increase as promptly as and in proportion to gains in farm incomes, and because of the necessity of meeting debt payments that had prior claim over current expenditures.

The agricultural situation for the year 1934 can be characterized as one of marked ups and downs, with unusually large differences between various parts of the country. In the paragraphs that follow, the principal developments are discussed briefly, especially as these relate to the human factor and to social institutions.

The volume of the agricultural production in terms of crops indicates most clearly the profound effect of the 1934 drought and to a much lesser extent the results of controlled production. The acreage harvested was about 19 per cent below the average of the preceding ten years, but the output was 32 per cent below average. Crop production per capita for the country's population was much lower than in any other year for which records are available (1866-1934). In the cases of cotton and tobacco, the drought was not a factor, yields being a little above the ten-year average for both crops. But in the

¹ The opinions herein expressed are those of the author, not necessarily those of the administrations whose activities are discussed. In view of the limited space available it seemed advisable to devote most of it to a discussion of the outstanding changes in agriculture and rural life, though some of these changes are not sociological in themselves. Yet all of them may produce important adjustments of a sociological nature, many of which will be more obvious, in all probability, a year hence than they are at present.

case of cotton, harvested acreage was reduced about 30 per cent, and for tobacco the harvested acreage was 23 per cent below average, due mostly to the Agricultural Adjustment program.

The heavy reduction in feed crops combined with the poorest pasture conditions on record forced drastic reductions in livestock numbers throughout most of the drought-stricken area. The federal government bought some 8,000,000 head of cattle and 5,000,000 head of sheep to avoid much greater losses through starvation and demoralized markets.

During 1934, the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (with modifications in the case of cotton and tobacco) as applied to control overproduction were in effect for the following basic agricultural commodities: wheat, cotton, tobacco, and corn-hogs. Under this program, at the close of 1934, there were over four million production control contracts in effect applying to a little more than three million farms. From its inception up to December 31, 1934, rental and benefit payments to co-operating farmers totaled \$527,501,795.92.

Other phases of the Agricultural Adjustment program include the setting-up of marketing agreements and licenses and of land purchasing in so-called submarginal farming areas. Lack of space prevents a discussion of them, but both are under way.

The agricultural adjustment program involves a number of socio-logical implications. These have been recognized to some extent at least by those responsible for program planning, but under the necessity of meeting major emergencies it has not been possible to deal currently with all of the social problems arising out of the emergencies themselves or out of the actions taken to meet such emergencies.

County and local committees made up of farmers, acting under the supervision of the county agricultural agents and other extension leaders, have done a great deal of the actual work of securing contracts, determining individual farm allotments, checking up acreages, counting hogs, and so on. Most of this work by farmer committees was done without pay other than perhaps a mileage allowance. Individual contract-signers have been asked to vote for or against the continuance of control measures over some of the

commodities, though for cotton and tobacco such a procedure was required for the continuance of compulsory control over all producers under the Bankhead and Kerr-Smith acts. The cotton, tobacco, and corn-hog plans have been approved for continuance by impressive majorities, though not all types of tobacco had been voted upon and the results summarized by February 15, 1935. The Administration realizes that "strong-arm" methods of enforcement are wholly undesirable and that the use of democratic processes through local committees involving a maximum of co-operation and education are the most effective approaches to the problem.

In some areas where major reductions have been made in acreages planted some complications have occurred with respect to the human factor. These have been most pronounced in the Cotton Belt. Although the contracts signed by landlords and by tenants or croppers contained provisions intended to prevent reducing the number of families retained to produce crops and to insure tenants or croppers their share of rental and benefit payments, considerable evidence of alleged violations of these provisions has appeared from various sources. Further study by impartial agencies is needed for an adequate determination of the facts. In fairness to the Adjustment Administration's program, however, one may well ponder over what might have happened to these same farm families and probably others as well if no production controls had been attempted and the price of cotton had continued at ruinously low levels in the face of huge carry-overs. The wholesale bankruptcies and widespread inability of landlords to furnish share croppers and tenants under such conditions might easily have worked far greater hardships upon these people and forced rural relief demands to much higher levels than has actually occurred.

Attempts to make an accurate statistical appraisal of the Agricultural Adjustment program in its effect upon the prices received by farmers, upon farm incomes, or upon agricultural conditions generally, are greatly handicapped by several complications, the more important ones being: (1) the effects of the 1934 drought upon production and farm incomes; (2) the gradual gain in urban purchasing power; (3) monetary policies; (4) the effect of NRA codes upon commodity prices, especially in raising prices of commodities farmers

have to buy; (5) widening margins between farm prices and consumer prices for farm products and the effect of the resulting higher retail prices upon consumer demand for farm products; and (6) the

TABLE I

ESTIMATED AVERAGE PRICES RECEIVED BY PRODUCERS AT LOCAL FARM MARKETS, ESTIMATED "PARITY" PRICES AS DEFINED BY THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, AND PERCENTAGE THAT THE FORMER ARE OF THE LATTER ON SPECIFIED DATES*

PRODUCT AND UNIT	MAY 15, 1933			DECEMBER 15, 1934†		
	Farm Price (Dollars)	Parity Price (Dollars)	Ratio of Farm Price to Parity Price (Per Cent)	Farm Price (Dollars)	Parity Price (Dollars)	Ratio of Farm Price to Parity Price (Per Cent)
Cotton, per pound‡.....	.082	.126	65	.124	.156	79
Corn, per bushel§.....	.389	.655	59	.853	.809	105
Wheat, per bushel‡§.....	.590	.902	65	.906	1.114	81
Oats, per bushel§.....	.217	.407	53	.539	.503	107
Hay, per ton§.....	6.370	12.110	53	13.860	14.960	93
Potatoes, per bushel.....	.437	.711	61	.454	.878	52
Beef cattle, per 100 pounds||.....	3.950	5.310	74	3.880	6.560	59
Hogs, per 100 pounds‡||.....	3.880	7.360	53	5.150	9.100	57
Chickens, per pound.....	.104	.116	90	.117	.144	81
Eggs, per dozen.....	.118	.167¶	71¶	.270	.410¶	66¶
Wool, per pound.....	.177	.182	97	.185	.222	83
Lambs, per 100 pounds||.....	4.720	6.020	78	5.010	7.400	68
Horses, each.....	71.000	145.000	49	79.000	179.000	44

* Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Average of reports covering the United States, weighted according to relative importance of district and State.

† Preliminary.

‡ Products included in basic agricultural commodities production adjustments program for 1934.

§ Yield greatly reduced by drought in 1934.

|| Heavy marketings in latter part of 1934 due to feed shortages resulting from drought.

¶ Adjusted for seasonality.

difficulty of estimating recent price trends for farm products, assuming the Agricultural Adjustment Administration had not entered the picture. The present summary cannot go into this subject to any extent. The best that can be done will be to cite a few evidences, leaving the reader to judge what part of the improvement thus evidenced is due to the adjustment program.

Table I shows the changes in average prices received by producers

for some of the major agricultural commodities at local farm markets in the United States, compared with parity prices as defined by the Agricultural Adjustment Act at two dates, the first being about the time this act went into effect and the second at the close of 1934. Rental and benefit payments are not considered in this connection. A material improvement in prices is observable, but how much is due to each of the factors involved is not ascertainable statistically. Obviously some of the factors, including some of those previously enumerated, worked more or less at cross-purposes with respect to farm prices.

Similarly, how much of the recent increases in gross farm income (including rental and benefit payments), compared with 1932 (Table II) was due solely to the Agricultural Adjustment program and what part was due to other influences beyond the control of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration cannot be estimated with any degree of exactness. But the probabilities are that this new program of agricultural planning played no inconsiderable part, especially prior to the time when the drought became the major factor in causing sharp price increases for several of the principal crops.

Some evidences of changes in farm income and the relative purchasing power of that part of it which is available for investment, inventory replacements, and family living in selected years, 1910-34, are given in Table II. Income due to AAA rental and benefit payments is included in the 1933 and 1934 estimates. The increase in gross income for 1933 compared with 1932 amounted to 17 per cent of the income for the earlier year, whereas the increase in 1934 over 1932 represented 35 per cent of the 1932 income. The selected farm production expenditures, which include 80-90 per cent of all such expenditures, did not mount as rapidly (indeed, in 1933 they totaled less than in 1932); hence the balance available for investment, inventory replacements, and family living increased much more rapidly, the 1933 gain being 44 per cent of the 1932 balance available, and the 1934 gain over 1932 being 71 per cent of the 1932 figure.

This more favorable showing is modified to a considerable extent by two complications. The first is that because of the unprecedented seriousness of the drought, especially in most of the West North

Central and Mountain states and in parts of the Southwest, a great many farmers failed to realize sufficient cash income to carry their farms and their families through the winter. In the cotton and tobacco areas, on the other hand, the recent gains are considerably

TABLE II

ESTIMATED GROSS FARM INCOME, SELECTED FARM-PRODUCTION EXPENDITURES, AND PURCHASING POWER OF THE BALANCE WHICH MAY BE USED FOR FAMILY LIVING OR INVESTMENT PURPOSES, IN TERMS OF PRE-WAR PARITY*

YEAR	GROSS INCOME† (Million Dollars)	SELECT- ED EX- PENDI- TURES‡ (Million Dollars)	BALANCE AVAIL- ABLE (Million Dollars)	INDEX NUMBERS OF: (1909-14=100)				
				Gross Income (Per Cent)	Selected Expend- itures (Per Cent)	Balance Avail- able (Per Cent)	Prices Paid for Com- modities Bought for Family Living (Per Cent)	Purchas- ing Pow- er of Balance Avail- able§ (Per Cent)
1909.....	6,238	1,886	4,352	92	87	95	96	99
1914.....	7,028	2,338	4,690	104	108	102	102	100
1918.....	15,101	4,186	10,915	223	193	238	177	135
1921.....	8,927	4,136	4,791	132	190	104	161	65
1925.....	11,968	4,691	7,277	177	216	159	164	97
1929.....	11,941	5,246	6,695	177	241	146	158	92
1932.....	5,331	2,758	2,573	79	127	56	108	52
1933.....	6,256||	2,553	3,703	93	117	81	109	74
1934.....	7,200||	2,800	4,400	107	129	96	122	79

* Rearranged slightly from a table appearing in the February, 1935, issue of the *Agricultural Situation* published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

† Calendar years for livestock and livestock products, crop years for crops.

‡ Total of these items includes 90-94 per cent of all production expenses for the 10-year period 1924-33. See August, 1934, issue of *Crops and Markets* published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

§ Data in second column to the left divided by the first column to the left.

|| Includes rental and benefit payments of Agricultural Adjustment Administration. 1934 figures are tentative.

above the national average, though in these areas the relative increases going to tenants and croppers in all probability were less than those going to landlords.

The second complication is the rising cost of family living. The effect of this may be seen in the two columns on the right-hand side of Table II. The gain in purchasing power equivalent of the 1933 balance available for investment, inventory replacement, and family

living (in terms of changes in prices paid for commodities bought for family living only) compared with 1932 was 42 per cent, but the corresponding increase for 1934 over 1932 was 52 per cent instead of the 71 per cent gain in the balance available on a dollar basis as pointed out in an earlier paragraph.

Furthermore, although the situation for the United States as a whole shows considerable improvement since the extremely adverse condition prevailing in 1932, the balance available is still materially below the corresponding pre-war figure when changes in the price level are taken into account.

In addition to the income derived from farming, many farm families earn something from outside employment, tourist trade, and the sale of home-made products. All of these sources of income have been seriously affected by the depression, though in 1934 there was probably some improvement over 1933. In a number of large areas, demands for relief on the part of farm dwellers rose because usual sources of non-agricultural income were greatly restricted or cut off entirely, and the income from the farms on which they lived was wholly inadequate to meet the needs of the farm families.

A large part of the improved farm credit situation in 1934, compared with 1933, is due to the increased activities of government-sponsored agencies working in this field. Decreases in the volume of farm mortgage loans to farmers by life insurance companies, member banks of the Federal Reserve System, and joint-stock land banks were more than offset by the increased lendings of the Farm Credit Administration. In the field of intermediate and short-time credit to farmers there were marked increases in loans made by the federal intermediate credit banks, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the production credit associations, all units of or sponsored by the Farm Credit Administration. Except in areas most seriously affected by drought, country banks as a whole made substantial improvement during 1934, and the majority of these should be in a position to extend more short-time credit in 1935 than in 1934, at least to farmers who are classed as excellent credit risks.

One of the pronounced effects of the depression upon agriculture has been the stimulus to farm families to produce the maximum proportion of goods and services for family living through a more

complete utilization of local resources. In this manner, part of the usual cash expenditures were avoided. Some examples of these adjustments were given in last year's report. In general, farm families tried to continue such economies in 1934 on a scale comparable with 1933. But in 1934 over a wide expanse of territory, the great drought destroyed home gardens and fruits and forced the sale or slaughter of large numbers of livestock.

There are some evidences of increased purchases of clothing, cloth by the yard, house furnishings of the less permanent sort, and automobiles during 1934 on the part of farm families, though some of this was doubtless due to the fact that similar articles purchased previously simply would not serve longer. But with many farm families struggling under accumulating debt burdens, expenditures for family living are probably held to a point about as low as most farm families believe to be essential for a minimum existence.

Rural schools, in many areas, remained in dire financial straits during 1934 compared with the years just preceding, though some bright spots developed here and there. Relief funds were used to employ teachers in districts whose usual revenues had dwindled to the point that debt-service charges having first claim upon these resources used up all or nearly all the local school revenues. Several state legislatures provided increased state aid to elementary and high schools, usually from funds derived from new sources of revenue. For the United States as a whole, rural school enrolments in the fall of 1934 showed but little change over the corresponding figures for the preceding years.

Local governments in rural areas continued to operate under severe reductions of income. Apparently the greatest reductions in expenditures occurred in the case of road-building and maintenance, to some extent offset by federal and state road-building and by local work-relief projects. Increased state control over local spending and public debts was provided for in a few instances. A constitutional amendment permitting optional forms of local government was made effective in Ohio, and charter commissions to develop such plans were authorized by the voters of a few counties but defeated in others. Constitutional amendments in Michigan requiring re-organization of local government, particularly in rural areas, were

defeated. Wisconsin's land-zoning provisions for rural areas commanded considerable attention. Some work has been done toward putting this plan into operation in certain northern counties where land-use problems are most acute. In the cut-over areas of Minnesota, several townships were disbanded and their functions (also their embarrassing debts) transferred to the counties.

In general it may be said that in many rural areas, while there has been a definite recovery from the low point of the depression, the social institutions, especially those depending upon voluntary support, have tended to lag behind. This situation obtains primarily because as much as possible of the increased income has been used to reduce the debt burden, a burden which, for many families, continued to increase until the fall of 1933, and which, in the drought areas, is still increasing. Recovery will be more pronounced among rural social institutions and agencies as the debt situation improves, but until many rural families get out from under their debts it will not be possible for them to make any marked increases in their existing standards of living or in their support of voluntary rural institutions and agencies.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN CITIES

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ABSTRACT

The drift of country dwellers to the city has been checked, and it is possible that some cities have begun to lose population. Large numbers of cities have run into financial difficulties, many of them defaulting their indebtedness, while some have failed even to pay their employees. Many have had to submit to state and federal oversight either through "municipal receiverships" or through state and federal underwriting of relief expenditures. There is no evidence that the percentage of families on relief is greater in urban than in rural communities, but relief costs per family are markedly higher in the former. A deficit in new housing for low-income urban groups began to appear early in the depression. The slump in building activities has been catastrophic in the case of low-cost housing. Attempts of limited dividend and governmental agencies to fill up the gap have so far failed to reach the classes most in need of aid.

Among the most significant features of urban society that have been affected by the events of the past five years, the following are outstanding: (1) urban demography, (2) municipal administration and finance, (3) relief, (4) housing.

The census of 1930 showed nearly one-eighth of the population of the United States in cities of one million or more, while slightly less than one-third were residing in communities of 100,000 or more.¹ This intense urbanization was the culmination of a process which had been under way since the foundation of the Republic. The depression brought a sharp interruption in this trend. The Department of Agriculture estimates of net migration between farms and cities show that whereas in 1929 approximately two million farm residents moved into cities, in 1930 a violent shift in migratory tendencies brought a net movement of 17,000 in favor of the return to the farms; by 1931 the drift back to the farms was 214,000, and by 1932, 533,000.

The long-run effect of this movement upon the population of the cities of the country cannot yet be foreseen. A census of Chicago,

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.*, 1934, Tables 7, 8, p. 6.

made by "CWA" workers in 1934, showed a decrease of 117,910 from the 1930 census.²

It may be that this reversal of city-country migration will mark the apogee of the urbanization that has characterized American social and economic life during the past hundred years. On the other hand, it may merely reflect a temporary side reaction of the depression. The fact that the Department of Agriculture estimates a net *country-to-city* movement of 227,000 for 1933 lends support to this latter hypothesis.

The whole situation is confused, however, by the cross-currents of state and federal policies. The activities of the AAA, TVA, and similar agencies are operating to increase the attractiveness of living in the country as opposed to the city. However, the greater generosity and flexibility of relief administration in the cities as compared with the country has a contrary trend.³

Some years ago one of the writers expressed the opinion that cities in general tend to operate on such a narrow margin of economic security that any emergency might precipitate them into insolvency and that in such circumstances they might lose a large measure of their autonomy of administration. He pointed out that the virtual suppression of the Roman city as a self-regulating entity was in large measure the result of administrative incompetency and financial collapse.⁴ The events of the past few years have lent support to this point of view.

In September, 1933, twenty-eight American cities were unable to pay current salaries to their teachers, the arrearages amounting to thirty million dollars.⁵ By January, 1935, the gross debt of all municipalities of five thousand or more population, whose obligations were in default, was \$2,225,000.⁶

² Letter from L. E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population, Bureau of the Census.

³ The monthly report of the FERA for September, 1934, shows that the November, 1933-September, 1934, average monthly benefit per family on relief was \$27.30 for city families as contrasted with \$15.87 for families in the "remainder of the states" concerned.

⁴ N. Carpenter, *The Sociology of City Life* (New York, 1931), pp. 395-400.

⁵ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, 1933, *Unpaid Salaries of Teachers and Other School Employees*.

⁶ S. Shanks, "The Extent of Municipal Default," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXIV (January, 1935).

A number of elements underlay the plight of these cities. On the one hand, income was being curtailed. By 1930 thirteen out of fifteen reporting cities of 300,000 or over showed a higher percentage of tax delinquencies than in the year 1928. In five instances, defaults amounted to more than 10 per cent.⁷

On the other hand, the need for unemployment relief necessitated a sharp increase in expenditures. Of twelve cities over 300,000 reporting expenditures for poor and unemployment relief in 1929, eleven showed increased appropriations for 1931, running into hundreds of percentages in some cases. Detroit appropriated \$1,126,000 in 1928 and \$14,680,000 in 1930. As an inevitable consequence, city after city went on a deficit basis. In 1929 the per capita net revenue of cities of over 30,000 population showed a balance over expenditures of nearly 25 per cent. By 1932 the cities over 100,000 were operating on 10 per cent deficits.⁸

Moreover, many urban communities were in no condition to meet the depression crisis, being already in deep water by reason of extravagance and overexpansion. In 1931, with revenues still showing a comfortable margin over expenditures, 146 cities of 30,000 or more population had increased their outstanding debts by more than \$20.00 per capita over 1929.⁹ As late as 1930, Lodi Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, undertook an improvement program amounting to \$350,000 or one-half of the total assessed value of the property benefited.¹⁰ The following year North Bergen, New Jersey, was put under a state "receivership."¹¹

This expedient of municipal "receivership" has been adopted in a few other states,¹² namely Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, and Massachusetts (applying to the city of Fall River). This procedure marks the most drastic measures taken to correct such conditions

⁷ F. L. Bird, "The Present Financial Status of 135 cities in the U.S. and Canada," *National Municipal Administration Service*, Statistical Series, Publication No. 5, New York, 1931.

⁸ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1931, p. 210, and 1934, p. 216. Note change in population of cities entering into the comparison.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 210.

¹⁰ *Public Management*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1931, p. 110.

¹¹ "When Municipalities Go Bankrupt," *Barrons' Weekly*, May 1, 1933, pp. 9-11.

¹² This enumeration applies only to the year 1933. C. H. Chatters, *Municipal Defaults—Their Prevention and Adjustment*, Chicago, 1933.

and also signifies the most thoroughgoing invasion of municipal autonomy (save only in that involved in the subsidization of relief allowances) that has yet been exercised. A more common practice has been the passing of legislation permitting the scaling down of municipal debts or the refunding of short-term indebtedness by long-term obligations. This latter procedure has been facilitated by the Municipal Bankruptcy Act, enacted by Congress, June 9, 1933.¹³

In a number of cases, however, municipalities have had to make terms with creditor groups amounting to virtual abdication of their fiscal autonomy. For example, the banking interests to which the city of New York applied for short-term loans which it required for meeting its day-to-day bills forced it to go onto a "cash basis" of income and expenditure and to appeal to the state for enabling legislation permitting the drastic slashing of the compensation of its employees.

The most common means of adjusting urban finances to the depression has, however, been the flotation of loans. In some instances these loans have been obtained from the federal government through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Thus in December, 1932, the city of Chicago obtained nearly seven million dollars from this agency,¹⁴ and two years later the Chicago Board of Education borrowed \$22,300,000 through bonds sold to local banks, which in turn disposed of them to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.¹⁵

While not involving any immediate disturbance in the administration of the municipalities concerned, this policy may prove to be a source of great fiscal embarrassment in the future, and, if defaults should occur, might result in a considerable extension of control of urban finances and other governmental activities on behalf of creditors, especially when the latter are state and federal agencies.

Mention has already been made of the way in which the administration of relief has curtailed municipal self-rule. In 1934 relief expenditures in the thirty-seven largest cities in the country were

¹³ S. Shanks, "The Municipal Bankruptcy Act," *American Political Science Review*, December, 1934.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, December 29, 1932.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, December 18, 1934.

being subsidized by federal and state agencies by from 33.1 per cent to 100 per cent.¹⁶

In virtually every case state and federal participation has involved control of policies and personnel of relief administration in the communities concerned. For example, in Buffalo, N.Y., which is reimbursed to the extent of 75 per cent for its home relief expenditures, the municipal Department of Social Welfare has practically suspended operations, and the relief staff has been taken over by a special body which is controlled in every important concern by the State Emergency Administration which, in turn, is answerable to the FERA.

The extent to which poverty and its relief have affected urban society during the depression has already been indicated.¹⁷ Whether or not there has been more actual distress in urban than in non-urban centers is as yet unascertainable. It is true that more than half the families on relief were in the eight states of Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, Oklahoma, and Texas, of which all but the last three can be counted as urban states, and that more than one-third of the relief families were concentrated in the urban states of Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Ohio. On the other hand, when the *percentage* of families on relief is calculated, the urbanized states give place to the rural ones. New York shows a percentage of families on relief slightly under the national average, while Illinois is only a fraction of a percentage over. (U.S. average 10.3; Illinois 10.7; New York 9.8.) In fact, only one typically urban state, Pennsylvania, is found among the first ten states when ranked according to percentage of families on relief.¹⁸ Furthermore, the densely urbanized New England section of the country shows the lowest ratio of families on relief, while the highest is to be found in the rural East South Central division.

¹⁶ Paul V. Betters, report to the American Council of Mayors, United Press Dispatch, February 18, 1935.

¹⁷ Unless otherwise noted, the data in this section are taken from the FERA *Unemployment Relief Census*, October, 1933. Washington, 1934. See also "The Relief Situation," by T. C. McCormick and Clark Tibbitts, this *Journal*, pp. 755 ff.

¹⁸ The states and their percentages are as follows: Florida, 25.5; South Carolina, 23.2; West Virginia, 22.3; Arizona, 18.9; Kentucky, 18.1; Oklahoma, 17.9; Alabama, 17.2; Louisiana, 15.5; Pennsylvania, 14.3; South Dakota, 14.3.

It should be noted that the foregoing figures are difficult of interpretation for the reason that Negro families, which show a very high relief ratio (17.8 per cent vs. 10.5 per cent for the U.S. total), are concentrated in the rural south. This observation does not, however, apply to such states as South Dakota, Utah, Montana, all of which show a higher relief ratio than Illinois and New York. Again, inasmuch as percentages are calculated on the 1930 census, if there was a decrease of urban population from 1931 to 1933, the percentages of relief families for cities would have to be *raised* and for rural areas *lowered*.

Reference to cities of different population classes suggests that those of intermediate size are experiencing greater distress than the very large or very small ones. Cities of a million or more and those under 50,000 show a percentage of relief families *less than* the United States urban average, while those cities of 100,000 to a million show a percentage of *more than* the national urban average, the highest percentage being for cities of from 250,000 to a million.

Although it is impossible to say whether the actual burden of distress has been greater in urban than in non-urban parts of the country, the absolute volume of unemployment and dependency in the cities has been staggering. Reference has already been made to the preponderant number of relief families in urban states. Figures for individual cities are similarly startling. In New York City there were in October, 1933, 78,000 persons on relief; Chicago had 80,000, and Philadelphia, 75,000, a total of 223,000.

Approximately \$64,000,000 was expended in November, 1934, on relief for two million families in the 20 urban areas reporting to the United States Children's Bureau.¹⁹ In the twenty-one months ended September, 1934, New York City spent sixty million dollars out of its own funds for this purpose.

Congestion, overcrowding, and slum conditions have characterized urban populations since the *insulae* of ancient Rome. The 1934 federal Real Property Inventory²⁰ showed that in more than half of the sixty-three cities studied there were more families than there were

¹⁹ U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, *Social Statistics Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1935.

²⁰ See A. D. Morehouse, "Real Property Inventory of 1934," *Survey of Current Business*, November, 1934, and "U.S. Real Property Inventory," *Architectural Forum*, November, 1934.

available vacancies, or the margin of vacancies above families was less than 1 per cent. Moreover, in many families the disparity between available income and housing costs was such that there were actually 12.7 per cent of vacancies and a doubling up of families in 7 per cent of all the housing units studied. Crowding was found in 14.3 per cent of the dwelling units enumerated. The primitiveness of the accommodations available to many of these families is indicated by the fact that barely half of them had central heating, one-fourth of them were without running water for bathing, and one-third without cooking facilities other than wood or coal stoves.

The background of this situation is related to the collapse of residential building. The construction industry as a whole has been in difficulty since before the depression. For 257 identical cities, the value of building permits dropped from \$3,805,000,000 in 1925 to \$2,580,000,000 in 1929 and from \$1,049,000,000 in 1931 to \$274,000,000 in 1933—a decline of 92.8 per cent from the 1925 peak.²¹ For non-residential buildings the value dropped from \$664,581,000 in 1931 to \$191,556,000 in 1933 (a decline of 71 per cent) for residential, from \$458,577,000 to \$100,002,000 (78 per cent); for single-family residence, from \$260,880,000 to \$63,461,000, (76 per cent); and for multi-family residence from \$132,933,000 to \$28,933,000 (78 per cent).

Moreover, the decline in building has been most marked in residential construction, particularly in multi-family accommodations, which are the type generally occupied by low-income families. The shrinkage from 1931 to 1933 in the number of multi-family buildings as contrasted with single-family units and with non-residential structures is spectacular. Total construction declined 34 per cent from 1931 to 1933 (from 414,586 buildings to 277,798); non-residential 53 per cent (from 110,906 to 52,800); residential 71 per cent (from 63,556 to 18,292); single-family residence 70 per cent (55,010 to 16,713); and multi-family residence 86 per cent (2,177 to 314).

The drying-up of the supply of new housing for low-income groups had aroused sufficient attention to prompt the calling of a presidential Conference on Housing during the winter of 1931.²²

²¹ *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.*, 1934, p. 769.

²² See the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Washington, December 2, 3, 4, 1931. The proceedings and research reports of the conference have been published in eleven volumes.

With the setting-up of various emergency agencies under the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations, increasing attention has been paid to housing projects. The latest report of the Public Works Administration Housing Corporation shows that 532 housing projects have been approved. Some of these, such as the Chicago project, call for an expenditure of twenty-five million dollars and the accommodation of three thousand families.

Under the Federal Housing Administration, moreover, it is claimed that during the five months ended January 1, 1935, over two million dollars were spent on modernization of privately owned homes and buildings (not necessarily all residential buildings) under loans sponsored by this agency.²³ In a few instances limited-dividend housing corporations have undertaken to provide low-cost housing, and enabling legislation for such organizations has been passed in fifteen states.

Despite large effort and the enormous sums made available for low-cost housing enterprises, the lowest socio-economic groups still appear to be unprovided for. A study of 386 families displaced by a limited-dividend housing enterprise in New York showed that 383 of them were not moving into the new accommodations and that 80 per cent had gone to "old law" tenements which had been declared unfit for habitation. More than three-fourths were paying less than \$6 per room per month as compared with \$11 charged in the new apartments.²⁴ In the lower East Side of New York the average rent now being paid by families in a slum clearance area is \$6.61 per room per month whereas the price to be charged for the new proposed project involved is \$9.32. Similar figures for the recently announced scuth-end Boston project are \$5.00 and \$6.67 respectively.

It is apparent that at the end of the depression, no less than during and before it, a program for the provision of minimum standard housing accommodations for the lower ranges of the working-class groups remains to be developed.

²³ Federal Housing Administration, *Bulletin 165*.

²⁴ Lavanburg Foundation, *What Happened to 386 Families Who Were Compelled To Vacate Their Slum Dwellings To Make Way for a Large Housing Project?* New York, 1931.

INCIDENCE UPON THE NEGROES

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ABSTRACT

As a result of the marginal status of Negro workers both in industry and agriculture the depression began for them ahead of American workers generally. In industrial centers their unemployment rates have consistently exceeded the rate for white workers, due both to mass employment on the common labor level of those industries most seriously curtailed and to increased racial competition. Recovery programs have tended on the whole to follow regional practices with respect to types of work and relief. In many urban centers larger proportions of Negroes are permitted in the relief rolls in consideration of higher unemployment rates. In rural areas the proportions on relief and amounts spent per person have been less than the white, despite greater need.

The year 1929 did not mark the beginning of the acute unemployment situation for the Negroes. In industry it could be observed as early as 1927 that their temporary importance was waning. There were attempts to induce and even compel, where possible, the return of surplus Negro labor to the South. In numbers of southern cities, not yet aware that nation-wide unemployment was impending, direct replacement of Negro by white labor was encouraged. By 1929 it was conservatively estimated that there were no less than 300,000 Negro industrial workers unemployed, and employment offices were able to place less than a third of the applicants.

There is a striking consistency, throughout the industrial centers, in the unemployment ratios for Negro workers. With a few notable exceptions, the proportions of Negroes unemployed are from 30 to 60 per cent greater than for white workers. Factors not directly related to race have been responsible for a part of the great losses. The Negro workers in the cities have been concentrated in the heavy industries. Practically all of these have been forced to reduce output, resulting in large lay-offs. Moreover, the largest single concentration of Negro workers in industry has been in building construction, and this field has been notoriously quiescent since the beginning of the depression. As early as 1930 the highest recorded unemployed group of American workers was that of building laborers. The vertical displacement downward of unskilled workers has operated without special design to increase the number of Negroes un-

employed. Similarly, the curtailed incomes of persons of moderate salaries have forced discontinuance of the luxury of domestic servants, thus reducing Negro employment in another important field.

It was inevitable that in the administration of the National Recovery Act there should be encountered a conflict between the theory of the Act and customary practices with respect to Negro workers. In northern cities, where the question of wage differentials for the same grade of work, chiefly unskilled and semi-skilled, has not been important, there has been little effect of the codes. In such centers as Pittsburgh, where Negroes have been employed in important numbers in the steel industry, no significant loss of employment through displacement by white workers has been felt. In smaller establishments in the North, such as hotels and light manufacturing plants and laundries, entire Negro crews have been released and all whites employed. Occasionally such action has been modified by a shift back to Negro workers when the new arrangement proved less satisfactory.

More serious difficulties have developed around the codes for industries in the South, where the customary level of wages generally is lower than in the North, and the wages of Negroes lower than the wages of white workers. The necessity, under the code, for raising wages for jobs held by Negroes had the effect of lending added attractiveness to Negro jobs for a large body of unemployed white workers. As a measure of economy, many jobs were combined by small employers and given added responsibility, thus automatically eliminating other Negro workers. By far the most widespread effect has been a result of the forcing to the wall of numerous small sub-standard businesses which had been able to operate only by paying extremely small wages. In these the jobs have been held largely by Negroes.

Over a third of all Negro workers are in agriculture. Urbanization has been forced by a long period of decline in agriculture. Tenancy for both races has grown, and the decline in Negro ownership has been persistent. The general depression reached the South when it was already prostrate and sadly crippled by an outworn tenant system. With the increase in cotton-growing countries throughout the world and the loss of cotton export markets, it has now become evi-

dent that the old cotton area of the Southeast, where the bulk of the Negroes live, will perhaps never regain its old position.

The recovery measures aimed at stabilizing the price of cotton suspended the collapse of the system, and assumed certain of the risks of the owners, but left virtually untouched the large tenant population, of which the Negroes constituted 55 per cent. The Agricultural Adjustment Act aided the large owner by pegging cotton prices and by providing essential credit and government subsidy for non-productive activity. For the most part, however, the old methods of handling the tenant have persisted under federal subsidy. The reduction program of 1933 and 1934 made possible a withdrawal of land from cultivation and, despite the mild and ineffectual caution expressed in the act, resulted in a corresponding reduction in the number of tenant contracts. Even for those who remained there was striking and often indefensible inequality in the distribution of the benefits of the subsidy. The cotton-reduction program, accelerating current trends, has thus succeeded in eliminating approximately 30 per cent of the Negro tenants from agriculture. The "furnishing" system, by which a bare subsistence was possible over the crop season, is in rapid collapse, and these tenants, without other recourse, drift about aimlessly until they can establish themselves on relief. Gordon W. Blackwell's study of tenant displacement in North Carolina,¹ where cotton and tobacco have been the important crops, provides another index to the general trends. In this state alone there were between 8,000 and 11,000 tenant farm families without a crop for 1934, and about 75 per cent of these families were on relief.

Generally considered, the 1934 agricultural program and the Bankhead Act have been almost exclusively the instruments of the landlord. The only benefits that appear to have been derived are the indirect ones resulting from an increase in prices, and this has not been observed as yet to have conspicuously aided the general predicament of the tenant.

The high unemployment figures for Negroes are reflected in relief rolls, where relief has been equally available to white and Negro

¹ Gordon W. Blackwell, "The Displaced Tenant Farm Family in North Carolina," *Social Forces* (October, 1934), pp. 65-73.

families. In 1933 a census of persons on relief showed 2,117,644 Negroes of all ages receiving aid. This was 17.8 per cent of all Negroes and 18.4 per cent of all cases on relief, although Negroes are only 9.4 per cent of the population. The percentages on relief varied by states from 4.3 per cent of the total Negro population in Virginia to 35.6 per cent in Florida and 38.0 per cent in Ohio. Although in general the Negroes have exceeded the whites by a considerable margin in most states, the proportions are not always an accurate index to Negro unemployment. In Mississippi, for example, where the population is about evenly divided, and the Negroes admittedly in greater economic need, there were 91,375 Negroes (9.0 per cent) and 136,339 whites (13.7 per cent) on relief.

TABLE I

City	Percentage of Negroes in Population	Percentage of Negroes in Relief Load
Detroit.....	7.6	29.6
Pittsburgh.....	8.2	32.0
St. Louis.....	11.3	35.0
New York.....	4.7	13.3
New Orleans.....	26.1	67.0
Birmingham.....	29.7	69.0
Greensboro (N.C.).....	26.2	67.0
Nashville.....	27.8	39.9

The numbers on relief have been mounting in all sections since 1933 in both northern and southern areas, as the figures for selected cities in 1934 indicate (Table I). It is obvious in the figures in Table I that the relief administrators in urban centers have recognized the unequal stress of unemployment on Negroes and have permitted a liberal margin in relief. This was not so frequently the case in the earlier years of the depression.

The administration of rural relief has been more erratic and uncertain than in urban centers. Removed from the glare of public criticism, the practice of the local administrators, who have been for the most part identified with the tenants in the capacity of landlords, has been determined largely by individual standards of fairness and their notions of expediency. A complete analysis of the federal relief

program in the state of Georgia, by Dr. Arthur Raper of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, reveals some interesting tendencies. Taking the state as a whole, he found three racial differentials: (1) a larger proportion of the white than of the Negro population was on relief despite the fact that the whites own practically all the land and all other productive properties in the state, while the Negroes were chiefly the impoverished tenants; (2) in over 80 per cent of the counties the amount spent upon whites per person for direct relief exceeded the amount spent for the Negro; and (3) with respect to certain forms of work-relief on public projects there had been a serious disregard of the quota for Negroes, based upon either population proportion or need.

In agriculture the emergency aid which has most frequently reached the Negro small farmer, apart from direct relief, has been in the form of feed and seed loans under the Federal Emergency Crop Production Loans. These provided a source of small credit which, in samples of four counties taken in 1933,² averaged from \$51.34 to \$108.80. Repayment of these loans has been high. Under the Farm Credit Act production credit associations have recently been organized. Although this service is just beginning and contemplates loans larger than \$100, the Negro farmers have not yet begun to use it adequately. The pattern of Negro and white participation in associations is too new in southern agricultural areas to make this an easy source of credit for the Negroes. Moreover, the requirement of purchase of shares, and the cost of legal assistance, are likewise a handicap even when lack of knowledge of the existence of credit sources does not play an important part.

Through the emergency crop loans the cost of ordinary commercial credit to Negro farmers has been reduced from 12 to 40 per cent, and there has been the advantage of impersonal advice on crop production. In the judgment of county agents in close touch with these farmers these crop loans have been the major sources of credit—and the most satisfactory. If, as it is contemplated, the services will

² Study of Negro Tenants, in preparation, Department of Social Science, Fisk University. *The Negro Agricultural Worker Under the Federal Rehabilitation Program* ('The Negro Farmer: Marginal Man in Agricultural Maladjustment—Landlord-Tenant Relations in the South), by Rupert B. Vance. Manuscript.

eventually be replaced by the production credit associations, there is uncertainty ahead for the small Negro farmer.

Under the Public Works Administration several wings of the service reached the Negroes. The public works projects have employed large numbers of unskilled workers, both white and Negro. The housing program, when joined to the highly desirable slum clearance program, met squarely and unavoidably an old problem of Negro residence areas in cities North and South. The very first of the projects for which ground was broken by the Administration was a Negro project in Atlanta, in the shadow of Atlanta University. Other such developments are under way or planned in Nashville, New Orleans, Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland, and hoped for in several other cities.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has been one of the most important single programs projected in the recovery effort. In this area which comprises most of Tennessee and parts of six other states, are 268,048 Negroes, or 10.2 per cent of the total population. The social planning experiment, which accompanies the vast engineering project, gives to it extraordinary significance. At Norris Dam, one of the first major developments, Negroes were included in the work, chiefly unskilled, to the extent of their proportion in the population of the area from which workers generally were drawn. Objection was raised in some quarters to their sharing the model community of Norris. In the vicinity of Wheeler and Pickwick Landing dams, however, where their population proportion of the area is 20.0 per cent, they have constituted as much as 30 per cent of the workers. The number of skilled workers, at first small, has been increasing, and the personnel program, under an exceptionally well-trained Negro, is regarded as one of the most outstanding in the entire program. There has been Negro representation in the social researches basic to the planning of programs for the area.

The Civilian Conservation Corps began with an injunction against discrimination. However, many of the state quotas were nearly completed before the Negroes were fully aware of this service. Some Negroes are in mixed camps, but in small numbers, in the northern states. In the border and southern states and in some of the northern states, the camps are separate. In September, 1934, there were 17,071 Negroes in all CCC camps.

The Civil Works Administration in northern and southern areas has been a source of emergency employment for Negroes under the classification of unskilled work. The complaints, most often justifiable, have deplored the neglect of Negro skilled and clerical workers. There is a pronounced objection in the cities of the South to the use of Negroes in skilled positions. In the selection of CWA projects little attempt is evident to convert the service to projects beneficial to Negro communities or institutions. The Subsistence Homestead Division has had Negro personnel on its general staff, and has seriously studied the possibilities of Negro developments. Bogged for months in the segregation issue, it finally settled on three sites in the South.

It is too short a period, since 1929, for the usual indexes of social change to register. Mortality, literacy, morbidity, and crime statistics, even if fully available, would scarcely be significant yet. The impossibility of maintaining a decent living standard is implicit not only in the unemployed numbers but in the drastically reduced earnings of those partly and even wholly employed. The Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration announced in January that there were 21,000,000 persons on federal relief. If the 1933 Negro percentage of 18.4 persons on relief is used, there are at present 3,864,000 Negroes receiving aid from the government. It was a fact marked by social workers prior to the depression that Negroes were less than their expected quota in application for relief. The long-continued necessity for aid holds the danger of making chronic dependents of many of them.

One possible counteracting feature has been noted in the salutary effects of the standards for relief in the larger cities. This has at times been higher than the families normally sustained for themselves. The selection of food has tended to give a better balance to the diet and relieve in some measure the problem of malnutrition. The advice of relief visitors has frequently been helpful, and essential medical attention has been regarded as a part of the routine of relief.

The restriction on child labor in the National Recovery Act, although not generally enforced, nevertheless helped accelerate the Negro enrolment in elementary schools. These increases came, how-

ever, at the point of drastic retrenchments in public school expenditures by counties. Dr. N. C. Newbold, Director of the Division of Negro Education in North Carolina,³ attempted late in 1932 to learn from the 18 southern states with separate schools the extent to which they had been affected by the depression. Building operations had been stopped; salaries had been reduced in some states, for Negroes more in some, and less than whites in others; and enrolment had increased generally. The morale of the teachers universally was praised. The following year school terms were shortened and many teachers paid in scrip. In 1934 federal aid had to come more directly to the rescue of the schools, to permit the completion of a normal school year.

It has been variously noted by writers that race relations have improved under an economic distress which was common to all groups, and that manifestations of racial friction have increased through the competition for fewer jobs. Both are true, the differences in expression following generally the traditional patterns of relations, and the character of the new stresses. Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina⁴ notes a lessening of racial tension in his state. White business has been more conscious of the Negro consumer, with a corresponding change in the formal attitudes. Although it has been suggested that the exigencies of the depression are "driving the races together," he warns that these changes should not be taken wholly as a sign of a new day in race relations. The increase in the number and brutality of lynchings in recent years has been charged to increased economic competition. The tragic irony of the situation is the historical feud between white and black workers, so heavily charged with bitterness and contempt that it continues to confuse race with status, and wastes the energies demanded for economic reconstruction on destructive envy and combat.

This conflict has been sensed by the Communists, who have taken occasion to proselyte among the restless Negro workers, and with

³ N. C. Newbold, "The Public Education of Negroes and the Current Depression," the *Journal of Negro Education* (January, 1933), pp. 5-15.

⁴ Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and the Depression in North Carolina," *Social Forces* (October, 1933), pp. 103-15.

some success. Making common cause they have linked their interests and philosophy with the plight of the Negro workers and have made effective demonstrations. In Chicago they have protested and physically thwarted rent evictions of Negroes. They have led militant protest groups to relief agencies and dramatized the common interests of workers, white and black. In Birmingham, Alabama, they have given great alarm to the city by their doctrines and activities. The wary Negroes have sympathized with the principles which took more notice of their plight than those of other political groups, but with a moderate amount of actual membership. Led by economic liberals chiefly, white and Negro share-croppers in northern Alabama in 1933, and in Arkansas in 1934 and 1935, have challenged the long exploitative authority of the planters. The actual number involved is small, but the boldness of this new challenge of desperation has drawn the startled attention of the rural South.

It is not unlikely that the continued accentuation of the inherent evils of the tenant system, by the sheer operation of the system itself, will eventually compel the enactment of comprehensive and drastic legislation to correct it, as a means of saving southern agriculture itself.

THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT.

The year 1933 had the lowest birth-rate yet recorded. The infant mortality rate which had shown a real decrease every year from 1928 to 1932 remained stationary in 1933. Preliminary figures indicate an increase in 1934. Evidence of deleterious effects of the depression on the health and nutrition of children accumulated, while the child health recovery program attempted to offset them by varied activities. Real gains were brought about in protection of children from premature employment under the NRA codes and various efforts were undertaken in behalf of unemployed older boys and girls. Juvenile delinquency rates decreased, but the depression affected adversely the care of dependent children, emphasizing the need for strengthening the mothers' pension systems and of transferring to the greater permanency of such a system families now on relief rolls who are eligible for such aid. The program of social security recommended by the President to Congress would do much to promote the normal health, and welfare of mothers and children.

In reviewing the effects of the depression and of recovery upon children, one fact dominates all others—namely, the fact that today over 20,000,000 people are dependent upon relief for the barest necessities of life, suffering not only from physical want but from want of most of the avenues for self-expression and achievement which make life worth while. Of these, about 8,000,000 are children under the age of sixteen years, and about 2,000,000 are youth from sixteen to twenty years of age, inclusive.

These figures do not include children in families of the unemployed who have not sought relief, a group reported by many social and health workers to be in at least as urgent need of health supervision and medical care as the children in families on relief, nor do they include the large number of children in families whose standards of living have been drastically lowered by under-employment or other factors responsible for greatly lowered income.

It is impossible to predict the extent to which the deleterious effects of these depression years will yield a future harvest of social inadequacy. With such a load thrown upon the public and private relief agencies the tendency has been to spread relief thin, and it is not surprising that it has not been adequate, in many instances, to meet the special needs of children. However, the average monthly

relief grant per case, as indicated in reports of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, was \$27.82 in December, 1934, as compared with \$16.59 in December, 1933, indicating, in spite of increased living costs, a tendency toward a somewhat more adequate grant, although the relief given in many communities is still far from sufficient to provide adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care. As in previous years, public funds have supplied an increasing share of the relief needs. In December, 1934, public funds, chiefly federal, supplied 98 per cent of the total expenditures reported by the agencies in 119 cities reporting to the Children's Bureau. This is the general background for any evaluation of the losses and gains in the field of child welfare during the depression and recovery years.

During the third and fourth winters of the depression the continued decline in infant mortality rates and in death-rates from tuberculosis and certain other communicable diseases was repeatedly cited as evidence that the health of the people of the country was better than ever before, although some authorities pointed out that mortality rates do not provide a complete or adequate measure of the effect of depression on child health. During the year 1933, however, the infant mortality rate failed for the first time since 1928 to show a significant decrease from that of the preceding year. The rate of 58 per 1,000 live births recorded in 1932—the lowest since establishment of the birth-registration area—remained stationary in 1933, and preliminary figures based on reports from twenty-six states for the first six months of 1934 show an increase over the corresponding period of 1933 in the same area. In 1929 the rural infant mortality rate was higher than the urban for the first time since establishment of the birth-registration area. Each year since then the rural rate has continued in excess of the urban. The urban rate was the same in 1933 as in 1932, while the rural rate was 1 point higher in 1933 than in 1932. The rate for white infants was the same in both years, while the colored rate was 5 points higher in 1933 than in 1932.

During the year 1933, 12,885 women died from causes assigned to pregnancy and childbirth—a rate of 62 maternal deaths per 10,000 live births. The economic loss and the insecurity for children resulting from these maternal deaths is only too evident. The rural rate

(53) was considerably lower than the urban rate (73). The allocation of the births and the maternal deaths to the place of residence of the women, however, in states making special analyses, suggests that if such allocation were carried out for the country as a whole the differences between urban and rural rates would be materially reduced.

By the summer of 1933 evidence had accumulated pointing unmistakably to the fact that both malnutrition and illness were increasing among children as a result of the depression. During the summer and fall of that year investigations were reported verifying to a great degree previous impressions. Despite increased need it became increasingly difficult for privately supported health agencies to continue their full amount of work. Accurate data regarding changes in appropriations or expenditures for child health work by private agencies are not available, but there have been many reports of reductions in appropriations for nurses and child-health conferences maintained by private contributions. Data with regard to changes in appropriations and expenditures by state health departments for child-health activities are more complete. Five states had no such appropriations from 1932 to 1933. Changes from 1932 to 1934 in forty-three states are shown in Figure 1.

On the call of the Secretary of Labor a national conference was held in Washington October 6, 1933, under the auspices of the Children's Bureau, for the purpose of stimulating public and professional interest in the health of children who had suffered as a result of the economic depression and of making sure, while plans were being formulated to bring about national recovery, that the health needs of children should not be overlooked. Various plans for state-wide and local programs were presented. With the inauguration of the Civil Works Service Administration, impetus was given the whole child-health recovery program by the employment of nurses for some phases of child-health work in the states. Requested by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to give advisory service in the emergency project, the Children's Bureau made available three physicians for consultation service with state groups and later added to its staff two other physicians to assist in the work while the American Child Health Association loaned the part-time services

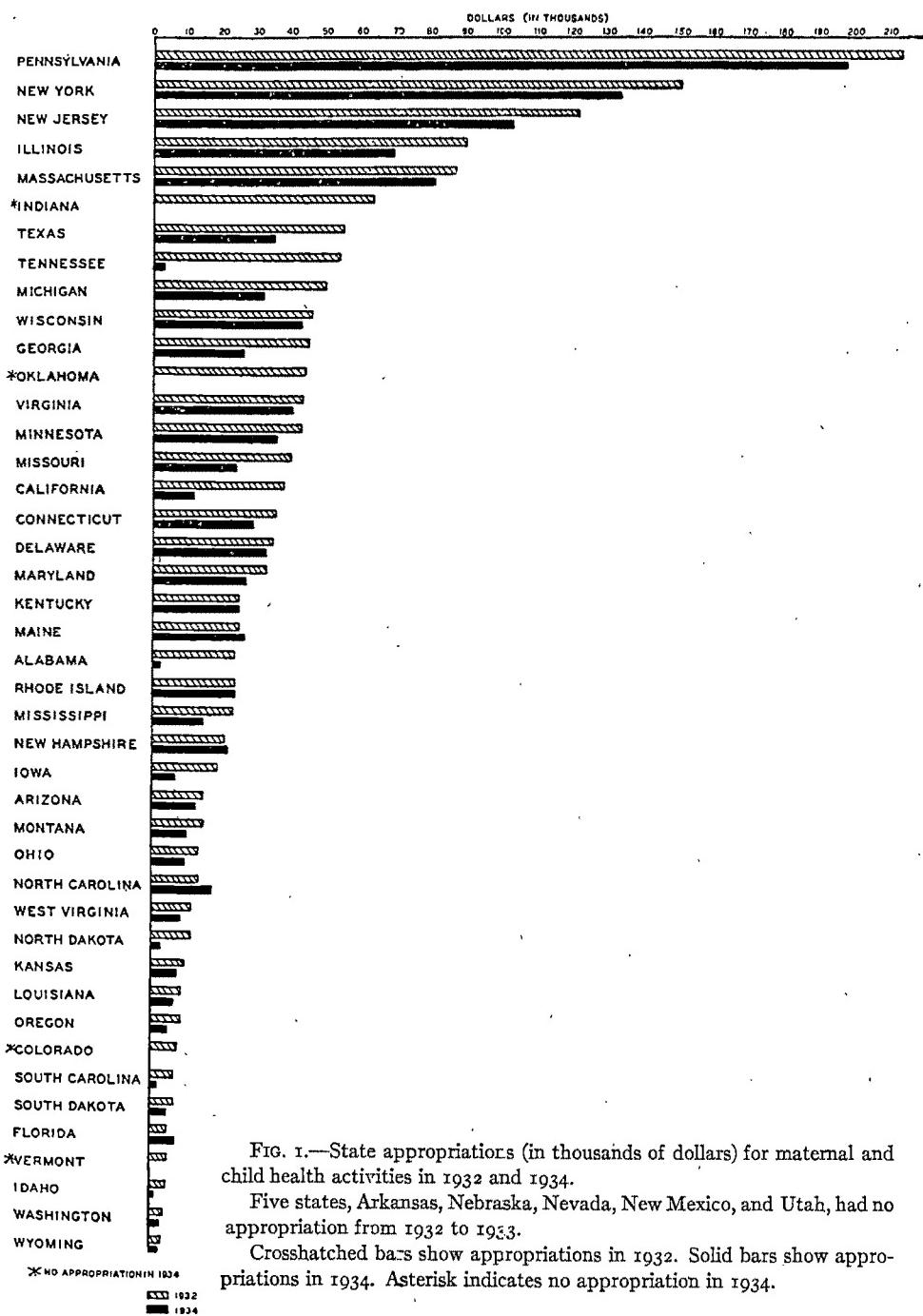


FIG. 1.—State appropriations (in thousands of dollars) for maternal and child health activities in 1932 and 1934.

Five states, Arkansas, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah, had no appropriation from 1932 to 1933.

Crosshatched bars show appropriations in 1932. Solid bars show appropriations in 1934. Asterisk indicates no appropriation in 1934.

of their medical director for three months. Altogether it is probable that nearly 2,000 nurses, including about 200 qualified public health nurses as supervisors, were employed for varying periods from January to June, 1934, on some phase of child-health work. The type of work done varied from state to state.

Since the effects of depression years are apparently cumulative, it is likely that they will continue to be felt for a considerable period unless more active steps are taken to combat them than are possible with the present limited health budgets and the relatively low standards of relief still prevalent in many communities. To insure adequate diets for children, there must be not only adequate relief for those who need it but extension of educational work in regard to nutrition and child care.

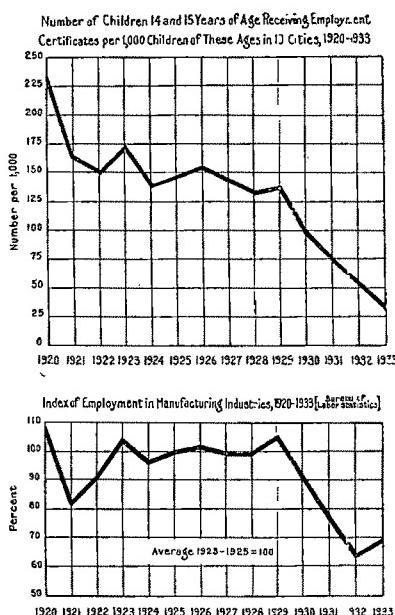


FIG. 2

ment of recent business recovery and business upturns in the past is shown in Figure 2.

The continued decline in employment of fourteen-and fifteen-year old boys and girls in 1933, in the face of increased adult employment, reflects clearly the effect of the codes approved under the National Industrial Recovery Act, more than 550 in number, which, with few exceptions, set a minimum age of sixteen years for general employment. About two-thirds of the codes prohibit employment of children under eighteen years of age in hazardous occupations. As only four states have child-labor laws setting a minimum age as high as the code level of sixteen, the gain to children is clear.

The protection given to working children by the codes came at a time when the need was greatest, for the depression had brought a general breakdown in labor standards, and reputable employers were becoming the victims of unfair competitors whose desire for profits, however small, had led them in some places to resort to exploitation of labor, even child labor, for long hours and at miserably low wages. The year 1933 dawned with children competing with unemployed adults for these low-paid jobs, some of them in fly-by-night industries and sweatshops. The so-called "baby-strike" in Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1933, drew national attention to these conditions, and there was universal agreement with the satisfaction expressed by the President when he signed the cotton textile code, the first of several hundred, in which elimination of child labor was an outstanding feature. Public approval of this action found further expression in the ratification of the child-labor amendment to the Federal Constitution by fourteen states in 1933, raising the number of ratifications to twenty. No further ratifications were secured in 1934, and only three states improved their child-labor laws that year. During the first six weeks of 1935, four additional states ratified, leaving twelve more ratifications to be secured before the Congress will be empowered to pass a federal law making permanent the protection now temporarily provided for children by the NRA codes.

One of the most significant advances in the child-labor field in 1934 was that brought about by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the adjustment contracts with sugar-beet growers under which children under fourteen will not be hired to work in the beet fields. This is a form of industrialized agriculture in which many children, often quite young, have been employed. The agreement also regulates the hours of children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and makes it possible to fix a minimum wage for sugar-beet workers.

Industrial homework is another industry in which effort has been made to provide children with a certain measure of protection through a number of the NRA codes which prohibit homework. The President, in 1934, declared himself dissatisfied with the child-labor provisions of the newspaper code, and requested further information on the subject. As a result, a survey in seventeen cities was undertaken by the Children's Bureau in co-operation with the NRA.

As compared with previous studies, the recent survey indicated progress toward a higher age level for both sellers and carriers, shorter hours for sellers, longer hours for carriers, and lower wages for both groups.

Although the elimination of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children from industrial occupations has provided employment opportunities for some older boys and girls, several million boys and girls sixteen to twenty years of age, inclusive, are out of school and out of work. Policies governing work relief have favored heads of families, and preference in private employment has been largely given to experienced workers, leaving this group of young people without jobs or prospects. About 750,000 young unmarried men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age have been enrolled in forest camps established under the act of March 31, 1933, providing for a Civilian Conservation Corps. Testimony of social workers indicates great improvement in health and morale among the young men discharged from these camps, and absorption of about one-third in regular occupations, chiefly private industry.

The transient service program developed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is caring for over 300,000 persons of all ages. Among them are many unemployed youths. Some children are included in the transient families, members of which constitute 46 per cent of this total.

It has been roughly estimated that approximately 200,000 children pass before the juvenile courts as delinquent annually. In courts reporting statistics to the Children's Bureau over a period of years, a decrease in juvenile delinquency rates is apparent since 1930. This decrease may be due in part to diminished public attention to what frequently seem relatively minor problems of conduct, and to curtailed resources for treatment.

Two regional conferences on juvenile delinquency held during the year, under the joint auspices of the Children's Bureau and the Federal Bureau of Prisons, resulted in definite efforts to improve detention facilities for young people violating federal laws in some Southern states.

There is evidence that in many localities public funds available for the care of dependent children have been curtailed, and children who

would have been placed in institutions or foster homes are now being allowed to remain in their homes in undesirable surroundings. Some children, since the depression began, are being cared for in alms-houses, a practice condemned a hundred years ago. It is estimated that about three-fifths of the approximately 250,000 dependent and neglected children receiving care away from home are in institutions, and the remainder in boarding, free, work, or wage homes. Some of these children have been separated from their families for reasons of poverty alone. The number of children in institutions has shown a downward trend during the depression, while the number in foster homes has increased.

Mothers' pensions, designed to bring security in their own homes and under their mothers' care to children who are deprived of a father's support and for whom long-time care should be provided, are authorized by the laws of forty-five states, but are actually granted by less than half the local units empowered to provide this form of care. In recent years some localities have suspended mothers' assistance payments or grants altogether.

It is estimated that approximately 109,000 families with 280,500 dependent children are now receiving mothers' assistance under state laws. The annual expenditure for these families is estimated to be about \$37,500,000, of which only about \$5,900,000 come from state funds and the balance from local units of government. Owing to varying policies in different states and communities the grant per family varies widely as well as the number receiving such aid.

Among the families now on the relief rolls there are probably as many as 358,000 headed by widowed, separated, or divorced mothers with dependent children under sixteen years of age.

In his message to the Congress on January 4, 1935, President Roosevelt said:

I recall to your attention my message to the Congress last June in which I said "Among our objectives I place the security of the men, women, and children of the nation first." That remains our first and continuing task; and in a very real sense every major legislative enactment of this Congress should be a component part of it.

The recommendations made by the President to Congress, and subsequently embodied in bills on which extensive hearings have been

held, covered, to use his own words, "the broad subjects of unemployment insurance and old age insurance, of benefits for children, for mothers, for the handicapped, for maternity care, and for other aspects of dependency and illness where a beginning can now be made."

The measures proposed by the President were the result of months of study by a Committee on Economic Security appointed by the President and including the Secretary of Labor (chairman), the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. The Committee had the assistance of a technical staff, a technical committee, an advisory council, and several advisory committees, including an advisory committee on child welfare.

All of the measures included in the social security program may truthfully be described as having an important relation to child welfare. However, the special measures designed to promote the normal growth, development, and welfare of children will be an important factor in overcoming the effects of the depression on the boys and girls of today and in creating necessary safeguards for the security of the children of tomorrow.

THE RELIEF SITUATION

T. C. MCCORMICK AND CLARK TIBBITS
Federal Emergency Relief Administration

ABSTRACT

The general trend of relief rolls has been upward from July, 1933, through December, 1934, when approximately 20,000,000 persons were receiving relief. There is little difference in relief rates between rural and urban areas, but by regions relief loads vary with population density. Of all cases, about one-half are on work relief. Unemployment and under-employment, together with the drought and the increasing poverty of the states, are the factors primarily responsible for the relief situation. The bulk of relief families come from the manual labor group, are larger than the average, and contain more children and other dependents per worker. Four-fifths of the cases, containing more than 7,000,000 workers, are employable. About 900,000 unemployable cases are the objects of special programs being developed.

THE TREND OF EMERGENCY RELIEF

Over twenty million persons—approximately one-sixth of the total population—were receiving emergency relief at the end of 1934, or nearly five million more than in July, 1933, the first month for which complete data are available. Except for minor irregularities and a major interruption by the Civil Works program during the winter of 1933–34, and in spite of noticeable improvement in business conditions, there has been a general upward trend in the volume of persons on public relief over the entire period (Fig. 1). At least three factors may be responsible for this: (1) the increasing poverty of the states with the consequent tendency to shift the permanently unemployable cases to the emergency relief rolls; (2) the further exhaustion of family resources as the period of unemployment is extended; and (3) the improvement of machinery for administering relief.

Urban-rural trends—Nearly 12,000,000 of the December, 1934, relief population resided in urban centers and represented 16.5 per cent of the urban population, while almost 8,500,000 were in rural areas and represented 15.3 per cent of the total rural population. Approximately two-thirds of the rural relief load lived in the open country, and the remainder lived in villages (under 2,500 population). Since these figures are broad estimates and the relief rates vary

widely, there seems to be no significant differences in the intensity of distress between rural and urban areas.

Regional trends—The trends of emergency relief are shown in Figure 1 for each of five regions, or groups of states.¹ The absolute number of persons on relief varies roughly with the density of the population. The so-called industrial states at first led the other four

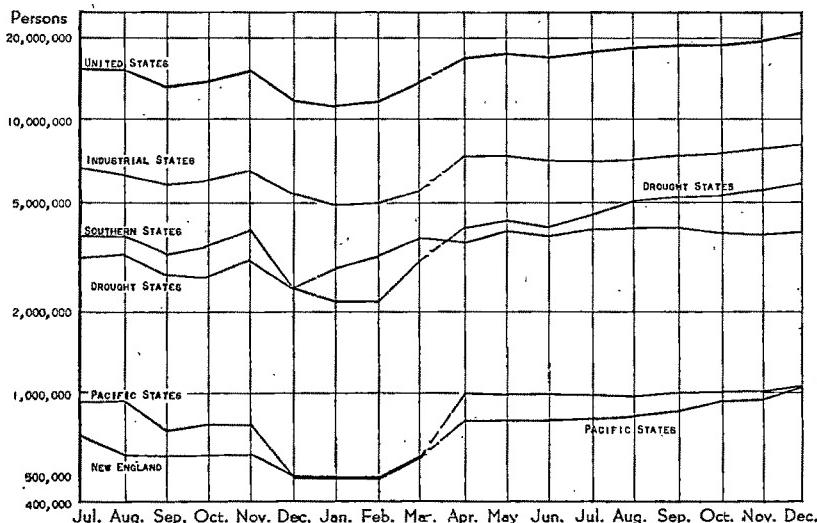


FIG. 1.—The trend of emergency relief, July, 1933–December, 1934, by regions

groups of states both absolutely and proportionately. Since June, 1934, however, the drought states have taken first rank in intensity of relief, the lowest relief loads and ratios occurring alternately in the New England and the Pacific states. All regions except the Southern states, which have experienced a relatively constant relief load, show increasing proportions of their population on relief in December, 1934, compared with December, 1933. As would be expected, the

¹ *Industrial states*: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana. *New England states*: Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont. *Southern states*: Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, District of Columbia. *Pacific states*: Washington, Oregon, California. *Drought states*: Arkansas, Arizona, Iowa, Kansas, Nevada, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

most rapid increase since January, 1934, has occurred in the drought states.²

On the basis of monthly maps showing the distribution of relief, it appears that the persistent areas of greatest relative concentration are (1) the drought states, (2) the Lake states cut-over counties, (3) the comparatively infertile, self-sufficing farming regions of the Ozark-Appalachian Highlands, and (4) the sub-tropical state of Florida.

Trends in work relief (including CWA) and direct relief.—Many states were using work relief even before the advent of the FERA, and by November, 1933 approximately 2,000,000 people were receiving this type of aid. On November 15, 1933, the Civil Works program was launched. Two weeks later almost 1,500,000 persons were employed by it; before the middle of January a peak of 4,000,000 was reached; on March 1 there was a decline to less than 3,000,000; and in April the entire project was completely liquidated. It is likely that Civil Works took more than half of its employees from the relief rolls, and that it temporarily prevented many more persons from applying for relief.³ In April, 1934, the first month after the complete cessation of CWA, 1,700,000 cases (one-fourth of all cases) had been placed on work projects. Both the number and the proportion increased until in December there were some 2,100,000 work-relief cases constituting nearly one-half of all cases on relief.

THE FACTORS CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR RELIEF STATUS

Unemployment.—Approximately 90 per cent of all urban relief cases contain one or more persons who are either employed or seeking employment, and a similar situation exists in rural areas. While many of these cases contain handicapped or marginal workers, those which may reasonably expect to return to private employment constitute a large majority.

The primary significance of unemployment is suggested by the comparatively short time that most relief cases have been entirely

² In twelve counties in South Dakota, for example, the relief load had risen to 60 per cent or more of the population by December, 1934.

³ It is estimated that the relief loads of February and March, 1934, would have risen to more than 4,500,000 cases (there were actually about 3,000,000) had it not been for CWA.

unemployed. Among urban cases in May, 1934, only 8 per cent had been without any employment since 1929 or earlier. It might be tentatively assumed that this latter group contains only marginal workers. During the winter of 1933-34 one-third of 53,000 cases in 49 rural counties gave the loss of a job in private industry as the reason for applying for relief, and another third stated that they had lost a Civil Works job or some other non-regular government employment. Thus, two-thirds of the cases which were added to rural relief loads ascribed their destitution to unemployment. Other surveys indicate that from three-fourths to four-fifths of the cases in urban areas were added to relief because of the loss of a job in either private industry or CWA.

Under-employment.—Many persons and families are receiving supplementary relief because their earnings in private industry are inadequate. It is estimated that in December, 1934, 15 per cent of all persons on urban relief rolls between the ages of 16 and 64 who were working or seeking work were actually employed. In terms of relief *cases*, approximately 18 per cent had employment. Similar data from rural surveys show that one-third of all persons on relief and two-thirds of all heads of relief households were employed at the time of opening the case or while on relief. According to one study, 52 per cent of the workers in the open country, including farm operators, were employed; in the villages and towns, 23 per cent.

The earnings of the employed households leave no doubt as to the reason for their being on relief. In urban areas approximately 30 per cent of the households with earnings had less than five dollars per week and nearly three-fourths had less than fifteen dollars a week.

The explanation for the low earnings is either part-time employment or low wages. A sample of a cross-section of the urban relief group revealed that 41 per cent of those actually working were employed less than thirty hours a week, 13 per cent between thirty and forty hours, and 41 per cent forty or more hours.

Other factors.—While un- and under-employment are the principal reasons for the tremendous relief load carried by FERA, there are other lesser but important factors in the situation. One is the impoverishment of private charities and state and local treasuries, which until recently have cared for the unemployables and for the

under-employed; a second is the severe drought, which in some areas was but the continuation of a series of excessively dry years.

POVERTY CLASSES ON RELIEF

All of the evidence indicates that the bulk of the families on emergency relief are contributed by the manual labor group. In seventy-nine cities it was found that nearly nine out of every ten workers on relief were manual workers, of whom approximately four out of five were semi-skilled or unskilled. This is also characteristic of rural counties. Farm owners are found in the relief population only about one-half as often as in the neighboring non-relief population; but tenants appear on the relief rolls in a proportion over one and a half times as great as their representation in the general population, and the proportion of farm laborers is more than double.

Almost one-fifth of the Negroes in the country were on relief in October, 1933, compared with 9.5 per cent of the white population, the excess being found in urban areas.

Relief history.—A large proportion of all relief cases in rural areas have received relief longer than one year, but relatively few were known to relief agencies before 1930. In forty-seven rural counties one-half of all village households on the relief rolls in October, 1933, had received some relief before 1933 and since January 1, 1930. Of these cases, 30 per cent admitted obtaining relief for two years, 13 per cent for three years, and 9 per cent for four years or longer. In the open country 41 per cent of the relief cases had received relief longer than one year.

Assets of relief and non-relief cases compared.—Surveys made in rural areas support the assumption that relief households as a class have very scant possessions of any kind, and markedly less than non-relief households taken at random in the same localities.

A disproportionate number of farmers who were forced to receive relief in October, 1933, were small-scale operators, considering the type of agriculture in which they were engaged. Farms in the relief group averaged about one-half as large as those in the non-relief group. Of relief farmers, approximately one in three, and of non-relief farmers one in ten, operated less than twenty acres of land.

Rural relief households everywhere owned fewer livestock than

their non-relief neighbors. Of farm relief households, 34 per cent owned no work stock, compared with 18 per cent of non-relief farm households. Similarly, of all relief households, 68 per cent were without cows, 72 per cent had no hogs, and 45 per cent had no poultry; whereas 47 per cent of the non-relief households had no cows, 65 per cent had no hogs, and 34 per cent had no poultry.

Other differences between relief and non-relief households.—Households on relief rolls are distinctly above the average in size. In widely sampled rural areas households receiving relief average 4.8 persons compared with 3.9 persons for non-relief households. In both urban and rural areas, families of five or more persons were found in the relief population to an appreciably greater extent than in the general population in 1930.

Compared with the general population, the relief group shows a considerably larger proportion of children in both rural and urban areas. There is a striking excess of aged Negroes on relief rolls, the ratio being over three times that for aged whites. No marked difference in sex ratios appears, although households with female heads occur about twice as often in the relief as in the non-relief population.

In the rural relief group there is an average of 3.2 dependents to each worker, as compared with 2.3 dependents per worker in the non-relief population. In urban areas the ratios are respectively 3.0 and 2.3.

RE-EMPLOYABILITY OF THE RELIEF POPULATION

Since most of the families on relief are there because of too little employment or none at all, it is reasonable to assume that the amount of re-employment consistent with a marked upturn in the business cycle would effectively reduce the relief load. The relief load will be roughly divided into employable and unemployable groups, and certain data presented to indicate the availability of the former for re-employment and the avenues through which the greater part of re-employment must probably occur. The nature and numerical importance of the unemployable group will also be noted.

Employability.—About 4,200,000 of the 5,100,000 relief cases of December, 1934, contained at least one worker. Most of these cases

would normally be self-supporting, although in many of them the workers are old, or possess occupational skills that are becoming obsolescent. It is significant, however, that there are 1.5 workers per employable rural relief household, while in urban areas the ratio is 1.6.

Many cases are known to leave relief rolls through the avenue of regular employment. In seven cities two-thirds of the 12,000 cases closed during November and December, 1934, had obtained private employment. During February, March, and April, 1934, some 5,000 cases, or 26 per cent of all closings, were closed by private employment (chiefly in agriculture) in forty-nine rural counties.

Workers.—The relief population at the end of 1934 included about 7,100,000 persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty-four years who were employed or seeking work. Probably 94 per cent of the urban workers are physically able to work. If this proportion is generally applicable, then there were nearly 6,700,000 persons ready to remove the 4,200,000 employable cases from relief.

Approximately 800,000 of the above 7,100,000 workers were farm owners and tenants, including share croppers; nearly 300,000 were professional or proprietary persons; and about 500,000 were young persons seeking their first job. The remaining 5,500,000 were primarily industrial and agricultural laborers.

Approximately 4,300,000 of the workers were urban and 2,800,000 were rural. About 3,000,000 of the former are males. Twenty-seven per cent have passed the age of forty-five, after which it becomes increasingly difficult to secure employment. The 50 per cent under thirty-five years constitute a large body of workers who should be effective in reducing the relief rolls.

Industrial origins.—Table I presents an industrial distribution of rural and urban workers in the relief and in the non-relief populations.

More than half of the heads of both relief and non-relief households in forty-seven primarily rural counties were usually engaged in agriculture. The heads normally employed in manufacturing are approximately the same while trade and professional service are under-represented in the relief group.

In the urban relief group, workers normally employed in manu-

facturing and mechanical industries and in domestic and personal service are over-represented on relief.⁴

Occupational shifts in re-employment.—Four out of five urban workers on non-relief jobs reported their present employment in the same socio-economic class as their usual employment. The shifting has been proportionately greatest (about 33 per cent) among proprietors, managers and officials, and skilled workers, and was com-

TABLE I
INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS

INDUSTRY OF LAST USUAL EMPLOYMENT	MALE HEADS OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS		URBAN GAINFUL WORKERS	
	Relief	Non-Relief	Relief	1930 Population
Agriculture.....	52	56	5	2
Forestry and fishing.....	—	—	—	—
Extraction of minerals.....	2	2	4	2
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	16	14	43	38
Transportation and communication.....	2	8	11	11
Trade.....	4	9	12	21
Public service.....	—	1	1	3
Professional service.....	—	2	3	8
Domestic and personal service.....	—	2	20	13
Industry not specified, etc.....	16	6	1	2
All industries.....	100	100	100	100

monly downward. In the summer of 1934, of male heads of relief households usually occupied as farm owners, 86 per cent were still farm owners, while only 2.5 per cent had become tenants, 0.3 per cent share croppers, and 0.1 per cent farm laborers.

Unemployable cases.—The 900,000 unemployable cases represent three types of problems: those in which all persons are sixty-five years of age or over; cases of women with dependent children with or without other unemployable adults; and cases in which the only person of employable age is too handicapped physically to work.

⁴ More detailed analysis reveals that building, food and meat packing, lumber and furniture, and cigar and tobacco industries and domestic personal service contributed disproportionately large numbers to the relief population.

Each type represents a group which will not be affected by re-employment save indirectly through assistance offered by friends and private charities. It appears that about 340,000 cases are those of mothers with dependent children, that approximately 260,000 are old-age cases, and that close to 300,000 are cases in which the only person of employable age is physically handicapped. Many cases of these types are already recipients of public assistance from non-federal agencies. Under the stress of the present emergency, broader and more advanced programs looking to the permanent care of these groups are being developed.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RADICALISM

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ABSTRACT

During the first four depression years union membership continued to decrease. In 1934 it increased less than a million. This increase was chiefly in the basic industries in unions which depended upon the strike. The leftward trend of the A. F. of L. policy has been manifested in the changed attitude toward unemployment insurance, the thirty-hour week, the industrial union principle, and the NRA. Labor is abandoning voluntarism and has partially lost its faith in class co-operation. Radicalism among farmers produced farm strikes but was partially quieted by AAA payments. Southern tenant farmers (share-croppers) are now being organized for the first time, the most significant development in recent years in agricultural organization. Organizations of unemployed, formed originally to adjust relief grievances for members, have become a permanent part of the labor movement. The greatest loss of confidence in the old order has been among "intellectuals." The demand for independent labor political action continues to increase, but no such party will be formed immediately. Socialist organization continues to spread.

Labor.—There are no thoroughly reliable statistics of union membership in this country. The official membership reports of the American Federation of Labor are based on the payment of a per capita tax by the affiliated organizations. Some of these affiliated organizations pay on less than their actual membership in order to save money, and perhaps a few pay per capita on more than their actual membership in order to maintain their representation in conventions.

There are many members of standard unions which are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. such as the railway brotherhoods, the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Progressive Miners of America, and until the 1934 convention of the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The membership of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. continued to decline steadily during the early years of the depression. In July, 1933, it reached the lowest figure since 1917. In August, 1934, the total paid-up membership was 2,824,689, an increase of 697,893 since August, 1933. President Green estimates that, counting those union members who are unable to pay their dues, the total strength of organized labor in this country is about 5,650,000. This figure is probably somewhat optimistic.

Of the membership gains which have been made since July, 1933, the most outstanding are in the basic industries—automobiles, textiles, rubber, and lumber. The United Textile Workers report a gain from 15,000 to 300,000. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union jumped in one year from the twenty-fifth to the third largest union in the A. F. of L. Substantial gains have also been recorded by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, and the Oil Field, Gas and Refinery Workers. These are all industrial unions. In general, those which have made substantial gains in membership have been those which depended upon the strike instead of government mediation to win their demands.

Unions which continued in 1934 to lose members, as they have for five years, included the Railway Carmen, the Photo-Engravers, the Cigarmakers, the Letter Carriers, the Carpenters, the Seamen, the Post Office Clerks, the Commercial Telegraphers, the Marble Cutters, the Plasterers, and the Sheet Metal Workers. All of these are strictly craft unions. Two unions which are not strictly craft unions also lost members in 1934—the United Garment Workers, and the Hod Carriers and the Common Laborers. The old-line leadership of the Steel Workers has steadfastly refused to take an interest in organizing the steel industry, and has lost popularity with the membership of the union.

The total combined membership of all of the Communist-led dual unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League has been and still is negligible.

There is no reliable figure on the membership of company unions, though it is common knowledge that it has increased tremendously in the last two years. It may now be as high as ten millions. This increase is to be taken, however, not as a manifestation of increased union strength, but as a manifestation of the increased interest of employers in preventing employees from joining standard labor unions. The operation of Section 7 (a) has probably brought five times as many workers into company unions during the past year and a half as into standard unions.

The common notion that decrease of wage-rates and of employment can be expected to increase union membership does not appear

to be valid for the early depression years, partly because wage-cuts reduce dues-paying ability, and in many unions members are quickly suspended for non-payment of dues even when failure to pay is due directly to unemployment.

During the first three years of the depression there was no substantial change in the number, size, or character of strikes. The figures for depression years are reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Table I.

TABLE I

Year	Number of Strikes	Number of Workers Involved
1928.....	629	357,145
1929.....	903	230,463
1930.....	653	158,114
1931.....	894	279,299
1932.....	808	242,826
1933.....	1,562	812,137
1934.....	1,636	1,285,861

To say that the increase in strikes during the last two years was due to the return of prosperity would be to exaggerate the facts. To attribute it to Section 7(a) of the NIRA would also be a gross oversimplification. There can be no doubt that the phrasing of Section 7(a) raised the depressed spirits of certain groups and served as a temporary impetus to organization. Its psychological effect was much more significant than the actual protection against discrimination which it offered to the individual worker. Labor has found that Section 7(a) has been like the prevailing wage-rate clauses in previous public works appropriation bills; such clauses can be enforced only where there is effective union organization.

In general, it is probably safe to say that the tactics and the leadership of strikes has become more vigorous during the past two years as their number has increased. In several instances, such as in Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco minor strikes have threatened to take on the proportions of a general strike. This has been more spontaneous than calculated. In the San Francisco case the general strike was expressly condemned by the officialdom of the A. F. of L.

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers campaign to organize the shirt workers in the summer of 1933, however, and the United Textile Workers' general strike in the Atlantic seaboard states in the late summer of 1934, more vigorous tactics, such as the use of the flying squadron, were introduced as part of a deliberate organization plan.

During the late years of the depression there has been a noticeable trend to the left in the policies of organized labor as represented by the A. F. of L. In 1931 the A. F. of L. was still officially opposed to compulsory unemployment insurance. In 1932 it abandoned that particular manifestation of loyalty to the principle of "voluntarism." Shortly before that its policy of opposition to the use of federal funds for unemployment relief had also been altered.

In 1933 the question of the craft versus industrial unionism got short shrift in the A. F. of L. convention as it came up in connection with the battle between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters. In 1934 the decision in favor of the maintenance of the craft union was not upset in this particular case, but the more conservative elements in the convention were unable to prevent an endorsement of the industrial type of organization in principle.

The close co-operation of the A. F. of L. officials with the New Deal has proved to be a disappointment. This development, together with the shift in the official position with respect to the thirty-hour week, the industrial union, and social insurance indicates a substantial trend toward class consciousness rather than class collaboration as the basic philosophy of the American labor movement. This trend is most accurately interpreted, however, not as a result of the depression, but as a result of increasing social stratification somewhat accentuated in its development by the depression conditions.

Farmers.—For most farmers the coming of the depression meant only an aggravation of an already critical situation. The depression found American agriculture with no organization which had the numerical strength or national character corresponding even to that of the A. F. of L. in the labor field.

The Farmers Union is closely concerned with farmers' economic problems, but its organization is not nation-wide. Its leadership has

been much more vigorous than that of either the Grange or the Farm Bureau, and it more nearly reflects the complaints and the attitudes of the farmers who still own land or chattels.

It was this element among farmers which produced the Farm Holiday Association, centered in Iowa and extending into Nebraska, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The Holiday group set itself the task of raising farm prices by withholding farm products from the market, and several farm strikes, largely localized, and mostly unsuccessful, utilized in 1932 most of the tactics familiar in labor struggles. In some instances, there has been sporadic co-operation between farmers' groups and urban unions in support of both farm and industrial strikes.

In many localities extra-legal opposition to mortgage foreclosures and tax sales was so effective as to result in a virtual moratorium on such debts, and in isolated states this moratorium was legalized by legislative action. In many communities judges were taught to discourage foreclosures. This activity has been much more important than the federal farm loans in bringing mortgage foreclosures and tax sales almost to a standstill.

Since the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments on reduction programs have been getting into farmers' hands, there has been a substantial decrease in the militancy and activity of such organizations as the Holiday Association. There has been an increase, however, in the militancy of itinerant farm laborers as in the Imperial Valley in California and of the southern share-croppers as in Arkansas. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union grew rapidly in that state in 1934, largely under Socialist leadership, and is spreading into other southern states.

The landlord-tenant relationship in many southern states is only one step removed from slavery, and in some localities differs from peonage in no substantial respect. The beginnings of unionization among these share-croppers is probably the most significant of all organizational development among farmers during the depression.

Unemployment.—The decrease in unemployment which characterized the last eight months of 1933 and the early months of 1934 did not continue to the end of 1934. According to the A. F. of L. estimates, there were 11,459,000 unemployed in November, 1934,

as against 11,030,000 in November, 1933. More significant is the fact that there were about 1,100,000 more families on relief than in the previous year.

The organized labor movement in this country has not fostered the growth of organizations of the unemployed. The federal government had not yet gone into the relief business, however, when such organizations began to spring up independently in all parts of the country. Most of them were non-political. They demanded work instead of relief, but devoted most of their attention to the problem of securing better relief and getting it administered in a manner more compatible with their self-respect. By the summer of 1932 there was hardly a large city in the country without such an organization, usually divided into neighborhood locals.

At that time the chief business of the unemployed organizations was to adjust the grievances of their members with the representatives of the relief authorities. When relief stations generally ceased to receive grievance committees so willingly, those organizations which were based purely on grievance adjustment tended to disappear, and those which survived developed their educational and social aspects and turned their attention to problems somewhat larger in scope than the adjustment of individual grievances. Most of them favored unemployment insurance from the very beginning. Many of them now demand drastic socialization measures as a means of restoring employment.

In 1932 there swept through these unemployed organizations enthusiasm for "production and exchange." They were to secure the necessary means of production somehow, and exchange their products among themselves outside of the market system, using their own medium of exchange. This particular utopian version of the old colonization theme quickly spent its strength, however. By the end of 1932 practically none of the projects which had been started were still in operation. During 1932 there were also several unemployed marches on Washington and on various state capitols, although these marches did not assume the proportions of those in 1893 and 1894.

Organizations of the unemployed can never have the stability of an ordinary union, but they will probably be as permanent as unem-

ployment. On numerous occasions they have refused to permit their members to take jobs where organized labor was conducting a strike; they have often struck in work relief against wage-rates which were drastically undercutting union scales. Persistent efforts have forced central labor bodies in many localities to co-operate with the unemployed organizations, and when their national organization, the Workers Alliance of America, was formed in Washington recently, William Green telegraphed a promise of co-operation.

These organizations are dealing with problems which cannot be solved by the methods of business unionism. Their weight in the labor movement is to be counted, in general, against the traditional conservative policies which have characterized American labor for a generation.

Intellectual workers.—It is worth noting that among writers and other "intellectuals," the expectation of automatic recovery has disappeared almost completely, and the hope of any substantial recovery of prosperity without fundamental changes in the economic system has lost the robust vitality which it displayed even in 1931.

This loss of confidence in the old order has been particularly apparent among ministers. In the student field it has taken the form of the National Student League with communist leadership, and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, with a Socialist orientation. Both of these organizations have built most of their campus groups during the past two years. Both are dedicated to the abolition of private ownership and the socialization of industry.

This loss of confidence in the old order has manifested itself partially among teachers in the doubling during the past eighteen months of the membership of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. This teachers union now has about thirty thousand members, a small but influential fraction of the million teachers in the country.

Voters.—The traditional A. F. of L. political policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies remains officially unchanged. Several A. F. of L. unions, however, have declared for independent labor political action, and a resolution endorsing such action was prevented from getting serious attention at the 1934 convention only by

being joined with an obviously Communist resolution on the same subject.

Communist strength has increased during the last few years only very slowly, if at all, despite expenditure of stupendous energy and funds. The turnover in Communist party membership continues to be so great as to prevent the organization from attaining any stability outside New York City.

During the past two years Socialist strength has increased substantially among the unions and the unemployed. The upward trend in Socialist membership and activity which produced the trebling in 1932 of the previous presidential vote has continued throughout 1933 and 1934. The Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction called in Washington in May, 1933, brought together four thousand delegates from union, farm, fraternal, and political organizations, and adopted a program of immediate demands of a Socialist nature.

The Socialist party has declared its loyalty to the principle of a nation-wide Farmer-Labor party, but has warned against the dangers of its premature formation. No substantial farm organization is yet willing to take that step, and as yet only a small minority of the unions favor the proposition. The depression years have seen a steady increase in the demand for such a party, but there is no such party on the immediate horizon.

ADAPTATIONS OF FAMILY LIFE

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ABSTRACT

The economic crisis has emphasized the significance of the family as a social unit even in modern life. The effects of the depression on the individual families are largely determined by the fundamental characteristic of each family prior to its economic collapse. Thus we find trends toward family demoralization and toward a record of family unity and loyalty. Increased tension, desertions, drinking, vice, and mental abnormality reveal the first; and sacrifice, more use of the home, and a wiser philosophy of living express the second trend. Especially significant have been the influences operating upon children and youth. There is nearly universal conviction that direct relief has hurt family life. Newspaper publicity and propaganda led to excessive expectations and these, unfulfilled, have encouraged feelings of disillusionment. The various forms of work-relief have been beneficial in contrast with the dole.

The effects of the depression and the efforts at recovery upon the American family cannot be stated with the exactness that the social student covets. Instead, we are limited to a generalized picture, variegated and even inconsistent, of influences still in process, too fluid and subtle for precise measurement. This composite description is drawn from the observation of men and women who have in common only their interest in the family.¹

The depression has enforced the importance of the family as the fundamental unit of society, and challenged the opinion of those who prophesied the passing of the family as a result of social changes brought by our modern way of living. There are two opposite ideas as to the significant effect that the depression has had upon the inner life of the family. According to some, the general trend has been toward a tightening of loyalty and a revival of the virtues traditionally associated with American family behavior. The opposite conclusion, even more widely held, is that the family has been prostrated, demoralized, and broken by the depression. These two opposing statements generalize the two contrasting reactions to the stress of

¹ The author wishes to make this general acknowledgment of his appreciation of the co-operation of special students of the family, specialists in fields that bring them close to family problems, social workers, public administrators, men and women of affairs in cities, villages, and rural sections. In no early study of the family has such a quantity of valuable material been received.

prevailing economic circumstances that have resulted as two different types of family life have met the consequences of our economic collapse. Often the depression has been an occasion, rather than a cause, of family tension, as family problems that had been dormant have been brought to the surface, enlarged, and made disastrous, which under easier circumstances might never have appeared. In a multitude of cases the security of family life has been undermined by deprivation of material needs, with the inevitable psychological changes that have followed the lowered status of the family and the unemployment of the breadwinner over long periods. Recent trends toward a more democratic family life have been checked, and a return to the patriarchal type of family organization has resulted. The mere presence of the husband and father in the house on account of lack of employment has led to influences that chafe those held together by family ties. Husbands at home have interfered with cooking and child care, have been critical as well as irritable and restless, making the entire family situation tense.

On the other hand, the wife has been resentful of the husband's failure to get work and has interpreted the situation as something for which he, rather than the social conditions, is to blame. There has especially been a weakening of morale on the part of older men and women. Family desertions have increased and must now include the leaving home of youth, particularly sons, as well as husbands, who, by going elsewhere, get rid of a responsibility that seemed intolerable. Parents advanced in years, who should be free to live out their life according to their plans, have been forced to make drastic reconstruction because of the coming to them of sons and daughters, grandchildren, and other relatives. Young parents who should be free to make their home life and train their children in ways that they have considered necessary for adjustment to modern conditions have been obliged to surrender their convictions in order to live with some degree of peace with their relatives to whom they have gone or who have come to them for economic survival. As is commonly known, marriage has been delayed by many young people who, under normal circumstances, would have established their own family life.

There has been, through enforced economy, a postponement of

the necessary dental, medical, and clinic services, especially among those in the upper middle class. In another group there has been the giving-up of treatment necessary to cure or mitigate chronic disease. This is particularly notable in the case of syphilis. Congested living conditions, as a result of doubling up, have led to crowding not only in the cities but in village and rural sections, with ensuing unrest, strain, quarrels, and ruptures. From the psychiatrists comes testimony of the effect of these family conditions in encouraging neurosis. Also, especially among middle-aged men, there is evidence of the effect of fear in encouraging chronic depression.²

From every quarter come reports of increased drinking and the added burden this brings to families in distress. It is unfortunate that the change in public policy regarding alcoholic beverages occurred at the time of the depression. At the moment, it is impossible to know how much of the increased drinking is a result of the giving-up of the prohibition program and how much of it is the consequence of the depression. Without doubt, alcohol has become a means of retreat for those who are struggling with unemployment, unhappy family life, and the prostration of economic hope. Social workers call attention to the effect of this drinking upon children. Wives find a new bone of contention in the drinking of their husbands, who previously had been temperate. The movies and bridge-playing are other popular means of escape.

Increase of vice is widely reported. The prostitution of married women in order to increase family finances has increased to an extent that makes it a new type of vice problem. Young women have entered prostitution for economic motives, and doubtless this would be true to a greater extent if the demand were not also checked by economic circumstances. An increase of crime directly traceable to economic pressure is reported, such as the breaking into vacant dwellings, hold-ups, and petty thieving. Idleness has tended to increase gambling, thus adding to the economic problems of many households.

Youth shows the effects of disillusionment which is expressing itself in cynicism, a turning to all sorts of radical panaceas, and the

² The increase in suicides in 1933 and 1934 was less than, under the circumstances, some statisticians expected.

building of a liberal sex code. This last result cannot be charged merely to the depression or the postponement of marriage that the latter has brought about, but there is no question that the prevailing economic conditions have encouraged it.

There has been much trouble in families where children have been employed and the father has not. This has been all the greater when the son or daughter has been obliged to surrender education to provide the family with immediate support. There have been escape-marriages as well as escape-desertions, from the motive of getting rid of familial responsibilities thrust upon the young people or because of conditions of crowding.

In the college group the fear of not finding employment after graduation has been widespread. Observers stress the effect of the depression on children through its influence upon parents. Serious problems of discipline have come from the doubling-up of families with different ideas of child-training. There has been, as a result of the depression, a serious setback in the newer ideas of child-training and even of child-care. Mothers, from motives of rationalization, in many instances have become less concerned about the diet of children. There has been a marked decrease in the consumption of green vegetables and fruits. One of the most striking evidences of what the depression is meaning to children is the increase in their fears. Another consequence is the failure to develop any notion of thrift on account of their parents' attitude toward savings. There has been pressure on institutions from parents who have been eager to get rid of feeble-minded children and other defective children who do not require special care but who are an economic burden. In spite of the psychological and moral disasters of the depression, it is the belief of many medical authorities that there is no risk, as yet, of a widespread increase of tuberculosis as a consequence of the enforced economy in the purchasing of food. At present the evidence seems to be that the depression is leading toward a still greater decline in our birth-rate. We find it highest where it has been stimulated by the dole.³

Sex has become almost the only recreation for many, naturally leading, particularly in a group that largely lacks adequate contra-

³ "Sickness, Unemployment, and Differential Fertility," by E. Sydenstricker and G. St. J. Perrott, the *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (April, 1943).

ceptive knowledge or is indifferent to it, to an increase of pregnancies. On the whole, the depression has greatly stimulated the desire for better contraceptive information, and the movement for popular birth control has become more aggressive. Roman Catholics have been led to greater confidence in the natural (or sterile period of the month) method of birth control as a result of recent investigations. Fear of pregnancy in families struggling with economic disaster has been great; and this, in the opinion of some specialists close to the problem, has led to increased abortions. There were never more unwanted children in the United States than at present.

On the other side of the ledger we find results coming from the depression that have favored family life. The family has been revealed as a mutual insurance agency of the greatest significance for social security. A great many men and women who have never previously thought much about the meaning of family ties have come to an appreciation of what the family means, through the help they have had given them by relatives. The sacrifices in all groups motivated by the feeling of family responsibility are one of the heartening results of the depression. On the other hand, we find among some the suspending of family contacts because this makes possible the evasion of duties. Many youths, especially in the colleges, who under easier circumstances were economically irresponsible, and who saw in the family chiefly a source of allowances, have been co-operative and unselfish in the demands they have made on their families. The necessity of women working out of the home has in not a few instances changed the sentiment of husbands. In contrast with this, in other homes the same occurrence has led to a feeling of shame on the part of husbands and rebellion on the part of wives. Rather generally, the interests of women have been turned toward the home. In some rural sections there is recognition of the advantage that has come to the community from groups, especially endowed in talent or resources, that have been driven from the cities on account of lessening economic support.

The religious life of a great many men and women has been quickened. Men and women have turned to religion for spiritual security. However, in interpreting this, one must not forget the disposition of some to seek, through religion, the special help of Providence as a way out of economic stress.

There have been beneficial results in the thinking of people and what may best be called their "life philosophy." Many young people have been willing to start homes on lower economic levels than once they would have thought possible. In some cases the economic situation has been blamed for what, under happier circumstances, would have been charged to family relationships. There has been an increased use of the facilities of family life. Husbands and wives have been more frank with one another in regard to expenditures and have co-operated in more efficient budget-planning. There has been a return in many families to what has been described as "the old-fashioned philosophy of life," leading to a new set of values, the conquering of fear, the learning of patience, the finding of joy in sacrifice not previously discovered through self-expression, and a better estimation of the limitations of personal ambition and material success. This again must be contrasted with its opposite. As a psychiatrist expresses it, "There is also a diminution of genuine good cheer and exuberance of spirit everywhere, and instead the emergence of a philosophy that is merely reconciled pessimism."

It is impossible to get a clear picture of the effects of efforts for recovery on the family. There is a general reluctance to appear critical of the attempts made to bring back prosperity. There is also recognition of the difficulty of untangling the influences operating in the way necessary to appraise the effects of the recovery program. There is, however, one exception in this attitude. The feeling is widespread that direct relief has been disastrous in its fundamental effects upon the family.⁴ There is a unanimous feeling that the relief program has been accepted by a multitude of those on the lower economic level with parasitic responses, while the middle-class group who have suffered most during the depression have had inadequate help, and have been hurt most keenly through loss of self-respect. Direct relief is charged with having demoralized stamina, character, and integrity. This almost universal judgment of the effect of relief upon the socially deficient type is strongly expressed by the assertion of one correspondent that "dishonesty, dishonor, depravity, and

⁴ One of the most experienced of social workers believes unemployment is responsible for family deterioration, and that direct relief, skilfully administered, has lessened loss of morale.

pauperism are rampant among them."⁵ Although many would not express this so harshly, there is conviction everywhere that the dole has brought its characteristic reactions. There is a large group of people who have come to believe that the government owes them a living. The shifting of responsibility to the government is a milder trend found among those on a somewhat higher economic level. It is from the rural and village observer that the strongest indictment of direct relief is coming. The reactions of children, reflecting parental attitudes, are to many observers the most disastrous result of the depression on the family. Our American traditions of self-effort are being replaced by what some call the "philosophy of the dole." From some quarters come reports of added difficulties in the giving of relief because of politics and graft. A more optimistic assertion comes from those who believe that where good case work is included, the disastrous effects of direct relief do not appear. On the whole, it is clear that families are reacting to relief differently just as they are to the depression itself. Certain policies, whether economically wholesome or otherwise—and this question is not within the province of this article—have necessarily brought problems of readjustment. An example of this is the reduction of cotton acreage which has set many Negroes adrift in the South and reduced others from tenants to farm laborers.

There is universal recognition of the value to the family of the child-labor control policies made possible through the NRA and other programs that provide work. From the college group comes appreciation of the value of the FERA in permitting students to continue education. There has, however, been on the part of some workers of the FERA a loss of self-respect through feeling that the work given them was trivial, and even strain because it has been unsuited. The coming and passing of the CWA illustrates one feature that has hurt the recovery program. Newspaper publicity and propaganda lifted expectations beyond possible fulfilment. This has been followed later by a feeling of disillusionment. On the other hand, the psychological effects of the interest of the government and appreciation of its efforts have operated in the directly opposite way.

⁵ Victor C. Pedersen, director of the Institute of Family Relations. Quoted by permission.

The superiority of every type of work-giving relief, as compared with direct gifts, as an influence upon the family for its good is indisputable. The strongest condemnation of the relief program concerns federal relief for transients; the Federal Transient Bureau Service is even charged with seeming to entice men and boys to leave home and, where home-relief standards are low, with starting whole families as transients or vagrants at federal expense. There is recognition that the Home Loan Corporation has saved many homes and given families a sense of security. The Civilian Conservation Corps is unanimously approved as one of the most conserving undertakings of the depression.

THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

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ABSTRACT

During the years 1930-34, per capita giving in religious bodies reporting declined almost 50 per cent. As the rate of population growth has slowed up, membership in religious bodies appears to be stabilizing. The relatively meager figures on church attendance also indicate a fairly stable condition. The Institute of Social and Religious Research which carried out forty-eight research projects, published in seventy-eight volumes, discontinued its activities. Although efforts were made by numerous promoters to organize religious prejudice and intolerance, there have been no widespread results of these efforts. Beginnings in interfaith co-operation are under way. Although there is much evidence of reconstruction in thought and philosophy within non-Catholic bodies, no new school of thought has come into great prominence.

An attempt will be made to review and interpret certain major developments within institutions of religion during the period of 1930-34. One of the indices usually referred to is that of membership. Comprehensive religious statistics are gathered once every ten years by the Bureau of Census. The latest Census of Religious Bodies was that for the year 1926. In intervening years one must rely upon estimates and compilations made by various scholars. As in other realms of life, one's conclusions will differ in accordance with the figures one selects for use. For example, one compiler recently added a cool ten million persons to the total membership of religious bodies in the United States.

For purposes of this review, statistics will be limited to those sources which the author regards as the most nearly comparable and which appear in official documents. For the Roman Catholic population of the United States the *Official Catholic Directory*¹ presents the following figures:

CATHOLIC POPULATION			
Year	Total	Year	Total
1931.....	20,211,093	1933.....	20,268,493
1932.....	20,234,391	1934.....	20,322,594

Totals for each year contain reports for Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands, in addition to the continental United States.

¹ Published annually by F. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York.

The United Stewardship Council, New York, publishes each year membership statistics gathered from twenty-five representative Protestant bodies of the nation. (Two Canadian bodies have also been included, and a few of the denominations with headquarters in the United States also have small Canadian memberships.) Reports of these religious agencies to the Council for the years 1930-34 of total membership are as follows:

TWENTY-FIVE PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS BODIES

Year	Total Membership	Year	Total Membership
1930.....	23,416,365	1933.....	24,928,319
1931.....	23,660,370	1934.....	24,816,206
1932.....	24,582,311		

The general conclusion may perhaps safely be made that, as the rate of population growth has slowed up, there seems to be a more stable condition in church membership. It has been known for some time, although it cannot be proved with much accuracy statistically, that many of the Protestant urban churches have been maintained by migrations from the country to the city. There is some evidence that organized religion is of more importance in the rural than in the urban community. Farm families also have a higher birth-rate than urban families. Therefore, Protestantism, at least, has maintained its membership to some extent because farmers have more children per family than the urban segments of our population. This situation would not be true of the Roman Catholic congregations, which had, according to the Census of Religious Bodies for 1926, only 20 per cent of their congregations in rural territory—that is, in the open country or in centers of population having up to 2,500 persons.

In the report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends published in 1933 by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, C. Luther Fry and Mary Frost Jessup found that, between the years 1910 and 1930, organized religious agencies had expanded far more impressively in wealth than in membership. Recent evidence indicates that the development recorded by these authors has not continued. The United Stewardship Council, previously referred to, also compiles financial statistics for twenty-five major religious bodies in the United States (including two Canadian bodies.) The gifts per member

for all purposes for the years 1930-34, inclusive, as reported to the Council, are given in the following table:

TWENTY-FIVE PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS BODIES

Year	Per Capita Contributions	Year	Per Capita Contributions
1930.....	\$23.38	1933.....	\$16.11
1931.....	22.62	1934.....	12.07
1932.....	19.02		

These statistics would indicate that per capita giving declined almost 50 per cent. It seems probable that per capita giving has declined in very nearly the same proportions as the national income.

This condition is in striking contrast to that revealed by the Census of Religious Bodies for the year 1926, when comparisons were made with the census of 1916. In the volume entitled *The United States Looks at Its Churches*, by C. Luther Fry, a popular interpretation of the 1926 census, it was indicated that total annual church expenditures for 1926 were about 150 per cent greater than those for 1916. The estimates made by the National Bureau of Economics Research indicated that the national income had doubled during the same period. In other words, between 1916 and 1926 the increase in the national income was only two-thirds as rapid as the increase in annual church expenditures.

Comparable figures on gifts for all purposes per member in the Roman Catholic churches are not available. It may be noted, however, that between 1916 and 1926, according to *The United States Looks at Its Churches*, "expenditures per adult member" in the Roman Catholic church in the United States increased from \$6.14 per year to \$15.37, an increase of about 150 per cent. In other words, during that period per capita giving to Roman Catholic churches increased at exactly the same rate as the total giving for all purposes by all religious bodies. It is known that Roman Catholic giving for missionary enterprises throughout the world has been affected by the economic crisis. It is reported that gifts in Italian *lire*, sent to Rome for the propagation of the faith, declined from 66,383,863 in 1929 to 38,310,000 in 1933.

It seems fair to conclude that such gains in the national income, and such economic recovery, as may have taken place during the

years 1933 and 1934 have not been reflected in contributions to religious bodies.

Only one body, the Congregational and Christian churches, has available systematic studies of church attendance covering a period of years. One thousand local churches having an average membership of 322 persons and an average seating capacity of 370 persons per service, reported average Sunday morning attendance between 1930 and 1933 as follows: 1930, 114.4 persons; 1931, 117.1 persons; 1932, 119.1 persons; 1933, 117 persons. The Commission on Church Attendance of the Congregational and Christian churches in its 1934 report says the figures indicate that 70 per cent of the seats in churches are not being used on Sunday morning and that probably 75 per cent of the persons known as members "are not supporting their churches with their personal attendance and active encouragement."

After functioning for fourteen years, the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, discontinued its activities during 1934. The Institute had been supported by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the program was discontinued because the donor decided no longer to maintain the activities. The Institute of Social and Religious Research carried out forty-eight research projects, published in seventy-eight volumes. A summary and an interpretation of all of these projects has been published in a book entitled *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution* by Paul H. Douglass and Edmund de S. Brunner.² "The fields of organized religion most continuously explored by the Institute have been those of the rural and urban church, home and foreign missions, Christian education, racial aspects of organized religion, the co-operation and unity of religious forces." Messrs. Douglass and Brunner have a chapter on "Prospects and Policies." This indicates that "the intellectual climate has greatly affected organized religion since 1920." They quote an anonymous clergyman to the effect that institutions of religion in the United States have "followed with exact precision the changes of mood and circumstance which have taken place in the social environment as a whole." Against this opinion they quote much evidence of the survival of traditional methods of thinking and of conducting church programs. The era under review was one in which "the social

² New York: Harper & Bros., 1935.

gospel" had a prominent place. It first made its appearance in the sermons of clergymen. Then came many formal pronouncements of religious bodies in the form of resolutions, the value and significance of which are difficult to interpret. Educational programs have, to some extent, been socialized. Social welfare activities have been maintained on a large scale. Changing community conditions are forcing functional changes in the work of the ministry. It is difficult to appraise ministerial morale. "All the church's perplexities and confusions focus upon the minister as a person." In the midst of confusion there is, nevertheless, evidence of a new search for definition of the functions of the church, both as a religious and as a social institution.

Has the depression made religious bodies more co-operative with one another? One can read or hear almost anything on this subject. It was alleged in the early days of the depression that the economic crisis would force local institutions to be more helpful to one another, would force them to eliminate duplication which had arisen in an era of rapid extension along with the pioneering spirit. Yet W. R. King, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council, reporting to the Council in January, 1935, stated that "the depression has slowed up co-operative processes and programs." There is, in addition, much personal testimony that small rural churches which were unable to secure ministers in 1929 are now able to secure them at very small or no salaries. It would appear that co-operative movements have marked time or else declined during the time of the depression. Practically every illustration of an increase in co-operative activity can be matched by another which points to a recrudescence of rivalry and sectarianism.

The National Conference of Jews and Christians, organized in 1927, as an informal organization with individuals among Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant bodies as members, has developed a program which is receiving considerable attention among religious bodies. The Conference has promoted informal seminars in over two hundred communities, universities, and colleges. It has developed a press bureau which furnishes news to Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant journals. It has held national events which have brought together national officials of the three groups. Through the Conference, repre-

sentative members of these groups have united their individual efforts to protest against suppression of religious liberty in Germany and in Mexico.

The work of the Conference is pointed at community co-operation. It endeavors to discover what areas of community life offer possibilities of co-operative efforts between members of the three faiths. Such a program invariably encounters situations which mark off the limitations of co-operation in a rather sharp way. In other words, there are some activities in which Protestants, Jews, and Catholics can and will co-operate in a community as citizens, even though they hold and will continue to hold divergent philosophies of religion. On the other hand, it is evident that there are other areas in which co-operation has not been possible and probably will not be possible. It is difficult to appraise this movement. There are those who contend that the best it can do is to draw up rules for fighting fairly with one another. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, say these observers, will always be opposed to one another; but rules may be drawn up so that they will not "hit below the belt." Other observers are considerably more optimistic. They believe that the typical community in the United States offers opportunities for fruitful contacts, for understanding, for informal study, so that traditional animosities may at least to some extent be replaced by cultural appreciation.

During the depression years there was no marked rise of religious prejudice and no extensive organization of religious intolerance. This generalization does not overlook the fact that numerous professional promoters of religious and racial intolerance have made attempts to revive movements which would rival the Ku Klux Klan and somewhat similar organizations of the past. One report indicates that there are one hundred small organizations in the United States led, for the most part, by promoters who wish to revive religious intolerance on a large scale.

The first case material on the relations of Catholics, Jews, and Protestants in communities has been published by Claris E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher in *Catholics, Jews and Protestants*.³ The book presents "a series of community case studies in localities of various

³ New York: Harper & Bros., 1934.

sizes, pointed to problems of interfaith relationships." Surveys were made of the actual contacts and relationships between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants; of the forces making for isolation, indifference and difficulties; of the social forces making for understanding and greater co-operation. These community case studies indicate that "the rubs" are fairly frequent. They occur in connection with real estate, membership in clubs, private schools, community chests, agitation for birth control, intermarriage, conversion, proselytizing, etc. Following descriptions of conflicts and difficulties, the forces making for co-operation are reviewed. They indicate numerous beginnings, local and national. Reference is made to steady convictions on the part of members of all three groups in regard to the desirability of maintaining religious liberty in the United States. The report may be regarded as the best recent evidence available both of the divisiveness of religious forces in community life, and of systematic efforts being made to eliminate excessive prejudice and animosity.

During 1934 there was organized a national Committee on Religion and Welfare Recovery. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants identified prominently with their respective religious bodies are members of it as individuals. It is essentially a movement in the interest of better support for religious agencies. At this writing, the program has not developed sufficiently to warrant a statement in regard to its influence or effect.

Anything can be read about changes in thought and philosophy. Confusion is not confined to the uninformed but also is noticeable among scholars. One can hear that organized religion is "through" in America; one can also hear that there is a renaissance under way. There are many who are convinced that they cannot maintain their intellectual integrity and be affiliated with organized religion. An era of confusion of values is undoubtedly being reflected to some extent among religious bodies.

Catholic scholars hold that the Roman Catholic church is the only noteworthy institution that has escaped the disillusionments and the confusion of the times. This thesis is developed, for example, in a newly published book entitled *The Catholic Church in Action*, by Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*.⁴

⁴ New York: Macmillan Co., 1934.

The depression years have not been accompanied by any noticeable "revival," using that term in its traditional sense. Many lay persons say that all depressions have been marked by religious revivals. Apparently, however, the depression of 1921 was not marked by a religious revival, and certainly the years 1931-33 have brought no evidence of widespread revivals.

Although there is much noticeable ferment among the non-Catholic churches, the years under review have not brought into great prominence any new school of thought. If reconstructions of thought and philosophy are under way, the direction they may go is still not clear.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

There has been a notable shift of interest during the depression from the traditional programs of community organization to more fundamental problems of social and economic security which demand state and federal, rather than local community, action. Furthermore, the feeling of local community responsibility has been weakened by the federal administration of unemployment relief. No revival of the community movement comparable to that which took place at the time of the World War occurred during the past few years. Regional planning, rather than community organization, has become the subject for popular discussion. Other important recent trends are the declining financial support of private community agencies, the greatly increased responsibility of the government in the field of relief, the growing interest in public recreational programs, the new interest in establishing departments of public welfare, the lack of emphasis upon community centers and other community-wide programs, and the dominance of centralizing forces which run counter to the earlier philosophy of the community movement.

The field of community organization, as discussed in this article, includes the various programs and activities designed to improve the communal machinery and enable it to function more adequately in the interests of the people as a whole. Historically, community organization has been an outgrowth of the social work movement, and its more notable experiments have been concerned with ways and means of integrating social agencies and institutions and building up a well-balanced, community-wide social work program. Theoretically, its principles are equally applicable to the whole range of communal organization; and one of the striking trends in the community movement during the past five years is the broadening of its scope, with increased emphasis upon economic and governmental reforms. During the 1920's community leaders were discussing at their local and national gatherings community chests, community centers, councils of social agencies, methods of administration of community programs, extension of mental hygiene facilities, promotion of immigrant welfare, family rehabilitation, the control of crime and delinquency, and methods of raising professional standards of community social work. At the present time these topics are still discussed by the groups at work in these fields, but popular interest

has shifted to other subjects. The attention of community leaders is now turned to such matters as social and economic planning, means of relieving unemployment, co-operative enterprises, self-help organizations, public welfare administration, social insurance, and more adequate facilities for the wise use of leisure.

This shift of interest has far-reaching implications for community organization, since the present emphasis is upon types of work that must rely largely upon state and federal programs rather than upon those fostered by the local community. One of the outgrowths of the unemployment situation has been the realization of the inadequacy of local efforts to handle this difficult problem. During the first two years of the depression, vigorous but vain attempts were made to throw upon local communities the whole burden of unemployment relief. Local resources proved to be entirely inadequate for this purpose in spite of the increased contributions by private philanthropy and the expansion of city and county relief budgets. First state and then federal assistance was called upon to deal with this emergency, and with the rise of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the local community was forced to adjust its programs to meet federal requirements. Local relief agencies either turned over their work to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration or operated with federal subsidies in accord with federal policies. The controlling factor in the local situation was the federal authority frequently exercised in an arbitrary manner, with little tendency to adjust national policies to local conditions. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that there should be a decline in the feeling of local community responsibility. Communities accepted with very good grace this outside invasion of their traditional field of work because of their desire to escape financial responsibility for unemployment relief. This economic crisis, which might have been expected to strengthen local community solidarity, has in reality been working to a large degree in the opposite direction.

The lack of widespread interest in community organization during the past five years stands in striking contrast to the expansion of the community movement during and immediately following the World War. The requirements of the war situation, like the present economic crisis, called for centralization of control under the federal

government; and swiftly and arbitrarily the whole country was lined up in support of national policies and war programs. Local communities were bombarded with a flood of instructions from Washington concerning food control, production of war supplies, sale of Liberty bonds, and contributions to the support of war agencies. This regimentation of the people aroused some opposition; but, on the whole, local communities everywhere felt the necessity of uniting their forces in the interests of more effective war work. Under the stimulus of the war emergency, community organization became a popular goal and reached the zenith of its development. Communities did not feel submerged by federal control, since they regarded themselves as essential builders of national strength. The emphasis was upon their contribution to national need; whereas, in the present economic crisis, the outstanding fact has been community reliance upon federal funds. Just to what extent the method of administration of federal subsidies has weakened local initiative it is impossible to measure, but it apparently has been one factor in preventing a revival of the community movement comparable to that which took place at the time of the war emergency.

Of still greater significance in explaining the present status of the community movement is the recognition that the larger issues growing out of the widespread demand for social and economic security lie beyond the province of community organization as it has developed during the first quarter of the present century. The futility of perfecting local administrative machinery when our whole economic structure seemed to be breaking down has stood out as an inescapable fact which saps the enthusiasm of local leaders. Communities alone seem powerless to stem the tide of approaching economic disaster. Inevitably, the attention of the people has been turned to larger units of control more capable of dealing with the complex situation. The tendency in this direction is seen in the growing emphasis upon regional planning which is a new shibboleth that seems to be supplanting the earlier emphasis upon community organization. Conferences upon regionalism at several of the universities during the past few years, and more especially the activities of the recently established Regional Planning Commissions of the National Resources Board, have kept the regional concept before

the public and emphasize the need of thinking in larger terms than that of the local community. This new interest does not in any way make unnecessary local community programs, but its actual effect is to turn the most effective leadership toward this new and growing movement. The renewed emphasis upon the consolidation of counties, the union of city and county, the union of adjacent towns in a single municipality, and the efforts to extend the boundaries of metropolitan districts, all point in the direction of a larger unit of administration than the local community as it has hitherto been defined. Practical steps toward the formation of regional administrative units have been few during this financial depression, but the time is ripe for an advance of this kind. No forward-looking community now plans for its future by confining its attention to its own immediate problems. The interdependence and integration, rather than the competition, of communities stand out more clearly as we have wrestled with our recent economic situation. The community is extending its borders to include its surrounding territory—a tendency that is far more marked than was the case during the 1920's. The field of community organization is inevitably growing larger and may eventually merge into a wider social movement concerned with issues that can best be dealt with by regional and national agencies.

These general trends, which seem to be leading toward fundamental changes in our conception of community organization, stand out with compelling interest; but an adequate survey of the present situation must include also the more important recent trends within the field of community organization itself. The traditional problems of community organization are not yet solved, and during this financial depression community leaders have been forced to attempt adjustments made necessary by the new situation.

One problem faced by community organization leaders during the past five years is the declining financial support of local community social agencies and institutions. This trend is especially apparent in the case of community chests, which have, since 1920, been unable (with few exceptions) to reach their desired campaign goals and have been compelled to operate with greatly reduced budgets. On the whole the decreased contributions to community chests have not

been excessive—only 13.5 per cent during the first five years of the depression, while net taxable incomes decreased 57 per cent.¹ Nevertheless, in many cities lack of funds has seriously crippled the work of private philanthropy and has caused many doubts to be raised concerning its rôle in the future. In their efforts to meet this crisis community chests have initiated local community studies or surveys of social agencies for the purpose of discovering ways and means of adjusting their social work programs to changing conditions and lessening, if possible, the burden of their financial support. In spite of the apparent necessity of such adjustments, no notable progress has yet been made in this direction. Apparently, social work agencies are no more ready to reorganize their work during this critical financial period than they were during more prosperous years. Moreover, community chests, having pressed to maintain their prestige and public confidence when confronted by financial difficulties, have not been in a sufficiently strong position to force agencies into line by exercising arbitrary control over their budgets. Community agencies, on the whole, have preferred, during this depression, to limit their activities and cut down their operating expenses rather than work out a more thoroughly integrated community program in the interests of economy and efficiency.

Another factor vitally affecting the field of community organization is the enormous expansion of governmental agencies concerned with unemployment relief. The breakdown of private philanthropy during the financial depression has ushered in a new era of public welfare administration competently led, for the most part, by experienced workers recruited largely from the private social agencies. This centralization of relief under governmental control has, at least for the present, solved many of the problems of integration of relief organizations. Moreover, under the active leadership of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration steps are being taken in many states to set up state and county departments of public welfare equipped to administer, not merely relief funds, but also the various programs of social security now being devised. The community chest era of social work based upon the principle of federation is being supplanted by centralization of control under governmental authority. The government now occupies a more dominant place in hu-

¹ *News Bulletin, Community Chests and Councils*, December, 1934, p. 6.

manitarian activities than a decade ago—a fact which radically modifies the earlier problems of community organization and may necessitate important changes in its programs and policies.

At present, however, the emergency welfare program of the government is limited largely to the field of relief. The great expansion of governmental welfare activities during the past five years has been regarded as a temporary measure to meet the unemployment emergency. As a matter of fact, this growth in relief activities has been accompanied by a decline in the other humanitarian services of the government. There has been, during this depression, drastic curtailment of such governmental services as public health nursing, mothers' pensions, child welfare, health education, and public recreational activities. It is not exactly correct, therefore, to say that the depression has expanded the field of public welfare in any permanent manner. If unemployment relief were cut off at the present time, the remaining welfare activities of the government would be considerably less extensive than they were during the 1920's:

The effects of this widespread slashing of local public welfare budgets have, to a certain degree, been offset by the use of relief funds as wages for unemployed assigned temporarily to governmental positions. For example, in the field of public recreation, there have been greatly increased expenditures for recreational leadership as a means of giving work to unemployed. Between 1929 and 1933 there was a marked increase in the use of public recreational facilities, although municipal funds appropriated for this purpose declined during this period approximately 30 per cent. The growing amount of leisure brought about by shorter hours of labor, the use of federal relief funds to employ recreational leaders and improve the recreational facilities in parks and playgrounds, and the efforts to keep up the morale of the unemployed by getting them to participate in leisure-time programs have enabled public recreation to make considerable progress in spite of the financial stringency. It should be noted, however, that recreational programs supported by private philanthropy have shown a decline and that the trend toward tax-supported recreational commissions and boards has been accelerated by the depression.²

This recent advance by the government in the field of public wel-

² *Year Book of the National Recreation Association*, May, 1934, p. 55.

fare has made more urgent the problem of the interrelation of public and private agencies. This country has been noted for its extraordinary expansion of private philanthropy, which has spread into many fields with acknowledged leadership in the development of high standards of work. On the other hand publicly supported relief agencies, although carrying 75 per cent of the relief load during pre-depression days, occupied a comparatively low status in the community and exercised little leadership in plans looking toward the solution of social problems. With the expansion of relief budgets during the depression, public funds now supply 98 per cent of the total expenditures for relief. What is even more important from the point of view of community organization is the competent leadership in the local, state, and federal staffs of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which is not merely giving new prestige to public welfare positions but has placed governmental agencies in a strategic position to direct, in a larger measure than ever before, social work policies and standards. Just what will be the outcome of this new situation cannot now be accurately predicted. The general assumption is that privately supported social agencies will not again dominate the whole field as in the past, but will regard themselves more definitely as supplementary to governmental departments of public welfare. Among the implications of this new rôle will be the changed emphasis in the solicitation of funds for private philanthropy. Appeals for funds to feed the hungry must be replaced by emphasis upon the value of agencies concerned with character-building, public recreation, demonstration of new types of service, and the development of high standards of work. Community chests have likely reached the peak of their expansion and are becoming more concerned with improving the quality of the work they are called upon to support. With tax funds providing for such elemental needs of the poor as food and shelter, the field of community organization is slowly adjusting itself to greater emphasis upon the more effective promotion of agencies and facilities designed to minister to the needs of the whole population instead of concentrating so largely upon the amelioration of pathological conditions.

During the depression there has been no notable advance made by such types of community organization as school community centers, community churches, or amalgamation of social agencies

working in the same general field. The earlier interest in uniting the forces in the community by building up a more comprehensive type of social agency declined during the years following the World War, and apparently nothing has occurred during the past five years to revive this phase of the community movement. On the contrary, as it has been indicated above, the present interest in fundamental problems of social security that can best be dealt with on a state or national basis makes the local community an even less satisfactory administrative unit than was formerly the case. The need for better co-ordination of local organizations still exists and is receiving a certain amount of attention, but the present emphasis is upon wider issues which force the local community at least temporarily into the background.

A final factor which merits consideration in this appraisal of community organization is the new impetus to autocratic, centralized authority which seems to be an inevitable accompaniment of a serious national emergency. The granting of special powers to our President to deal with this present crisis, the building-up of new federal agencies intrusted with far-reaching responsibilities and made powerful through their expenditure of enormous funds, and the feeling, widespread in some quarters, that democratic methods must give way to more centralized control, are evidences of a marked trend away from the democratic philosophy which has formed the real basis of the community movement. Community organization as originally developed was essentially an effort to solve social problems through the building-up of more unified programs in local communities. By developing the initiative and resourcefulness of people in their daily associations, it was believed that we could best strengthen the foundations of our national life. More efficient communities all over the country must be the first step toward the building of a strong nation. This conception of the community movement has been rarely brought to public attention during this period of the depression. On the contrary, the temper of the American people seems to call for a more centralized approach to our task. For the present at least, centralized forces are in the ascendancy and the local community seems destined to play a more minor rôle than was the case a decade or more ago.

THE AMOUNT AND NATURE OF CRIME

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ABSTRACT

The general impression is that crime has increased with the depression. Several indexes of criminal activity are examined to see if fluctuations correspond to the rise and fall of business barometers. Admissions to state and federal prisons and reformatories show a gradual increase up through 1931 and a decrease since that time; offenses known to the police (Part I) show relatively little fluctuation but exhibit a slight peak in 1932-33; robbery and burglary trends in the period 1930-34 show striking uniformity in seasonal variation but no perceptible increase during the period. Indexes of crime in local areas give very largely the same picture. Statistics of crime in Massachusetts, Baltimore, New York City, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Los Angeles are examined. Only in Minneapolis and St. Paul in the case of serious crimes known to the police is there an apparent increase throughout much of the period 1930-34. The others all resemble the national figures, reaching slight peaks or crests in 1931 or 1932 and decreasing since then. In general, there seems to have been no increase in crime at all commensurate with the extent or duration of the depression.

Business indexes in general show a consistent drop from late 1929 to March, 1933, with some improvement since that time. Thus the *New York Times* "Weekly Business Index" stood at 112 late in 1929, dropped consistently to 66 in March, 1933, spurted up to 99 in June, 1933, and then dropped rapidly to a low of 72 in October of that eventful year. Since late 1933 it has fluctuated around 80, going up to 86 in May, 1934, and again up to 88 in January, 1935. Have there been corresponding fluctuations in available indexes of criminal activity?

National crime indexes.—The two most generally available are "Prisoners Received from the Courts in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories," and "Offenses Known to the Police," published by the Bureau of the Census and the Department of Justice, respectively. Both indexes are subject to the usual criticisms of statistics of commitments, or of police statistics, as measures of the extent or variation of crime. They are, nevertheless, the best comparative indexes available that reflect conditions on a national scale.¹

¹ Permission to use materials from these sources is gratefully acknowledged. The courtesy of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover in furnishing advance proof copy of the 1934 materials and in giving permission to reproduce the charts on trends in robbery and burglary has been especially appreciated.

It is apparent from Table I that admissions to prisons and reformatories reached a peak in 1931. The decline since that date may be due to the effects of repeal, resulting in fewer liquor cases sent to prison, or it may reflect what has been somewhat euphemistically called recovery.

TABLE I
PRISONERS RECEIVED FROM THE COURTS, STATE AND FEDERAL PRISONS,
AND REFORMATORIES, 1926-33, BY SEX AND RATE PER 100,000
GENERAL POPULATION OF THE SAME SEX

YEAR	MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
1926.....	40,601	77.5	2,727	5.5
1927.....	41,227	81.6	2,835	5.8
1928.....	45,432	86.9	2,780	5.7
1929.....	55,584	95.3	3,322	5.9
1930.....	62,957	105.5	3,056	5.3
1931.....	68,483	111.4	3,037	5.1
1932.....	64,545	101.9	2,931	4.8
1933.....	60,073	92.2	2,728	4.3

Police statistics of serious crime show a surprising consistency during the principal depression years as indicated in Table II. The peak for both burglary and robbery appears to have been in 1932-33, but the entire series is relatively constant. A more detailed analysis of robbery for the five-year period, 1930-34, is given in Table III. Attention should be called to the striking differences in rates between the large and the small cities. In the larger cities there is a minor peak in 1932 while in the smaller ones the crest appears in 1931. Month-by-month variation in daily averages for robbery and burglary for this same period may be observed without difficulty in Figures 1 and 2. The striking uniformity of seasonal variations should be noted as well as the absence of any distinct long-time trend either up or down. The most important characteristic of the picture of the whole period is the fact of practically no change in rates of frequency for these offenses.

As a picture of crime on a national scale, these indexes rather definitely refute the oft-repeated claims of a "crime wave" as the

result of the depression. The fact that the trend, if any, seems to be downward in the last two years is amazing in face of the fact that at the end of 1934 there was estimated to be approximately 12,000,000 workers unemployed and nearly 20,000,000 persons on relief.

TABLE II

DAILY AVERAGE, OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE (PART I), 71 CITIES OVER 100,000 POPULATION, JANUARY TO SEPTEMBER, INCLUSIVE, 1931-34

(Total population: 19,969,802, estimated as of July 1, 1933,
by the Bureau of the Census)

Class of Offenses	1934	1933	1932	1931
Criminal homicide				
a) Murder and non-negligent manslaughter	4.4	4.9	4.6	4.4
b) Manslaughter by negligence	2.6	3.6	3.0	3.9
Rape	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.5
Robbery	41.9	50.7	52.6	56.0
Aggravated assault	29.6	32.8	26.4	29.2
Burglary, breaking, and entering	202.9	214.4	210.1	191.9
Larceny, theft	444.6	452.8	432.2	423.9
Auto theft	179.6	193.9	205.8	245.0

TABLE III

ROBBERY, 1930-34: DAILY AVERAGE, JANUARY THROUGH DECEMBER, OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE

(Population estimates by Census Bureau as of July 1, 1933)

Years	Whole Group 585 Cities (Pop.: 32,174,189)	61 Cities over 100,000 Popula- tion. (Pop.: 21,466,715)	522 Cities under 100,000 Popula- tion. (Pop.: 10,767,474)
1930.....	90.3	73.5	16.8
1931.....	108.8	91.3	17.5
1932.....	110.2	94.5	15.7
1933.....	101.1	85.9	15.2
1934.....	91.1	78.3	12.8

Local indexes of crime.—Many kinds of statistics are available for different local areas but there is little uniformity in methods or materials. A few samples have been selected for comment and illustration, with many equally good sources of necessity left out in a short discussion such as this.

a) *Massachusetts.*—Commitments to penal institutions in Massachusetts in recent years show consistent increases up through 1932

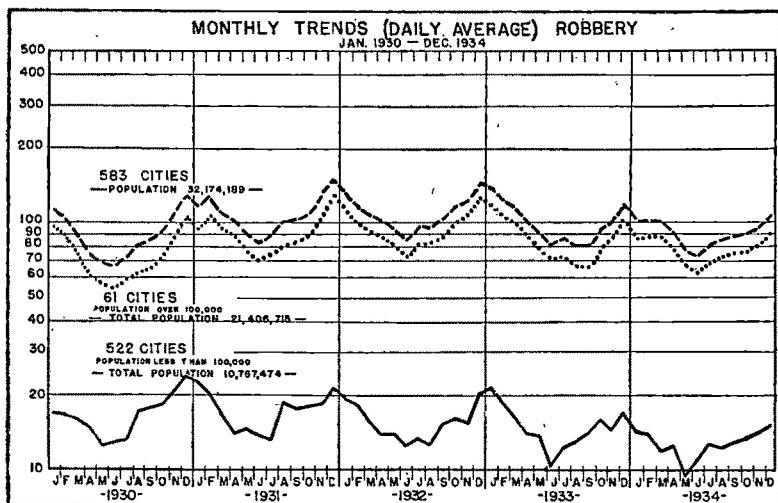


FIG. 1.—Robbery, 1930-34: offenses known to the police

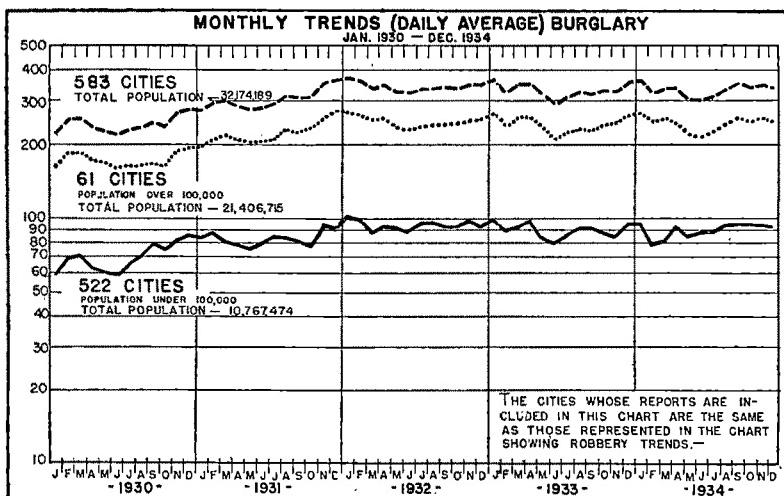


FIG. 2.—Burglary, 1930-34: offenses known to the police

for the State Reformatory at Concord and the Reformatory for Women, while at the State Prison the peak was reached in 1933. All

institutions show decreases during the last year in commitments for felonies. Figures for prosecutions in the superior courts are available for 1932, 1933, and 1934. The total number of cases has remained practically constant at around 20,000 with no clear trends apparent. The statistics of arrests in Massachusetts are presented in Table IV. The increase in 1934 over 1933 indicated is apparently due to some 16,000 more arrests for drunkenness in the last year—otherwise the decrease has been fairly consistent.²

TABLE IV
ARRESTS IN MASSACHUSETTS CITIES BY CLASS OF OFFENSE, 1930-34*

Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Total All Classes
1930.....	5,95c	11,254	161,297	178,501
1931.....	5,18c	12,974	150,529	169,683
1932.....	5,392	13,441	134,110	153,943
1933.....	5,272	12,394	127,963	146,629
1934.....	5,846	11,824	137,665	155,335

* Class I, *crimes against the person* (assault, murder, manslaughter, robbery, other offenses).

Class II, *crimes against property* (burglary, fraud, larceny, stealing ride, trespass, using car without permission, etc.).

Class III, *crimes against public order, etc.* (drunkenness, liquor laws, motor laws and traffic rules, non-support, etc.).

b) *Baltimore*.—Figures for trends in crime in Baltimore are available through the work of the Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission. Table V has been constructed from data published in their *Eleventh Annual Report* (1933). The figures speak for themselves. Crimes reported to the police have decreased consistently, except for a slight increase during the years 1930 and 1931. The 1933 rate is the same as that for 1929, and considerably lower than for 1924. Arrests have fluctuated considerably during the period with no clear trend. The rate for 1933, however, is the lowest for any year since 1924. Convictions have been markedly constant with a very slight crest in 1931. Thus it appears that serious crime in Baltimore has varied with scarcely perceptible reactions to the depression years.

² The assistance of Mr. Frank Loveland, Director, Division of Investigation, Department of Corrections, Boston, in procuring 1934 statistics and general interpretative comments is gratefully acknowledged.

c) *New York City.*—Analysis of figures for arrests in New York City³ for the nine-year period 1925-33 reveals no great fluctuation during that time, but shows a brief crest in 1932. Cases in the magistrates courts show the same story, with decreases since 1932. Deaths from alcoholism for the period vary by a few per cent and reach their high point in 1931; suicide rates show gradual increase to 1932 and then a brisk decline.

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF CRIMES REPORTED, ARRESTS, AND CONVICTIONS FOR TEN-YEAR PERIOD, 1924-33, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND*
(Rates per 100,000 general population)

YEAR	CRIMES REPORTED		ARRESTS		CONVICTIONS	
	Total Number	Rate	Total Number	Rate	Total Number	Rate
1924.....	5544	72.7	1812	23.8	834	10.9
1925.....	5430	70.6	2223	28.8	1111	14.4
1926.....	4699	60.5	2254	29.0	1090	14.0
1927.....	4880	62.3	2274	29.0	1204	16.5
1928.....	4923	62.3	2228	28.2	1311	16.6
1929.....	4320	54.2	2140	26.8	1270	15.9
1930.....	4554	56.7	2335	29.0	1338	16.6
1931.....	5129	63.2	2444	30.1	1397	17.2
1932.....	4795	58.5	2233	27.3	1300	15.9
1933.....	4493	54.4	2142	25.9	1274	15.4

* Data from *Eleventh Annual Report*, Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission, James M. Hepbron, Managing Director, 22 Light Street, Baltimore.

d) *Minneapolis and St. Paul.*—Serious crime as reflected by the “offenses known to the police” has fluctuated considerably since 1929 with a general tendency to more or less consistent increase. The last official report of the chief of police in Minneapolis gives the results pictured in Table VI. It should be noted that for the most part the number of offenses has increased when 1934 is compared with 1930. In the case of homicide (murder and manslaughter combined) this increase amounts to 33.3 per cent; for robbery 59 per cent; and for burglary 36.2 per cent. It is explained that five of the murders in 1934 were committed by one man who later committed suicide and this may represent the largest element in the apparent

³ Data from 1935 *World Almanac*.

increase. These figures are in apparent contrast to results for the country as a whole, or for other localities. A similar trend appears in the figures for St. Paul. It has been impossible for the present writer to determine whether this represents an actual increase in serious crime in this part of the country or merely much needed improvement in police statistics. Both factors may, of course, be operative.

TABLE VI*

MAJOR CRIME IN MINNEAPOLIS: OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(PART I, LESS AUTO THEFT), 1930-34

Class of Offense	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930
Felonious homicide:					
a) Murder.....	22	9	9	11	15
b) Manslaughter.....	2	9	9	4	3
Rape.....	8	4	7	0	4
Robbery (holdup).....	590	518	524	648	371
Aggravated assault.....	39	58	42	45	36
Burglary (breaking, entering).....	1,934	1,912	1,467	1,339	1,238
Larceny (theft).....	705	707	613	562	474
All others.....	52	32	62	70	75
Totals.....	3,352	3,249	2,733	2,679	2,216
Auto theft (stolen in city).....	2,925	3,411	2,915	2,900	2,731

* Source: *Annual Report of Department of Police, 1934*, submitted by the Chief of Police to the Mayor, January 17, 1935.

e) *Los Angeles*.—The Los Angeles Police Department has taken great care to collect comparable statistics on a variety of crime phenomena during the past twelve or more years. Analysis of the series for burglary, robbery, and auto theft for 1923 through 1933⁴ reveals much less fluctuation than might be expected in a city of such rapid growth and change. Burglary rates per 100,000 population reached high points in 1923 and again in 1933; robbery in 1924-25 and again in 1931; auto theft in 1927 with a consistent decline since that date. In general, there is no picture of an increasing crime wave with the depression.

What conclusions, if any, are warranted from the fluctuations of these various crime indexes? Possibly no very definite ones, yet some points may well be emphasized by restatement. It seems evident that:

⁴ *Annual Report of Police Department, 1933*, pp. 29-31.

1. There has been no increase in crime at all commensurate with the extent or duration of the depression.
2. The majority of crime indexes reflect gradual increases up to or through 1932, with quite general decreases since that time. None of the indexes show any sudden increase in crime with the onset of the depression.
3. There has been no great or sudden increase in crimes against property as a reaction to the widespread loss of economic status associated with unemployment and relief.
4. The American people appear to have changed relatively little in respect to the kinds of behavior usually called crime, despite the widespread demoralization and disorganization of individual lives and of community activity so intimately associated with the depression.
5. Repeal of prohibition and the changing policies connected with relief are complicating factors that may color the picture in unknown ways.
6. As criminal statistics increase in accuracy and usefulness in providing larger groups and longer time periods for comparisons, the fact that criminal activity appears to be relatively constant becomes clearer and clearer. Crime "waves" are now and probably have always been products of newspaper headlines. Even a serious depression appears to produce no "wave" of criminal activity.

CAUSAL AND SELECTIVE FACTORS IN SICKNESS*

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ABSTRACT

Results of a survey of 12,000 wage-earning families in ten localities, made early in 1933, indicated a relatively high rate of disabling illness among families hardest hit by the depression and in particular among those who were on relief in 1932. Factors contributing to this high illness rate among the new poor may have been (1) *causal*, reduced standards of living affecting the health of these families unfavorably. Or the factors may have been (2) *selective*, for example (a) sickly wage-earners, unemployed because of illness, were concentrated among the new poor, (b) a tendency to sickness may be associated with inability to succeed during a period of increased competition for jobs, even though sickness itself is not the direct cause of unemployment. It is believed that the causal factor was more important because (1) the excess in illness rates among the unemployed was found among children as well as adults; (2) the highest illness rate was exhibited by families that suffered the greatest loss of income; and (3) when all families were excluded in which the wage-earner at any time between 1929 and 1932 was unemployed because of illness, the same excess in illness rate was observed in the group that had fallen from comfort to poverty during the depression.

Interesting speculations as to the workings of the social system during a period of severe economic stress are raised by the findings of a survey of illness during the early spring of 1933 among wage-earning families in districts severely affected by unemployment. Briefly, the survey disclosed the highest incidence of disabling illness among the new poor, that is, the group of families that had been in reasonably comfortable circumstances in 1929 but was reduced to poverty or relief in 1932. The data raise the question of the relative importance of "nurture and nature" in bringing about the observed results. In other words, did reduced standard of living cause increase of illness among these persons between 1929 and 1932 or were they more sickly than their neighbors even in 1929? Have we observed the effect of the depression on health or merely the results of a great sifting process? Having put these questions, the writers hasten to admit their inability to answer them categorically at this stage of the investigation, or to account for all of the factors that may be involved. This paper will summarize the results of analyses of the

* From the Office of Statistical Investigations, United States Public Health Service, and the Division of Research, Milbank Memorial Fund.

data made thus far and discuss their possible implications. The reader is referred to previous papers for details as to the method, scope, and results of the survey.²

The survey was conducted by the United States Public Health Service and the Milbank Memorial Fund as a house-to-house canvass of 12,000 white families in ten localities (Figure 1). The surveyed population was largely of the wage-earning class, a considerable proportion of which had experienced loss in income due to unemployment and wage reductions. For each member of the surveyed families, there was obtained (1) a record of illness and medical care for the three months preceding the date of the canvass³ and (2) a record of occupation, wages earned, and regularity of employment for each year from 1929 to 1932 of sufficient detail to compute the family income. These data made it possible to relate current illness to changes in income during the depression as well as to present economic and employment status.

Illnesses were classified according to whether their time of onset was within the survey period of three months or prior to the survey, the latter including illnesses that were more or less chronic. Each of these two groups was further subdivided into disabling and non-disabling cases. All bed cases are included in the disabling class. In Figure 1, disabling cases⁴ are shown for each of the ten localities for the surveyed families classified according to employment status of the family wage-earners in 1932. With the exception of Greenville and Morgantown,⁵ it will be seen that the disabling illness rate⁶ of

² E.g., G. St. J. Perrott, Selwyn D. Collins, and Edgar Sydenstricker, "Sickness and the Economic Depression," *Public Health Reports*, October 13, 1933 (Reprint No. 1598); G. St. J. Perrott and Selwyn D. Collins, "Sickness and the Depression," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1933), pp. 281-98; *ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (1934), pp. 28-34; *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (1934), pp. 218-24.

³ Dates of the canvass varied from March 20 to May 15, 1933.

⁴ Disabling cases include all illnesses that involved loss of time from work, school, or other usual activities, whether or not the individual was gainfully employed.

⁵ The two rural industrial communities, while having a relatively high average illness rate, do not show the consistent association between economic status and illness which appears in the eight large cities. This finding, for which there is no obvious explanation at the present time, has made it seem best to consider the large cities as a group for many tabulations and reserve the two rural communities for separate study.

⁶ In these and succeeding graphs, illness rates have been adjusted for differences in age distribution in the various groups of families.

families having no employed workers is consistently higher in the several cities than that of families having part-time or full-time workers. For the eight large cities, the unemployed group shows an

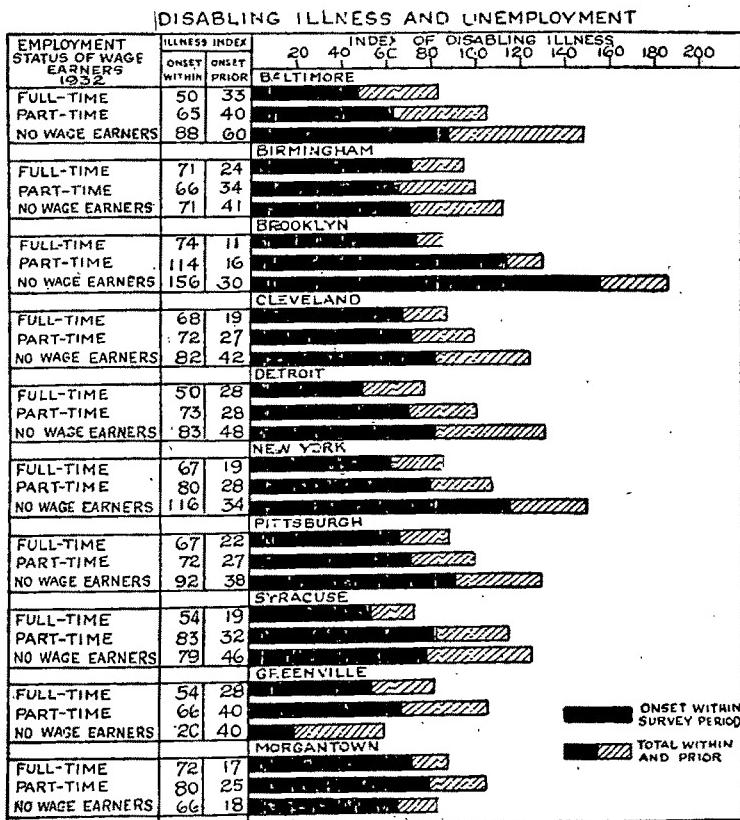


FIG. 1.—Disabling illness in each of ten localities during a 3-month period in the early spring of 1933 in white wage-earning families classified according to number of employed workers. Illness rates are expressed as an index (100 equals the disabling illness rate, adjusted for age, onset within and prior to the survey period, for the entire population in the specified city).

average rate of disabling illness (onset within plus prior) which is 48 per cent higher than that of families having full-time workers: that is, there were 182 cases per 1,000 persons as compared with 123 cases per 1,000.

A correlation between illness and unemployment is not confined

to periods of depression. A high illness-rate, a high death-rate and a high birth-rate have always gone hand in hand with poverty. It is desirable, therefore, to ascertain whether the higher sickness rate among the poorer classes in the surveyed families was in any way associated with changes in standard of living. Tremendous shifts in economic status and standard of living took place during the de-

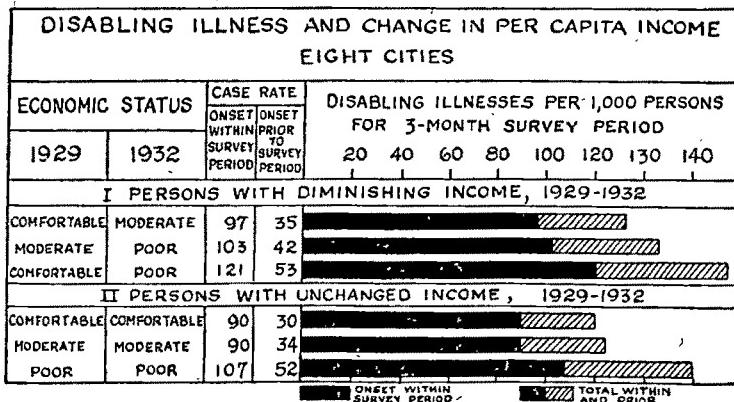


FIG. 2.—Disabling illness in eight large cities during a 3-month period in the early spring of 1933 in white wage-earning families classified according to change in per capita income, 1929-32.

pression; the unemployed in 1932 were in the main employed in 1929.

Figure 2 shows the rates of disabling illness in the eight large cities among groups of families classified according to economic status in 1929 and in 1932. For convenience, families have been classified according to annual per capita income as "comfortable," "moderate," and "poor." Inspection of Figure 2 shows the highly significant and interesting fact that the highest illness-rate is exhibited by the group hardest hit by the depression, namely, the group that was comfortable in 1929 and poor in 1932. Considering disabling illnesses

⁷ These names have no significance other than as convenient labels for use in discussion. For Baltimore, Birmingham, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Syracuse, "comfortable" indicates an annual per capita income of \$425 and over; "moderate," \$150-\$424; "poor," under \$150. In New York and Brooklyn, the values were raised to allow to some extent for higher cost of living in these cities and are as follows: "comfortable," over \$500; "moderate," \$250-\$499; "poor," under \$250.

having onset within or prior to the survey period, this group showed an incidence of illness that was 45 per cent higher than the rate of their more fortunate neighbors who were equal in status in 1929 but suffered no drop in income by 1932. It is interesting to note that the rate for the group that had dropped in income from comfortable to poor was 9 per cent higher than that of the "chronic poor," that is, those who were poverty stricken even in 1929—a finding which suggests that illness is associated with sudden change in standard of living.

In 1932 in the eight large cities, 20 per cent of the surveyed families received public or private relief for all or part of the year. The proportion on relief varied from 2 per cent in Brooklyn to 30 per cent in Syracuse. At that time (1932 and 1933), eligibility for relief indicated that a family was in very dire straits; these relief families had the lowest standards of living of any in the surveyed group. It will be of interest to compare their illness record with that of families not on relief.

In Figure 3, illness rates are shown for families in the poor group classified as (1) on relief and (2) not on relief in 1932. The incidence of illness is consistently higher among relief families, the excess varying from 30 to 42 per cent in the several categories of cases; this excess is still evident when classification is made according to economic status in 1929. For example, about 50 per cent of the group that had dropped from the comfortable class in 1929 to the poor class in 1932 (Figure 2) were on relief in 1932. This group showed a rate of disabling illness, onset within plus prior, of 208 cases per 1,000 persons as compared with 145 cases per 1,000 for the group that had dropped from comfortable to poor but were not on relief.

The general result is clearly shown by surveys of samples of the poorer sections of eight large cities that wage-earning families reduced to poverty during the depression suffered to a greater extent from disabling illness than their more fortunate neighbors. Individuals in families supported by public or private relief exhibited a higher illness-rate than any other group. This finding was true for children as well as for adults, and in general for respiratory and non-respiratory illnesses, with the exception of the communicable diseases of childhood.

In considering factors that may have brought about the situation in which a group of families characterized by a newly acquired poverty reported a relatively high illness-rate, the methodology of the survey must be borne clearly in mind. All sickness data are for a 3-month period early in 1933, with no data for 1929 or other years; the economic data cover the years 1929-32. If we find, as has been shown, a higher illness-rate among the depression poor than existed among families remaining in the comfortable class for all four years, then it seems reasonable to suppose that reduced standard of living,

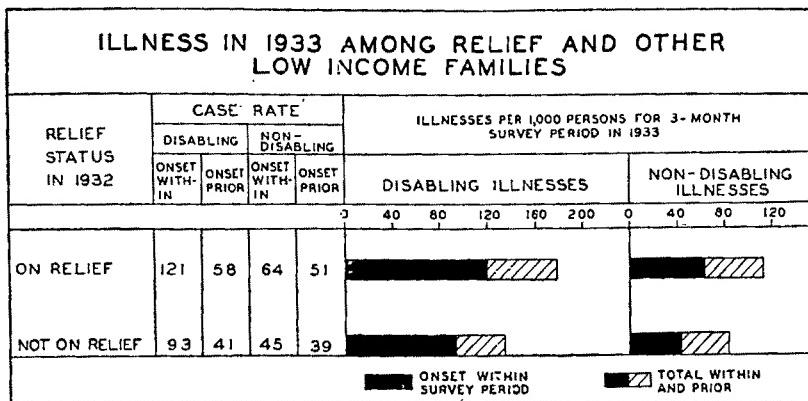


FIG. 3.—Disabling and non-disabling illness in eight large cities among low-income families classified as (1) on relief and (2) not on relief.

including crowded housing conditions and lack of adequate food and clothing and medical care, which accompanied this loss of income, had a part in *causing* this higher sickness rate in 1933.

However, other factors may have played a part:

(1) Unemployment of wage-earners due to sickness probably contributed to the loss in income of certain families; these persons may have been concentrated in the group that suffered economic reverses during the depression and have been responsible for at least a part of the high illness-rate in this group. However, analysis of the data shows this to be a relatively unimportant factor. Individuals unemployed due to sickness were not concentrated among the new poor (Table I) and furthermore the same excess in sickness rates was observed in this group when all families were excluded in which

there was unemployment due to sickness at any time between 1929 and 1932 (prior to the survey period).

(2) The depression may have been a great sifting process, separating the fit from the unfit. In spite of innumerable exceptions, the

TABLE I
CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE WAGE-EARNING FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PER CAPITA INCOME CHANGE, 1929-32—FIVE CITIES SURVEYED EARLY IN 1933*

	Comfortable in 1929 and 1932	Comfortable 1929-Poor, 1932	Poor in 1929 and 1932
<i>Percentage of all families:</i>			
With full-time workers, 1929	89.4	88.3	33.1
With full-time workers, 1932	72.7	7.0	19.7
With no employed workers, 1932	0.7	36.8	34.6
With chief wage-earner a white-collar worker in 1929	33.4	9.6	13.0
On relief, 1929	c.0	0.6‡	14.7
On relief, 1932	c.7‡	55.9	55.9
With household head native of native parents	44.3	43.3	26.3
With household head having high-school or college education	27.9	10.4	7.2
With unemployment due to illness, 1931-32	6.3	6.0	9.1
Persons per family, 1933	2.8	4.0	6.1
Persons per room, 1929	0.54	0.78	1.21
Persons per room, 1932	0.55	0.93	1.27
Annual birth-rate† per 1,000 married women, aged 15-44 years, 1929-32	107	133	178
Disabling illness per 1,000 persons for 3-month period	119	185	153

* Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Syracuse.

† Total family income was used in classifying families for birth-rate tabulation: "comfortable" indicates annual family income of \$2,000 and over; "poor," under \$1,200.

‡ Income classifications are based on earnings for the year; hence a few families that went on relief late in 1929 or 1932 are still classed as comfortable.

men who kept their jobs were, on the average, the more vigorous, capable, and intelligent ones. Moreover, with many exceptions, it is true that those who lost their jobs were less efficient than those who remained employed. This inefficiency may have been exhibited in many ways distinct from inability to compete in the economic struggle—perhaps a diathesis or tendency toward sickliness existed among these families as a concomitant of the economic inefficiency of the wage-earner. This explanation of the higher sickness-rates

among the new poor does not assume sickness, *per se*, as a cause of unemployment but postulates an inherent inferiority of which unemployment was one manifestation and ill health another. According to this hypothesis, the new poor would have exhibited a high illness-rate even in 1929 (if they could have been singled out for observation), and their lowered standard of living during the depression was not the prime cause of their high illness-rate.

The writers admit the possibility that selection played a part in bringing about the situation observed in 1933, but it does not seem probable that selection of the less fit by the depression-screen is the whole story. Undoubtedly, those who became unemployed during the depression were, on the average, the least well equipped to compete in the keen struggle for jobs. For example (Table I), when we compare the new poor in the surveyed group with those who remained comfortable throughout the depression, we find they had fewer household heads with high-school or college education, fewer in the white-collar occupations in 1929, that they lived in more crowded living quarters even in 1929, and exhibited a higher birth-rate. Some of these findings appear to indicate that families of certain *types* were least successful in weathering the depression. However, only a rabid geneticist would believe that a theory of selection contains the sole explanation of the results of the present survey. As a matter of fact, when illness-rates are made specific for age, sex, race, education, occupation, and relief status, the association between drop in income and high illness-rate is still evident.

A study now being made of the death-rate among families who became unemployed during the depression will throw further light on the question, because it is possible to obtain information on deaths for a number of years prior to the canvass, which is not feasible in a sickness survey. Hence, *trends* in the death-rate from 1929 to the present time can be studied for groups of families that had various types of economic history during the depression. Preliminary results indicate a rise in the death-rate between 1929 and 1933 among families in which the wage-earner became unemployed in this period.

The facts that the excess in illness-rates appears among children as well as adults and that the highest illness-rates are exhibited by

families that had dropped from the highest level in 1929 appear to point to a definite causal relation between lowered standard of living and high illness-rate. But whatever the cause, the depression has presented to society for support a group of some 20 million persons in the United States who are now on relief rolls, among whom sickness is probably more prevalent than in the rest of the population. It must be recognized that medical care and preventive services for these persons are a necessity of life as well as food, clothing, and shelter. These necessities must be made available to all if the health of the wage-earning population is to be maintained.

HOW EDUCATION IS FARING

FRED J. KELLY
U.S. Office of Education

ABSTRACT

While elementary-school enrolment has declined during recent years, high-school enrolment has shown amazing growth. College enrolment dropped off quite sharply last year and the year before, but is regaining some of its losses the current year. The teaching-load has grown much heavier each year, particularly in the high school, at a time when the conditions have called for much more active work in adjusting the school to the current demands. The enrichment which has been added to the curriculum of the schools in recent decades has been sacrificed in many places. A reverse trend is noticeable this year. Colleges are doing a better job of adapting their work to the social needs of the individual student. Teachers' salaries have been cut to the level of fifty years ago in many places, but the present year shows some improvement. College teachers have sacrificed probably as heavily as others. Annual public-school expenditures have dropped about 22 per cent in five years; colleges, a little more if buildings are included; when not included, the decrease in college expenditures is only about 10 per cent. Two bright spots are discernible: students are more earnest, and institutions more co-operative.

When you ask how education is faring, do you mean in Arkansas or in Massachusetts? In the city or in the country? In the white schools or in the Negro schools? These questions will put the reader on his guard against assuming that any single characterization can be true of all schools or colleges.

Enrolment.—Although the figures for the later years in Table I are estimates, they are certainly reliable enough to indicate trends. The remarkable increase in high-school enrolments bears, no doubt, a direct relation to the depression. The normal outlets of youth in occupations were closed, and so more continued in school. This is further indicated by the fact that the numbers graduating from high school increased even more rapidly than high-school enrolments, the increase from 1930 to 1932 being 25 per cent, as against an increase in enrolment of 17 per cent.

In contrast with the high-school increases, a small decrease in elementary-school enrolments will be observed. This is due to two factors: (a) almost all children of elementary-school age have been enrolled each year, so that little or no increase can be expected from that source; and (b) the birth-rate has been rapidly declining.

On the college level, figures since 1932 must be estimated from

the partial figures gathered by Walters¹ each fall. For 1930 and 1932 the enrolments in colleges and universities,² including teachers colleges and normal schools, increased from 1,085,799 to 1,154,117, or 6.3 per cent. The number graduating increased 12.7 per cent over the same two-year period, thus indicating a tendency to remain longer in college.

TABLE I
TRENDS IN SCHOOL ENROLMENTS*

YEARS ENDING JUNE 30	TOTAL EN- ROLMENTS	HIGH-SCHOOL ENROLMENTS	INDEX NUMBER: 1930 = 100	
			Total Enrol- ment	High- School En- rolment
1930.....	25,578,015	4,399,422	100	100
1931.....	26,211,586	4,769,722	101	108
1932.....	26,275,441	5,10,621	102	117
1933.....	26,556,000	5,556,000	103	126
1934.....	26,722,000	5,434,000	104	146
1935.....	26,909,000	5,719,000	105	153

* *Major Trends in Public Education* (Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, National Education Association, October 1934).

After 1932, college enrolments dropped sharply for two years in spite of the rapid increase in high-school graduates. Walters found the decrease from November 1, 1931, to November 1, 1932, to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in full-time students, and from November 1, 1932, to November 1, 1933, a decrease of 5 per cent of full-time students. A much larger decrease occurred in summer-session students. It is conservative to estimate, therefore, that the total annual enrolment figures for 1933-34 will be found to show a decrease of 12 per cent from the corresponding figures for 1929-30, while the full-time student enrolment at November 1, 1933, will show a decrease of about 7 per cent from November 1, 1929. This figure would be much larger if only the four-year institutions were considered; but the junior colleges, which have multiplied rapidly during the period, shared

¹ Raymond Walters, "Statistic of Registration in American Universities and Colleges," in one of the December issues each year of *School and Society*.

² *Statistical Summary of Education, 1931-32*, U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 2 (1933).

with the high schools a large increase in enrolments, thus helping to offset the decrease in the four-year colleges, attendance at which required the students in the main to live away from home.

The current year is revealing a general reversal of the enrolment trends in the colleges, only scattered institutions here and there reporting further decreases. Walters reports a 5 per cent gain over last year in total of full-time students and a gain of 14 per cent in Freshmen. Scattered reports indicate an even greater gain in the junior colleges.

Teaching-load.—While comparable figures from year to year are not available, it is common knowledge that the typical practice in city schools, in all but the more favored cities, has been to reduce budgets, eliminate teachers, and increase the size of classes. An increase of 8 per cent in pupils per teacher is estimated to have occurred between 1931 and 1934. When it is remembered that all schools are included, the increase in the pupils-teacher ratio for high schools will be understood to have been many times that great. When rapid increase in high-school attendance is borne in mind, when it is remembered that four successive annual increases of students have occurred while the staff in general has remained stationary or been reduced, and when it is recalled that during these same years a multitude of emergency education tasks have been performed by these same teachers, few will deny that the teachers, especially the high-school teachers, have become greatly overloaded.

This is all the more serious since these years are demanding a more searching examination by the teachers than ever before of the materials and the methods of instruction used by them. The increase in students is calling for a greater variety of educational offerings as well as a greater quantity of instruction. The inadequacy of the traditional high-school program is being the more clearly recognized as an ever decreasing proportion of high-school graduates enter college. To make the fundamental readjustments in the high school called for by this shift in purpose is a task worthy of the best efforts of teachers carrying only normal loads. It is not likely to be done thoroughly unless the present serious condition can be ameliorated.

The richness and variety of educational services.—Among the tragedies of the depression, one of the most serious has been the curtail-

ment of offerings in the schools. Between 1931 and 1933 schools and classes were eliminated in the following percentage of cities in the service indicated:³ music, 2 per cent of cities; physical education, 4; art, 6; physically handicapped, 7; mentally handicapped, 8; kindergarten, 12; continuation work, 21; Americanization, 23; night adult classes, 28; and summer schools, 28. Here we find the evidences of lack of appreciation of these subjects. Though they are, in fact, the fruits of the best modern conception of education, yet, when retrenchment was necessary, they suffered most.

From predictions made early in 1934-35 it is estimated that in the neighborhood of 10 per cent of the foregoing eliminations will have been restored by June, 1935.

Changes in college curricula.—The trend toward a larger common requirement in the first two years of the liberal arts college had begun to appear before 1929. The depression years have witnessed a rapid acceleration in that movement. A large minority, if not the majority, of the better-known colleges now require of all students, in addition to the traditional English, a specified course in the social studies. This generally contains materials drawn from the several social science departments. A sizeable minority of the colleges also require a specified course in either the natural sciences or in the fine arts or both.

The purpose of these common requirements for all students is to try to assure the possession by the students of that degree of social intelligence expected by society of its more cultivated members. The present economic collapse is believed to have its roots in social conditions which can be corrected chiefly by a better socio-economic-civic education of the leaders of tomorrow. Hence this rapid change in the college curricula.

Growing out of the desire to better adapt the college requirements to the needs of the individual students, and hence closely akin to the foregoing trend, is the increasing flexibility in both entrance requirements and graduation requirements. The time factor in both high school and college is decreasing in importance. Examinations or other evidences of achievement are being substituted. Here and

³ *Major Trends in Public Education* (Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, National Education Association, October, 1934).

there faculty committees are being set up with authority to consider the individual needs of students for whom the established curricula are not well suited. If the committee so decides, each of such students is allowed to choose a curriculum suited to his needs which may cut across all the regular curricula and conform to none of them. Comprehensive examinations have come into more common use.

These and other similar changes are but the manifestations of two basic developments taking place in higher education. Both of these have been greatly hastened by the depression, although neither is economic. I refer to the student personnel or guidance movement which tends to individualize the educational plan and program for each student, and to the related movement to shift the center of responsibility for the student's education from the faculty member to the student himself. The depression has induced a previously unknown degree of seriousness on the part of students. This seriousness, with its accompanying willingness to assume larger responsibilities, has made possible the remarkable development in student personnel work. There are those who believe that this gain will more than offset the losses which the colleges will have sustained during the depression years.

Teachers' salaries—paid and in arrears.—A few cities and a few institutions maintained former salary schedules during 1932, 1933, and 1934. Some others reduced the teachers' salaries to an extent fairly comparable with reductions of other government officials. A disheartening number, however, reduced the teachers' salaries quite disproportionately.

From actual figures in some states and from estimates in others made by state departments of education, checked against the total amount spent for education, the average salary of teachers is believed to have been reduced from \$1,440 in 1931 to \$1,222 in 1934.

The most pathetic aspect of this salary cut is not revealed in this average. Some states passed legislation on the basis of which great numbers of teachers were reduced to salary levels of fifty years ago. Salaries of \$40 per month were general over large rural areas, and even lower salaries were not uncommon. During 1933-34, certainly more than a quarter of all the teachers in this country were on salaries of less than \$750 per year.

And, worst of all, a not inconsiderable percentage of these low-paid teachers did not receive all the pay due them even at their low salary, and others were paid in warrants which were heavily discounted when cashed.

Just how much the situation is improved this year is only roughly known from studies made by investigators for the FERA. Probably there are fewer extremely low salaries this year, and certainly there will be fewer unpaid salaries this year if the FERA provides the aid now expected from that source.

On the college level, the story is quite as bad. During January, 1934, a questionnaire was sent to a liberal random sampling of the colleges by the U.S. Office of Education.⁴ From returns received from 278 colleges on private or church foundations, the median reduction in salaries from 1930 to 1934 was 23 per cent. A quarter of the institutions had reduced salaries by 25 per cent or more. Some had cut off 50 per cent.

But of these reduced salaries, many faculty members received only such fraction as the dwindling current college income could provide. At the close of the year 1933-34, of 195 colleges reporting, 51 were in arrears in the salary payments to their faculties.⁵ Of these, 19 were in arrears by more than 30 per cent of the annual salaries.

Scattered reports indicate a considerable improvement this year, but there are more than a negligible number of institutions in which the salary status this year is even worse than last.

Income and expenditures for education.—The total expenditures for public schools dropped from \$2,316,790,384 in 1930 to an estimated \$1,799,306,000 in 1934, or 22 per cent.⁶ The expenditures for capital outlay dropped 73 per cent, even though the high-school enrolments increased at an unprecedented rate.

More detailed data are available on income and expenditures for colleges and universities.⁷ A very adequate random sampling of institutions reported in August, 1934, their prospective income and expenditures for the year 1934-35 and compared them with the actual income and expenditures for 1929-30. The percentages of change for the five-year period were then calculated for each institution. The resulting percentages were then distributed, and the first

⁴ From an unpublished study by the U.S. Office of Education.

⁵ Henry G. Badger, *The Economic Outlook in Higher Education, 1934-35*, U.S. Office of Education Pamphlet No. 58 (1934).

quartile, median, and third quartile found. These are recorded in Table II.

The number of institutions reporting may not be the number used with each item because a few of the institutions gave data on only one of the two items. A quarter of the institutions suffered in income by as much as the following percentages or more: publicly controlled colleges and universities, 45.0; privately controlled colleges and universities, 40.8; teachers colleges and normal schools, 47.9. One well-known state college of agriculture and mechanic arts lost 72 per cent

TABLE II
PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE IN CERTAIN ITEMS, 1929-30 TO 1934-35

INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED BY WHITE STUDENTS	NUMBER OF COL- LEGES REPORT- ING	PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE, 1929-30 TO 1934-35					
		Educational and General Income, Including Buildings			Educational Expenditures, Excluding Buildings and Extension Work		
		First Quartile	Median	Third Quartile	First Quartile	Median	Third Quartile
Publicly controlled col- leges and universities ..	75	-45.0	-33.8	-22.7	-23.2	-10.7	+ 2.9
Privately controlled col- leges and universities ..	213	-40.8	-25.2	- 4.1	-21.9	- 3.1	+22.5
Teachers colleges and nor- mal schools.....	118	-47.9	-34.3	-17.5	-34.7	-19.4	- 2.3

of its income, and a well-known state university lost 63 per cent of its income. Twelve of the privately controlled colleges and universities and 13 of the teachers colleges and normal schools lost 60 per cent or more of their annual income. These extreme reductions were accounted for in part, of course, by the practically complete elimination of income for buildings.

One state college for women had its expenditures for educational purposes alone cut 51 per cent; one state college of agriculture was cut 53 per cent; and one state university, 46 per cent. Several privately controlled institutions were cut more than 45 per cent. Three state teachers colleges in as many states were cut more than 60 per cent, and many others suffered but slightly less.

Figures for the colleges and universities for Negroes make a slightly better showing than comparable institutions for whites.

Among the causes of the serious drop in operating revenues is the fact that many colleges and universities accepted notes instead of cash for student fees. Of the 65 publicly controlled institutions reporting, 33 accepted notes from students, and 2 institutions accepted more than half the fees in notes. Of 209 privately controlled institutions, 176 accepted notes for tuition, and 24 accepted more than half the fees in notes. Of 100 teachers' colleges and normal schools, 32 accepted notes. In all three types of institutions, a total of 295, there was outstanding in student notes in June, 1934, \$7,863,563.

One other factor in the situation deserves mention. Interest on their indebtedness added greatly to the burden of many colleges. While the majority have no outstanding debts of any consequence, the aggregate indebtedness of those reporting the item was \$77,714,292 in June, 1934.

Emergency measures.—School and college buildings provided for from PWA funds to date amount to \$125,000,000. About 40,000 teachers are at work under the emergency education program of the FERA. Last year \$14,260,260.60 was contributed to the several states to prevent the closing of schools from lack of funds. About 100,000 college students are at remunerative work on 1,500 college campuses under the FERA student aid program. A nation-wide program in apprenticeship education is in process of organization under the direction of the Secretary of Labor. An educational program, although with wholly inadequate support, is in operation in most of the CCC camps.

Institutional co-operation.—Few agencies, either governmental or private, have developed a more pronounced individualistic attitude than that which has characterized colleges and universities. Evidences of willingness to co-operate are more numerous in the last few years. A considerable number of mergers have taken place, thirteen of the more significant ones being those cited by President Coffman of the University of Minnesota in his latest biennial message to the people of Minnesota.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of co-operation is the recent organization of ten liberal arts colleges in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin into the Midwest College Conference. They have established an office in Chicago and maintain a representative there

constantly. They have published a booklet which devotes two pages to the description of the opportunities offered by each college. This booklet is sent to all inquiring prospective students. It is hoped that the Conference will help to eradicate the evils of high-pressure recruiting of students and, more generally than is now the case, lead each student to enter the college best suited to his needs.

In addition to this increasing voluntary co-operation of which the preceding are examples, co-operative relations are being insisted upon by governing bodies. Church boards have studied the many institutions under their control, and have mapped out plans for development in which each institution is assigned a more or less distinctive function which fits into the larger scheme. States are becoming increasingly insistent that the state-controlled institutions within the state fit their programs into a unified system. The policy most common a decade or two ago for accomplishing this purpose was the substitution of a single board of control for separate institutional boards in a state. The last few years have witnessed the adoption of a more effective policy, namely, the establishment of a single executive officer to have charge, under a board of control, of all the state-supported institutions. Oregon, North Carolina (three institutions only), and Georgia, have created such an office within the last three years.

One other sign of co-operation under state stimulus should be mentioned. The legislature of Oklahoma two years ago created a co-ordinating commission whose jurisdiction was intended to cover not only publicly controlled institutions but, with some limitations, privately controlled ones as well. The South Carolina legislature the same year passed a law authorizing the study of the problem of how the state might build a unified system of higher education embracing both publicly controlled and privately controlled institutions.

These two cases—and little has been yet accomplished under the new laws in either state—are expressions of the growing feeling in many states that our system of dual control of higher education merits careful study if we are to be assured of higher education which is at once economical in cost and of high quality.

Without doubt, the depression has stimulated both voluntary co-operation and enforced co-operation. This may prove to be one of the few blessings which these trying years will leave behind them.

INDEXES OF SOCIAL TRENDS AND THEIR FLUCTUATIONS

WILLIAM F. DOGBURN
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

Forty-one charts are presented depicting the social trends from 1920 to 1935, in a great variety of economic and social activities, for the purpose of presenting a general picture of the course of social trends and the fluctuations about them, especially during the depression and recovery of the 1930's.

In the accompanying forty-one graphs the reader is given a picture, quickly comprehended, of what has been happening to a considerable variety of social activities affecting human life during these eventful years. They show that the economic upturn began in the early part of 1933 and that the many social phenomena have experienced the effects of the beginning of recovery also.

The curves are quite generally self-explanatory, and the data are from the standard sources. The charts all are drawn to the semi-logarithmic scale and hence show to the eye the rates of change. The curves are therefore comparable one with another as to the rates of change over the period, for they are all drawn to a common scale.

Series expressed in dollars, as, for instance, national income, usually are in terms of a money unit that varies in purchasing power. Thus a dollar in 1933 bought more than a dollar in 1929. All such series have been drawn in units of the same purchasing power in these charts, though it may not be so stated in the legend.

Other series are affected by the growth in population. The cost of schools was greater in 1930 than in 1920, partly because there were more pupils. Such series have here been expressed in terms of a common unit of population.

Meanings of statistical series are often deceptive, and the pitfalls to interpretation are many, especially to the untrained observer. But the selection of the series here presented has been such that generally they mean what on the surface they appear to mean.

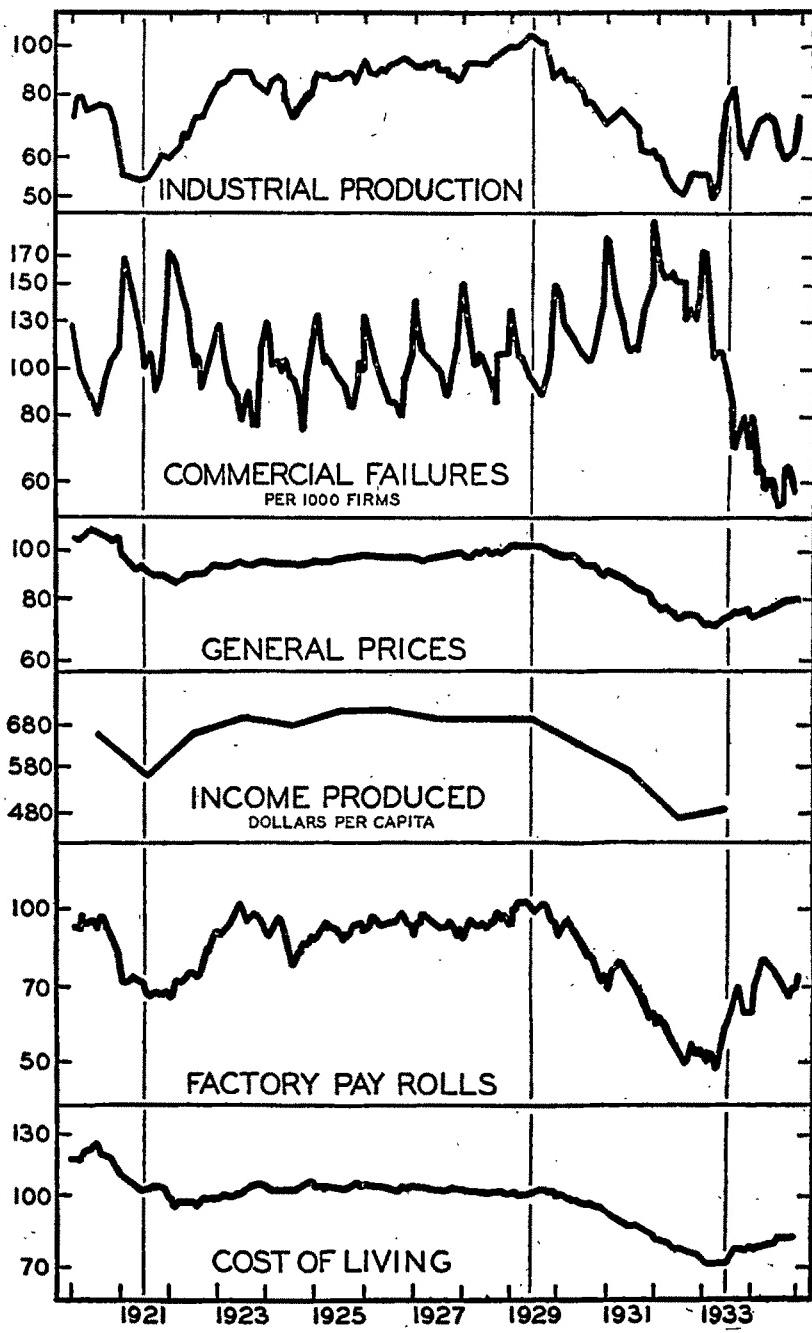


FIG. I

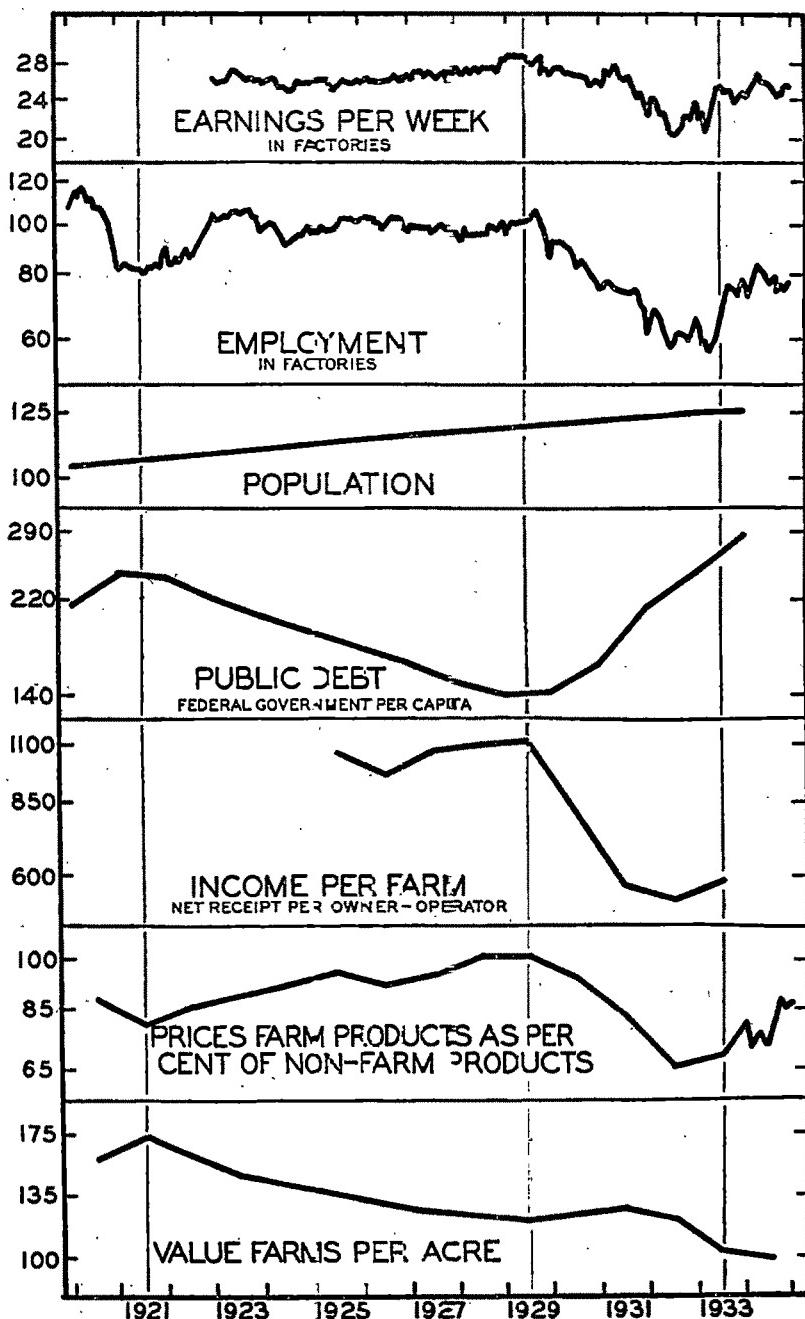


FIG. 2

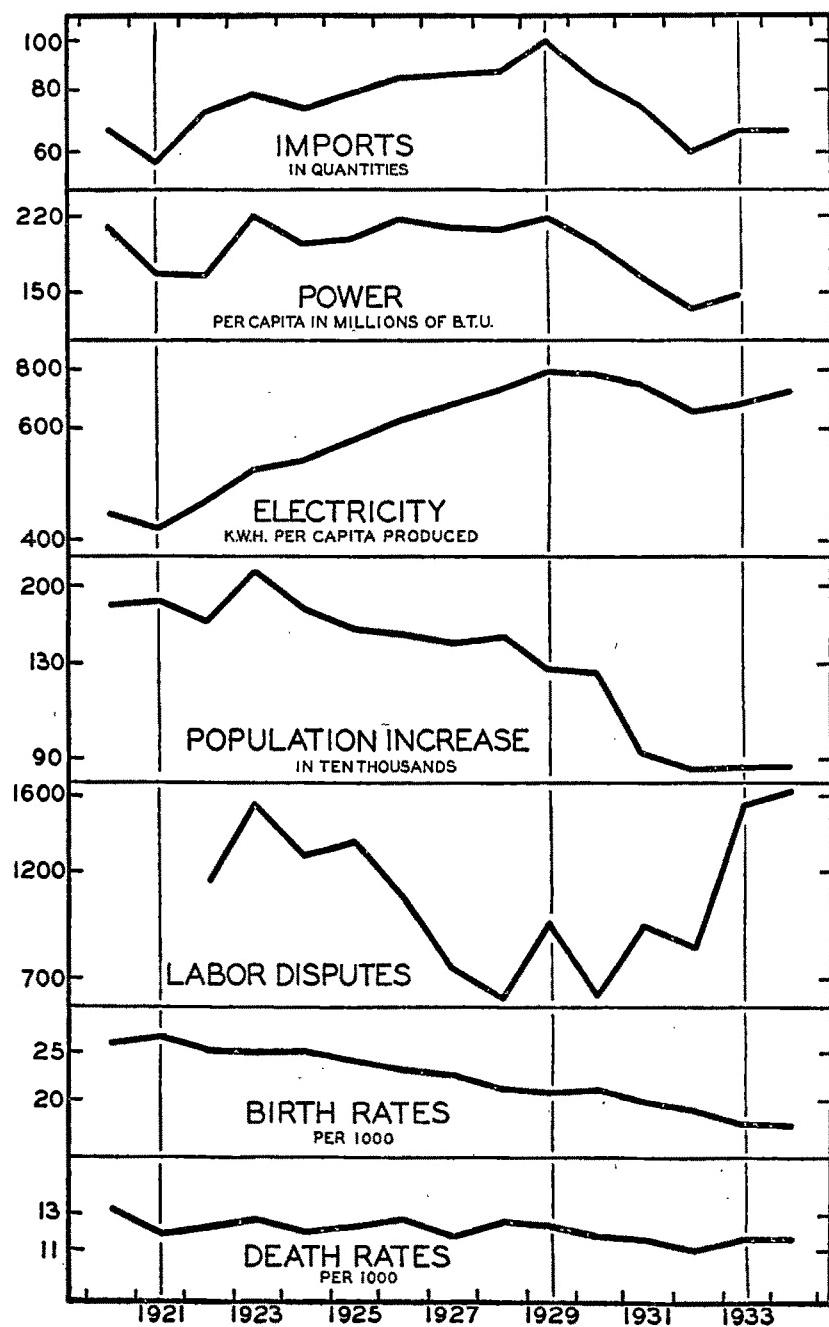


FIG. 3

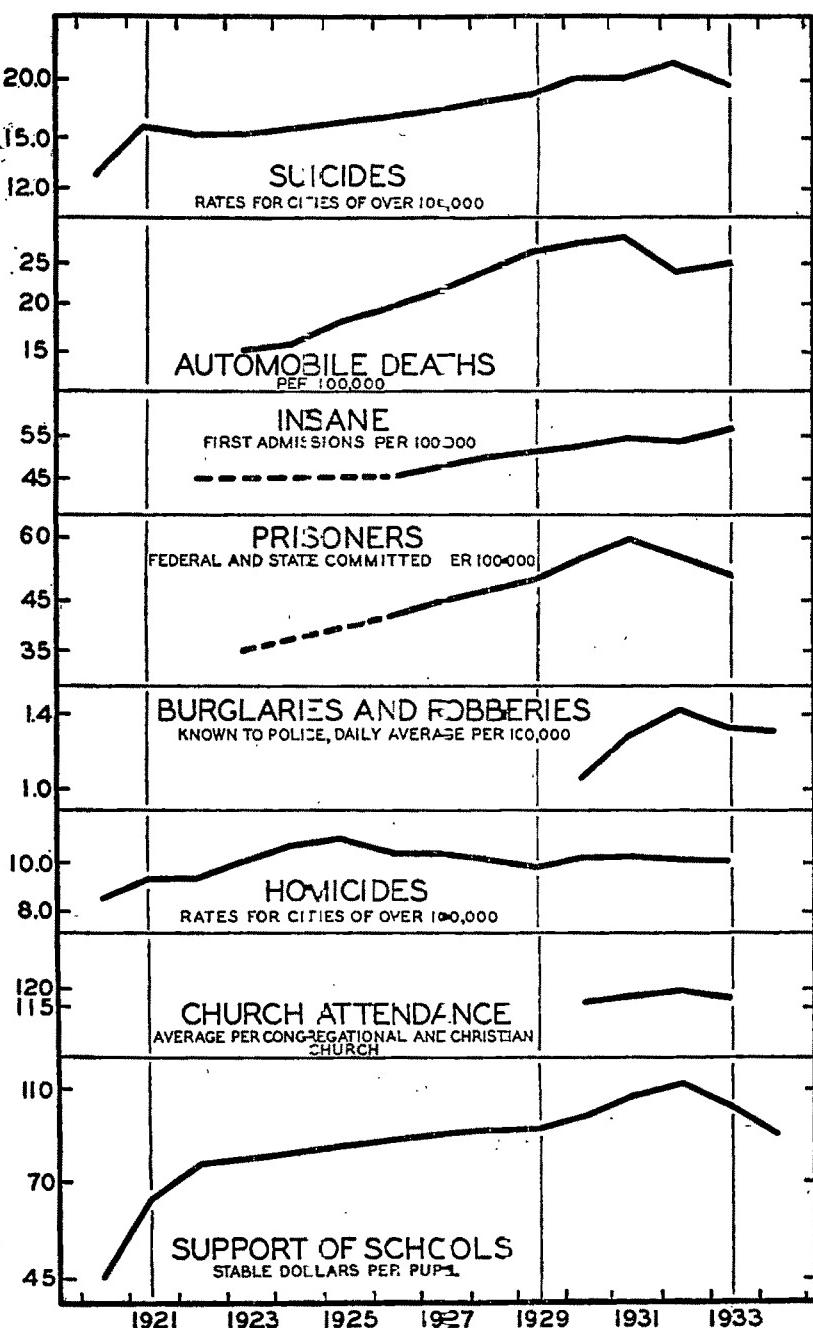


FIG. 4

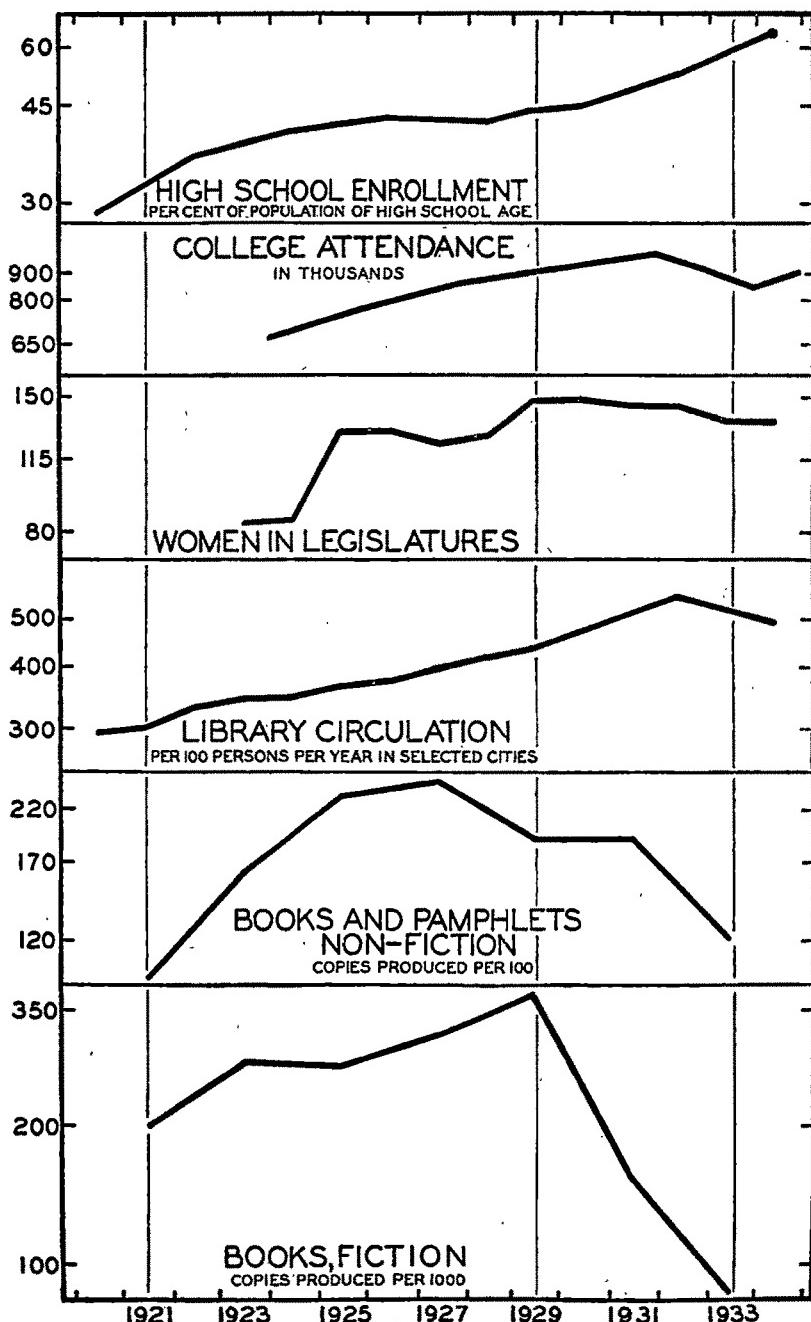


FIG. 5

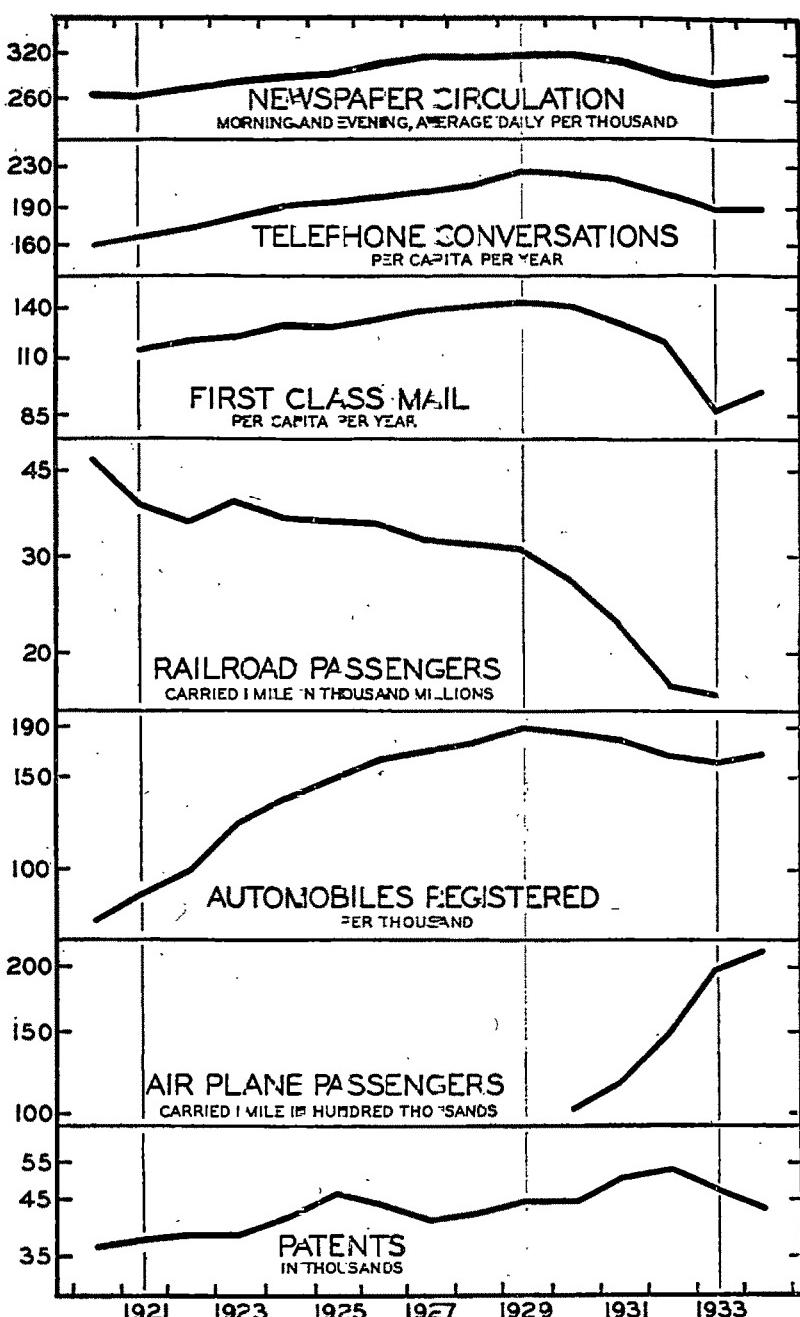


FIG. C

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociology Society.—The new members received into the Society since the March issue and up to March 15 are as follows:

- Arrington, Ruth E., Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Bankert, Zetta E., 1320 Third St., Brookings, S.D.
Bolden, Alexander R., 226 West One Hundred and Thirty-eighth St., New York City
Cowgill, Don O., 5525 Clemens Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Davidson, Mary Margaret, Martha Cook Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Davis, Mrs. Jerome, 489 Ocean Ave., West Haven, Conn.
Dodson, Linden S., Elon College, N.C.
Frey, Rosemary, 3237 Hardisty Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
Frost, Leon W., Children's Aid Society, 71 Warren Ave. West, Detroit, Mich.
Howard, J. A., Upland, Ind.
Huff, Florence M., R.F.D. No. 1, Alexandria, Va.
Lewis, W. P., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Liguori, Sister Mary, 6363 Sheridan Road, Chicago
Mead, George Whitefield, Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tenn.
Petheram, Vera, 921 Sixth St., Brookings, S.D.
Reed, Ellery F., Community Chest, 312 West Ninth St., Cincinnati, Ohio
Ritterskamp, Paul H., Room 220, New Agricultural Bldg., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Roberts, Harry W., Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Shanas, Ethel, 1010 North Oakley Blvd., Chicago
Sheffer, Homer Lewis, 704 West Twentieth Ave., Spokane, Wash.
Smith, Helen Alden, 451 South Bixel St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Thompson, Victor, University Club, Moscow, Idaho
Walsh, Mary Elizabeth, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Whitaker, Milo L., Northern Illinois State Teachers College, De Kalb, Ill.
Williams, Anne, 5519 Drexel Ave., Chicago
Woolbert, Helen Griffin, F.E.R.A., 1734 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

American Sociological Society.—The American Sociological Society will hold its twenty-ninth annual meeting in New York City on December 27-30, with headquarters at the Hotel Commodore. Professor Frederic

M. Thrasher, of New York University is chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

The chairmen of divisions and sections for the meeting are as follows: Human Ecology, R. D. McKenzie, University of Michigan; Social Biology and Population, P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University; Social Psychology, Clifford Kirkpatrick, University of Minnesota; Social Research, G. A. Lundberg, Columbia University; Social Theory, Read Bain, Miami University; Criminology, Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania; Community, Luther Fry, University of Rochester; Educational Sociology and Teaching of Sociology, L. A. Cole, Ohio State University; Family, J. K. Folsom, Vassar College; Rural Sociology, B. L. Hummel, V. P. I., Blacksburg, Virginia; Sociology of Religion, Jerome Davis, Yale University; Sociology of Psychiatry, John Ellard, Yale University; Sociology and Social Work, Neva Dearborn, Welfare Council of New York City; Statistics, R. Clyde White, University of Indiana.

The topic for the annual meetings in the section on the Sociology of Religion is "Religion in Social Action." Professor Jerome Davis, chairman of that section, is anxious to secure the best possible papers for presentation at the annual meeting. He suggests that any member of the Society who is doing research in this field, or is planning to do research, should send to him as soon as possible an outline of his research in order that it may be given consideration in planning for the annual meeting.

American Sociological Society: District of Columbia Chapter.—The District of Columbia chapter of the American Sociological Society was addressed by Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, chief statistician for population of the United States Bureau of the Census, at its meeting on January 31. Dr. Truesdell outlined the development of the use of census tracts in connection with the population census and explained the methods which were used in making the tract tabulations for the larger American cities.

On February 26 Dr. Alba M. Edwards discussed the problem of classifying occupations and the relation of social changes and the condition of enumeration to the feasibility of a detailed and scientific occupational classification.

Child Development Abstracts.—Beginning with the current issue, *Child Development Abstracts* is to carry the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Sociology and Social Research*, and the *Journal of Educational Sociology* among its publications from which are abstracted materials dealing with child life.

Conference on Business Education.—The Third Conference on Business Education will be held at the University of Chicago, June 27 and 28. The subject of the Conference is "Business Education and Money Management."

Joint Committee on Materials for Research.—The Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council is making available in film form materials relating to the hearings on the codes of fair competition held under the National Industrial Recovery Act and the hearings on the marketing agreements, codes, licenses, and processing tax matters of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Inquiries should be addressed to T. R. Schellenberg, executive secretary, Joint Committee, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Le Play House.—Le Play House, 36 Gordon Square, London, W.C. headquarters of the English Sociological Society, offers the following field-study surveys which interested Americans are invited to join: June 7-11, a week-end study of a remote Wiltshire village; July 20-29, a study of the Holy Island, Lindisfarne; August 1-24, a study of the Hebrides; and August 5-25, a field study of Czechoslovakia.

Population Association of America.—A conference on population studies in relation to social planning will be held under the auspices of the Population Association of America, Hotel Willard, Washington, D.C., May 2-4, 1935. For further information, address the Secretary, 1200 Victor Bldg., Washington, D.C.

Russell Sage Foundation.—Announcement has been made of the appointment of two new directors of the Russell Sage Foundation: Mrs. Mary S. Routhahn as consultant in social-work interpretation and Mr. Rolf Nugent as director of the department of remedial loans.

University of Buffalo.—Professor Niles Carpenter returned to the University of Buffalo to resume his duties during the second semester as head of the department of sociology and anthropology. Dr. Carpenter was on leave of absence during the first semester as visiting professor of sociology in Harvard University. Dr. George B. Neumann, of Buffalo State Teachers College, took over some of the work of Dr. Carpenter during his absence.

Mr. Burton Pomplun, assistant in the department of sociology for the year 1933-34, has been appointed parole officer for the state of New York.

Dr. Nathaniel Cantor, professor of criminology, has just completed a pamphlet for the Civilian Conservation Corps on *Crime*. Dr. Cantor has been invited to be one of the reporters for the International Prison Congress which meets in Berlin in 1935. A new course in social legislation, conducted by Professor Cantor, has been introduced into the curriculum of social work of the university.

Dr. Samuel Hartwell, formerly director of the Child Guidance Clinic in Worcester, Massachusetts, has been appointed head of the department of psychiatry, school of medicine, University of Buffalo, and will give the course on mental hygiene in the curriculum of social work. Dr. Hartwell has had experience in training students for psychiatric social work. In his position at the medical school he automatically becomes head of the department of psychiatry of the Buffalo City Hospital, where he plans to organize a child guidance clinic.

University of Colorado.—Professor Walter G. Beach, of Stanford University, will be visiting professor of sociology during the summer.

Columbia University.—For a period of ten weeks, from June 24 to August 30, Columbia University will conduct intensive all-day instruction in the Russian language—one course for beginners and one for persons with some knowledge of Russian. This work is offered by the university in co-operation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, as a continuation of the interuniversity project which began with the Russian Language Section of the Harvard Summer School of 1934. The courses are intended for persons of exceptional qualifications who have a specific need for the language as a tool for use in some field of science or of scholarship. The secretary of the university is prepared to furnish detailed information upon request.

Connecticut State College.—The department of sociology at this institution is in its fourth year since its establishment. The beginning year's work, comprised of a course in cultural anthropology followed by a course in the elements of sociology, has an average enrolment from 180 to slightly over 200 students each semester. The advanced courses also have very favorable enrolments. The department this year has started some graduate work.

During the past year the following major research reports have come from press: Nathan L. Whetten and Victor A. Rapport, *The Recreational Uses of Land in Connecticut* (Storrs Agric. Exper. Sta. Bull. 194 [March,

1934]); J. L. Hypes, *Population Mobility in Rural Connecticut* (Storrs Agric. Exper. Sta. Bull. 196 [August, 1934]).

Dr. Hypes, as a member of a research committee of the American Country Life Association, of which Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield was chairman, has completed an investigation on village improvement in India. He has also almost completed the manuscript of a book to be entitled *Spotlights on the Culture of India*.

The department of sociological research at the Storrs Station has under way a series of studies of social adjustment in suburban towns of Connecticut. The town selected for the first study is the oldest town in the state, namely, Windsor. This study is to be repeated in two or three other suburban areas representing different socio-economic situations. Dr. Whetten is in immediate charge of this series of studies.

During the last two years Dr. Victor A. Rapport has served as a member of the Connecticut Board of Milk Control. He is also president of the Connecticut Consumers League.

Dr. Whetten during the past few months has been serving as state supervisor of rural research under the FERA.

Cornell University.—Dr. Dwight Sanderson, who served as co-ordinator of rural research for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Washington, D.C., for the past several months, has returned to Cornell.

George Washington University.—Dr. Dudley Wilson Willard, professor and chairman of the department of sociology, died November 27 as the result of burns received when the oil furnace in his home exploded.

Harvard University.—Professor Clarence Case of the University of Southern California will teach in the Harvard Summer School of 1935, giving a course in introductory sociology and one on social pathology and social programs.

Assistant Professor Carl R. Doering of the Harvard school of public health will give a course on quantitative problems of population in the summer school.

The following new teachers have been appointed by the Harvard Corporation for the academic year 1935-36: Professor Corrado Gini of the University of Rome, who will give, in the second semester, besides a course on self-regulation in the social organism, a course on the demography of isolated groups, repeating the first course at Radcliffe College; Associate Professor Howard P. Becker of Smith College, who will give, in the first semester, a course on conduct and culture, to be repeated at

Radcliffe, and a course on social thought before Comte; Professor E. Wight Bakke of Yale University, who will give, during the second semester, courses on problems of social security and American minority peoples, repeating the first course at Radcliffe.

Dr. Edward P. Hutchinson will give throughout the year, a course in social statistics.

Professors L. J. Henderson and Elton Mayo and Assistant Professors F. J. Roethlisberger and T. N. Whitehead, all of the Harvard business school, with Assistant Professor W. Lloyd Warner and Mr. W. J. Dickson, will give a seminar on methods and results of certain sociological investigations. Assistant Professor Whitehead is in charge of the arrangements for the course.

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson will give a few courses in the second semester on selective aspects of marriage and of rural-urban migration.

Dr. Talcott Parsons will have a sabbatical leave during the first semester. Professor P. A. Sorokin will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester.

The department is co-operating in the newly organized graduate training of public officials, and, together with other departments, is undertaking a large ERA project, an intensive study of several aspects connected with the behavior, migration, mobility, psycho-social conditions, psychology, and social life in general of the white-collar unemployed.

University of Kansas.—Assistant Professor Mapheus Smith has accepted a position with the Urban Research Division of the FERA at Washington, D.C., and Mr. Frank D. Alexander, formerly teaching fellow in the department of sociology at Vanderbilt University, has taken his place until he returns.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.—The department of economics and social science, in co-operation with the department of biology and public health, offers in the summer of 1935 a survey of current administrative problems. It is open to a limited number of college graduates or persons who have completed three years of college work. Instruction will take the form of lectures and round-table discussions. The course will begin on June 24, 1935, and will continue for six weeks. Application should be made to Professor Edwin S. Burdell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Announcement is made of a new five-year course combining professional studies in the departments of engineering and natural science with a co-

ordinated program in the social sciences. Beginning in the third year, a graduated program of subjects from the field of social science will be added to the program of professional studies. Upon satisfactory completion of the work the student will receive the degrees of Bachelor of Science and Master of Science.

Miami University.—Dr. W. F. Cottrell will take a group of students and others to Russia during June and July. Mrs. Eugenie Whitridge has been appointed to give half-time service teaching sociology.

University of Michigan.—Professor C. N. Reynolds of Stanford University will be visiting professor during the summer session and will offer two courses in sociology.

University of Missouri.—Dr. E. L. Morgan is giving part time to the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission as technical adviser. He is also chairman of the State Social Planning Board.

McGraw-Hill Book Company announce the publication of *Social Psychology—the Natural History of Human Nature*, by Dr. L. Guy Brown.

University of North Carolina.—Mr. J. M. MacLachlan has been appointed assistant professor and will do both teaching and research.

Northwestern University.—Professor Earl Dean Howard has returned from a year with the NRA in Washington, in which he was responsible for setting up codes in the apparel industry. He is dividing his time between the department of sociology and anthropology and the school of commerce.

Professor W. L. Bailey has completed the editing of a survey on Negro housing in Evanston for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. The facts of this survey are being used as the basis for a Negro housing project in Evanston.

Professor A. J. Todd is directing a comprehensive survey of recreation in Chicago for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and the Recreation Commission of Chicago, of which he is a member. Mr. H. L. Vierow has been loaned from the staff of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to serve as executive director of the project. Most of the field material has been gathered; part of it has been collated and organized. It is hoped that the project will be completed and published by the beginning of the summer.

Professor Melville J. Herskovits spent the summer in the field, where he engaged in a study of the culture of the Haitian Negroes.

Ohio State University.—Dr. C. E. Lively, who has been in Washington, D.C., as research analyst in charge of the survey of open and closed relief cases in the Research Section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, has resumed his work in the department of rural economics.

The sixth annual institute for Education by Radio, combined with the fifth annual assembly of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, will be held at Ohio State University, Columbus, May 6, 7, and 8.

Princeton University.—Under the joint auspices of Princeton University and the American Council of Learned Societies, a summer seminar in Arabic and Islamic studies will be held at Princeton University from June 20 to July 31, 1935. The seminar will be under the direction of Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University, from whom further information may be obtained.

Stanford University.—Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser will be visiting professor of sociology for the summer session. He comes from the University of Oregon and Reed College, where he is serving as part-time professor in both institutions.

Swarthmore College.—Sociology has been added to the curriculum of Swarthmore College this year. Professor James W. Woodard, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and of Temple University, is conducting the work.

State College of Washington.—Dr. Howard W. Beers of Cornell University has joined the staff of the department of sociology as assistant professor of rural sociology. Dr. Beers will teach courses in rural sociology and direct rural sociological research. The rural-research program of the department is being expanded. Six new courses in rural sociology have been added to the department of sociology: "Rural Standards of Living," "Rural Population," "The Urban Community," "Rural Social Work," "Rural Rehabilitation," and "Seminar in Rural Social Problems."

University of Wisconsin.—J. H. Kolb, head of the department of rural sociology, became co-ordinator of rural research for the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, FERA, in Washington, D.C., March 1, to continue throughout the summer. He has obtained temporary leave from the college of agriculture during this period.

Dr. J. L. Gillin, professor of sociology, has been appointed to the Wisconsin State Pardon Board which has recently been set up.

BOOK REVIEWS

Negro Americans, What Now? By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON. New York: Viking Press, 1934. Pp. viii + 103. \$1.25.

Along This Way. By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON. New York: Viking Press, 1935. Pp. 418. \$3.50.

There is an interesting and intimate connection between these two books, *Negro Americans, What Now?* and *Along This Way*, aside from the fact that they are both by the same author. The first is an address to the Negro people of the United States; is, in fact, a kind of tract, called forth by the present posture of affairs in the world at large, and by the existing, not unrelated, crisis in the American Negro community. The second is an autobiography of the man who wrote the first, so that whatever wisdom there may be in the tract is based on the experiences recorded in the autobiography. This suggests considering each in the light of the other.

The author's message, if one may so describe it, is based on the conviction that the Negro people, to an extent that has not been true heretofore, are at the crossroads, where several divergent courses of action lie before them. The author dismisses as impracticable the oft-proposed exodus. He sees no present solution of the Negro's problem in communism. He condemns the use of physical force—the last resource of an oppressed people—not on moral grounds but because he believes it futile.

There remain the alternatives of (1) a self-imposed isolation, that is, voluntary segregation, involving the creation of an *imperium in imperio*, or (2) a policy of integration and identification, as far as the existing American mores will permit, of the fate and fortunes of the Negro with the fate and fortunes of the American people as a whole. The author favors the latter course. The proposal that the Negro accept the position of a permanent racial minority and seek to become, as far as practicable, a self-sufficing economic and cultural unit does not commend itself to him.

What he proposes is rather the creation of a more efficient and inclusive organization, an organization of organizations, in fact, which shall function at once as a clearing-house for other agencies and as a board of strategy to advise, direct, and as far as possible co-ordinate, the operations of all more local and more special organizations, in order to insure the ad-

vancement of the race, in accordance with a general program of action. He suggests that the existing National Society for the Advancement of Coloured People, in which, incidentally, white and colored people are associated, might assume the functions of such a superorganization.

This proposal will probably not be acceptable to isolationists, who are convinced that, in its struggle for existence and for status, a racial minority will be most effective only when it is free to act independently and on its own initiative, even though its ultimate purpose be no more than the effective and equitable enforcement of the existing organic law, and the creation of a social order in which all races have a common interest.

If, then, as the author puts it, "Black America is called upon to stand as the protagonist of tolerance, of fair play, of justice and good will," it is because, in a democracy, the fate of the minority is indissolubly bound up with that of the majority, and, in the homely phrase of Booker Washington, it is not possible for one man to hold another man down without staying down with him.

The difficulty is that the organization, solidarity, and group consciousness which any racial minority inevitably develops, in its struggle against discrimination and injustice may, and sometimes does, perpetuate the belief in the existence of insurmountable divergences of racial interest and destiny which it is the final purpose of the racial minority to undermine and discredit.

This is a dilemma which every militant minority faces. It must have political power, in order to gain recognition for its abstract rights, but must, at the same time, achieve some sort of interracial solidarity and understanding, to insure their equitable interpretation and vigorous enforcement. This is because the ultimate source of discrimination is in the mores, that is, in the unwritten, rather than in the formal, law.

James Weldon Johnson belongs to that generation of colored men who, because they have grown up since the Civil War, have had an opportunity few colored men before them had to gain such a knowledge of the world as only travel and a wide acquaintance with literature, men, and things can give. He is, in fact, a typical member of that "Talented Tenth" of which Dr. Dubois used to speak, the intelligentsia of the Negro race, whose mission has been, on the whole, to interpret the American Negro to himself and to the world, and incidentally through its writings to create a literary tradition and a body of doctrine designed at once to inspire and guide the race in its effort to achieve better things.

His own family tradition goes back to the year 1802, when Etienne Dillet, a French army officer in Haiti, put Hester Argo, a native Haitian

woman, and her three children, on board a schooner bound for Cuba. This was during the struggle for Haitian independence, and it was from the dangers of that struggle that Hester Argo and her children were fleeing. One of Hester Argo's children, by Etienne Dillet, was Stephen Dillet, a notable person in the Island of Nassau, where Hester Argo finally found refuge, and the grandfather of the subject of this autobiography.

Against this romantic background the narrative sketches a career which began sixty-four years ago in Jacksonville, Florida, where his father had the relatively important position of head waiter in a fashionable hotel. It includes the story of his student days at Atlanta University, his experiences as a teacher in the backwoods of Georgia, as a newspaper editor, as a teacher and lawyer in Jacksonville, Florida, and as a successful writer of popular songs and lyrics in New York. It was during this latter period that he and his brother, Rosamund, composed what is, both as to words and music, probably the most inspiring anthem ever written, namely, the "Negro National Hymn."

There followed a period of consular service in Venezuela and Nicaragua, during which he published a notable poem *Black and Unknown Bards*, and his one novel, *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*.

Returning from his sojourn abroad he served for a period of years as field agent of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, in its struggle to suppress lynching, and to preserve the civic rights of the Negro people, which were in danger of being lost by default.

It was during this latter period that he published the two collections of "American Negro Spirituals," the volume entitled *God's Trombones*, and several other of his more original and permanent contributions to that growing body of literature in which Negro writers have recorded the experience and voiced the aspirations of the race.

Since, in the case of the Negro, the fate of the individual is, or seems to be, so ineluctably bound up with that of the race, the story of his life tends to assume somewhat of the impersonal character of an epos, that is, less the story of an individual than of a people.

This is, perhaps, less true of James Weldon Johnson's life history than it was of Frederick Douglass' *Life and Times*, Booker Washington's *Up from Slavery*, or of that extraordinary human document, W. E. B. DuBois' *Souls of Black Folk*. This may be due to the fact that, as the Negro has become more articulate, the moral isolation in which he lived, and which is the ultimate source of every racial problem, has measurably diminished.

In fact, one interest, among others, which attaches to this auto-

biography as a historical and social document is the evidence it offers of the manner and the extent to which, particularly in the great cosmopolitan cities, like Paris, London, and New York, the social distances which formerly separated the races have been dissolved.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Principles of Sociology. By FREDERICK E. LUMLEY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. xiv+461. \$3.50.

Professor Lumley has modified the table of contents of his textbook considerably since the first edition appeared in 1928. That earlier edition has doubtless become generally familiar to American teachers of introductory college courses in sociology. When one examines the plan of the new edition closely, the changes seem to be partly matters of titling the chapters and modifying somewhat the proportionate amounts of space given to various topics. The volume has been reduced from 562 to 461 pages, however; chapters entitled "Suggestion-Imitation," "Co-operation," and "Social Origins" seem to have largely disappeared, not only as to title but as to content; and a chapter entitled "Crowd Phenomena," which is largely new, has been added. This textbook might be classified with several others for its adherence to simple, common-sense terminology and the noticeably didactic manner in which the author presents the subject. There are adequate indexes, a substantial alphabetical bibliography the value of which is problematical, and, at the ends of the chapters, the usual "text questions," "thought questions," and "readings." The book is suited to the use of college Sophomores, or even Freshmen, rather than to more mature students.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

An Introductory Sociology. By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: American Book Co., 1934. Pp. xxiv+615. \$3.50.

The number of textbooks designed for use in general introductory college courses in sociology has become so great in recent years, and new ones continue to appear from the presses so frequently, that it is scarcely possible for a reviewer to say in brief space anything worth while and distinctive about each one as it reaches him. There is nothing revolutionary about Professor Kimball Young's *An Introductory Sociology*; on the other hand, it is a conscientiously written, intelligently planned book. It tends

to place the emphasis on culture, and, as anyone who knows the author's previous work might expect, on the psychological aspects of sociology. The author sticks rather close to the matter-of-fact and common-sense apprehensions of social phenomena in dealing with most topics; in few connections does he undertake to present any very searching interpretations or analyses of the matters with which he is concerned. This procedure has kept the book within the range of comprehension of college Sophomores, but has had the effect of making it rather monotonous to read. A few selected references for wider reading, and a set of questions, exercises, and topics for papers, are given at the close of each chapter. The author has in preparation a source book which is designed to supply collateral readings and materials to parallel this textbook. There are indexes of names and of subjects which appear to have been carefully prepared.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Rudiments of Sociology. By E. J. Ross. Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co. 1934. Pp. xiv + 303. \$1.44.

Here is a text that lives up to its title: *Rudiments of Sociology*. There is no doubt but that it is intended for the first years in secondary education and that it is explicitly written for Catholic high schools, for the author states "care has been taken to lay a foundation in the way of Catholic principles and philosophies." Elsewhere she complains that many elementary texts ignore the supernatural and the salvation of man's soul, and as a consequence there is need of a Catholic introductory sociology, and it must be said that the author has made a good job of it.

Since out of every ten high-school students, only one goes to college, a high-school text of social principles and problems seems much in order, and no doubt this book will open a new world to many a young student, which will influence his viewpoint the rest of his life. Although the book is written in a simple and easily intelligible manner, it is nevertheless scientific and uniquely covers the field of social theory and practice. Beginning with the nature of society and social life, the author passes on to the family, the state, and industrial and agricultural problems; trade unionism, strikes, and arbitration; the co-operative movement in its various phases; ownership and man's right to private property; the errors of socialism and communism; the world court and the league of nations with its issues of peace and war.

Emphasis is placed on the educational question and the right of church

and state in this regard. There are strong pleas for the underprivileged, for better housing, a living wage, shorter working hours. Various types of social work are treated to inspire the reader with a social sense. At times the text becomes a preaching.

Selected pictures and charts assist the printed page, and throughout there is an appeal for interest and action and even leadership in social welfare. The book closes with a simple and sympathetic statement of the NRA and its agencies of action. There are adequate recommended readings and questions, some evidently intended for the teacher.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

The Beginnings of To-morrow. By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1933. Pp. xiii + 310. \$2.00.

This is a book about revolution, nationalism, race, and Western civilization; about Asia, Japan, China, Korea, Siam, India, and the Near East; about Russian Communism, Ghandi-ism, Bahai-ism, and Islam. It recognizes the factors that sociologists recognize, therefore reaches different interpretations from those of the missionary, administrator, diplomat, or business man. The author's concept of a coming Great Society, every racial or national segment conscious of and conditioned by all the other segments, is altogether sociological. His interpretation of what is going on in China says more in thirty pages than anything I have seen on contemporary China. He abounds in shrewd insights. "A people will go to sleep unless it has some sort of stimulus which comes from conflict, competition, or oppression." Russian methods will be modified, "to meet the demands of the individualistic habits of other countries." "Defeatism has become characteristic of Europe, since the war, and is now emerging in the United States." Aggressiveness, "the keynote both of Western activity and of Western philosophy," is traced to the hunting pattern of life; the Orient bears, rather, the impress of the tillage pattern. "A people loses more self-respect by being ruled than by being hungry and ragged." "Nationalism in Korea has reached the psychopathic stage . . ." "The Christian sporting emotion called anti-Semitism." The hypersensitivity of the Japanese he traces to "an inferiority complex." "It would have been difficult to secure the necessary reorganization of society which had to come to India without the English as the object of common enmity."

It is a pity that a book so excellent is marred by many slips. Hobbes and Locke "exploded the ground on which the divine right of kings stood"

a century more than "a century and a half ago." This country has not "fifteen million Negroes" but two million less. Just why the hundred and sixty millions of the Soviet Union should be counted into the population of Asia is not clear.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Beyond Conscience. By T. V. SMITH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. Pp. xv+373. \$3.00.

A casual inquiry of a colleague as to where he could find a realistic ethics was the occasion of this book of ten full chapters. In his search for a valid sanction for conscience—Mr. Smith's term is "implementation"—he starts with the Freudian *libido* as the cosmic root of conscience and finally pitches his tent in the far lotus land of an esthetic solipsism closely akin to psychological idealism. The journey is a long and exciting one during which much philosophical ichor is spilled. His trail is strewn with the fragments of various futile "implementations" of conscience such as the theological; the idealistic of Green, Bradley, and Royce; the sociological of Durkheim, Mead, and Dewey; the social contract school of Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, and Jefferson; and the intuitionists, Sidgwick, Ross, and Meinong. Comfortably settled at last in his ivory tower of esthetic solipsistic finality, "with conscience reduced to a state of utter privacy serving only the role of inner integrator of consciousness and dynamic essence for esthetic satisfaction," the writer, as a sort of after-thought, addresses himself in the last two chapters to "the major difficulty confronting a social philosophy," namely, the relation of life in this ivory tower to the outside world.

At this point it would seem that the pragmatic realist, who thus far has been browbeaten into silence, rises in righteous protest against the absurdities of this logical *tour de force*, marshals the ungodly behaviorists and the unwashed crew who follow the banners of Marx and Lenin, and threatens the selfish dweller in the ivory tower with the terrible alternatives of "either materialism or solipsism." This forces the ivory-tower dweller, who we feel has been playing a clever game, to come out into the open and dicker for a compromise. After having yielded temporarily to the seductive charms of Calypso and her cave, we are rejoiced to find that our Odysseus still remains loyal to the unromantic Penelope of moral common sense. In the concluding chapter he makes ample amends for the ivory-tower scandal. Logic and metaphysics having proved themselves

bankrupt in the matter of "implementing" conscience, he falls back upon the pragmatic makeshift that conscience is a norm born of the stern necessities of the will-to-live in a social order. It cannot be proved. Its sanctions are fictions of the imagination. Yet "the common man will still hold that conscience ought to be obeyed, even though a fiction; that social order must be maintained even though its price is high in unsatisfied desires" (p. 321). What then is conscience? It is the result of the egoistic push for power of the primordial *libido* clashing with other egoistic pushes for power all of which debouch into the social arena where they are checked, disciplined, socialized (to use a tiresome term) and made to serve the necessities of social order. The author's conclusions, be it observed, are just the opposite of the romantic extravagances of Rousseau's infinitely competent *amour de soi* and Lenin's utopian classless society. Not Eros but Eris is the father of conscience, the final implementation of which is found in an eternal *Kampf um das Recht*.

The critical evaluation of this book is exceedingly difficult because it lies in the No Man's Land between pure philosophy and pure literature. It is so brilliantly written that the play of words often interferes with the unity of the thought. The writer is not an unconscious poet as was Plato. He lacks the stately beauty of Berkeley or the velvety smoothness and oriental richness of Santayana. He is, however, past master of paradox, the deadly enemy of logically consistent and systematized ideas. His book will seem superficial and even flippant to the old fashioned metaphysician and perhaps futile to the prosaic fact-finding sociologist. But like a buccaneering bee he has made his own the honied wisdom plundered from countless gardens of the spirit. By one who feels as vividly as he does the eternal dualism between the inner and outer, the internecine struggle between moral man and immoral society, the book will be read with pleasure and profit as it was by the reviewer.

JOHN M. MECKLIN

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Social Psychology: The Natural History of Human Nature. By
LAWRENCE GUY BROWN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.,
1934. Pp. xiii + 651. \$3.50.

This well written and well organized book derives from sociology and is oriented toward it. Psychologists will probably resent having their field restricted to the organic functions, and logicians of science will question whether psychology tells *how*, while social psychology tells *why*, people

behave as they do. Psychological social psychologists are depending more and more upon cultural data even though they seldom give sociology any credit. Sociologists, on the other hand, will probably contend that much of Brown's material is merely elementary sociology.

About seventy pages are bibliography and class "helps," about 400 are "case materials" and quotations, and the remaining 175 are Brown's own work. So it is really a combined case- and textbook. Doubtless it will appeal strongly to those who have faith in this method. I was not much edified by the cases I read, but students may possibly read them with interest and profit. There is little analysis of the cases. Perhaps fewer cases with more discussion of what they are supposed or intended to show would improve the book. An index of cases would doubtless aid teachers who like to use such material. I feel there is decided danger that students will make many doubtful interpretations and unwarranted generalizations from the plethora of single, sketchy cases.

There is no discussion of the scientific point of view and methods of studying human behavior. Little attention is given to moot points and diverse approaches to the study of human phenomena. I think this is a serious mistake. Brown argues that undergraduates should not be confused with too much research. This may be true, if research really confuses, but certainly undergraduates should not be given the idea that all is known when in reality so little is known. For example, attitudes, etc., seem to take the place left vacant by the moribund "instincts" with little more critical analysis than instincts used to receive. Watson's three "emotions" seem to be accepted as gospel with no reference to Sherman's work. The rôle of biology in the development and functioning of personality is not adequately treated. Finally, I doubt the advisability of asking the students for so much introspective self-analysis. This will not help social psychology to become a natural science. Other points could be mentioned if space permitted.

The book is well documented with nearly 450 citations. The men referred to ten times or more are: Allport, Ellwood, Park, Ross, W. I. Thomas, Krueger and Reckless, Reuter and Hart, Brown himself, A. Adler, Burgess, Dewey, K. Young, Cooley, Bernard, and Faris, the last two twenty-seven times each.

Pathological phenomena are wisely omitted, but more attention should be paid to sex, food, excretion, ego-satisfaction, sickness and inorganic factors in the development and functioning of personality.

READ BAIN

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, OHIO

Introduction to Rural Sociology. By CHARLES RUSSELL HOFFER. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934. Pp. xiv + 500. \$3.00.

The first edition of this volume appeared in 1930. One reviewer, at that time, considered it to be "the most satisfactory book for beginning classes that has yet appeared in the field." Another believed that "the synthesis of the latest findings pertaining to the topics under consideration represented the chief contribution" of the book.

The extent of the revision is indicated in part by the fact that the earlier volume consisted of 418 pages in a larger size of type, whereas the revised edition totals 500 pages in a smaller sized type, with, hence, considerably more on a page. Three new chapters have been added, comprising fifty-five pages in the new edition. These new chapters are entitled: "Rural Children," "Rural Youth," and "Rural Leaders." Moreover, the statistical materials have been brought carefully down to the present date, and each chapter carries a well planned series of study questions, a feature not characterizing the first edition. Also, a comparison of the two editions reveals in parts considerable textual revision which, in the words of the author, takes cognizance of "the tremendous changes in rural life within the last few years and the rapid development of the science of rural sociology." The selected references at the conclusion of each chapter have been augmented to include more recent significant contributions to the several subject-matter divisions considered in the volume. Thus in its totality the book has undergone substantial revision, and has been greatly improved as a result.

The book is characterized by the mature approach of the author to his subject, the judicious selection of the materials used, the cautious delimitation of the scope of the field to be covered, the soundness of the sociological matrix, and not least of all by the simple, clear style in which it is written. It easily deserves a high rating among the large number of introductory texts now available for beginning classes in rural sociology.

WILSON GEE

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The Rural Community and Social Case Work. By JOSEPHINE C. BROWN. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1933. Pp. lx + 165. \$1.00.

This book is a recognition that social work in the rural farm population is so different from that in urban districts that special information and directions are essential. In the first chapter, it seeks to interpret country

life to social workers. The other nine chapters deal with the needs of social case work in rural communities, the steps to be taken in organizing for such work, sources of information and kinds of co-operative agencies to resort to, qualifications of social workers, methods of establishing budgets and of raising money to carry on the work, and requisites for the administrative set-up. The whole field is covered in a brief but competent manner. Since we have had the relief situation extended to farming people so widely and profoundly during the past year or two and have been so illly prepared to take care of it, we are in special need of just such works as this one for emergency preparation.

The volume contemplates financing social work by private agencies largely. Had it been written today, it doubtless would have placed more emphasis on public relief and such matters as farm rehabilitation. There are also some peculiar situations developing in open country relief work which need specific training. This little volume might well be revised and extended so as to cover those situations.

J. M. GILLETTE

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An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. By ROBERT H. LOWIE.
New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934. Pp. 365.

The content of this book concerns the development of culture and no doubt will prove useful as a text for courses in anthropology and in sociology. The first chapter, only, deals with race; the remainder is straight culture history. Three hundred and thirty pages for an account of the origin and growth of culture in all its parts means necessarily that each topic must be dealt with very briefly. It is often said that it is harder to make a short speech than a long one. I am sure this is true of a culture history. The author has done it, though, excellently. He has covered essentials with a minimum of waste motion. It is, despite this compression, easy to read, again justifying the author's reputation as a writer as well as a scientist. The use of many concrete words and the avoidance of the abstract was useful in this regard. To achieve its balance the content must have been planned and built up more or less like a mosaic. Some critics may feel that the author has overly stressed the material culture, which requires eight out of seventeen chapters. This emphasis is fully warranted, however, in the reviewer's judgment, in view of the great rôle of mechanical invention in modern times.

Not the least of the merits of this treatise is the way the author has kept

out of its pages the theoretical and speculative discussions and intellectual displays for intellectualism's sake, which so often clutter up the pages of books on culture. Here the reader gets reliable conclusions and trustworthy data. It is history and not philosophy. To appreciate this book, it should be compared with earlier books, such as those of Muller-Lyer or even Tylor.

One other possible point of dispute concerns the method. The author presents his material by topics, such as, farming, art, or the clan, instead of dealing with the material by a few specific cultures. It is difficult to see how a brief history of cultural development could be treated by dealing with a few cultures. Yet, the feeling is so strong among anthropologists that no piece of culture should be torn from its setting. It is said that no part of culture can be understood without understanding the whole. No doubt so extreme a statement may be true if the passion for meaning in its completeness is strong. But obviously such an attitude, desirable as it is, can be carried to absurd extremes. It must be remembered that readers may want, for instance, a brief history of agriculture without being bothered about how the agriculture of each people is interwoven with minutiae of each cultural pattern.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Folk Culture on St. Helena Island. By GUY B. JOHNSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xi+183.

This is a companion volume to *Black Yeomanry* by T. J. Woofter, Jr., and *A Social History of the Sea Islands*, by Guion Griffis Johnson, and all three are the result of a study of the culture of the sea islands supported by the Social Science Research Council. The author is careful to supplement and not to duplicate the studies already made of the sea-island culture. The volume, thus, is brief, but an altogether worth-while contribution.

The first part is given over to an account of the dialect of the Negroes of St. Helena Island. It is suggested that "Gullah," as the dialect is known, is a survival of the English of the colonial period. The conditions of both the slave trade and slavery precluded the possibility of the survival of all but a very few African words. The geographical and cultural isolation of the island has accounted for the persistence of the dialect. The African tradition is reflected in such qualities as speed, pitch, and inflection.

In the second part of the book the author is at great pains to show the similarity between the Negro spiritual and the early religious and revival songs of the white man. The presence of the same traits in both groups

of music seems to indicate that these Negro songs are either selections from white music, selections which have been influenced by the Negro's African musical heritage, or that, in the main, they have been borrowed directly from white folk music. There is little evidence, he thinks, of the creation by the American Negro of a distinctly new music. The contribution of the Negro appears to have been the introduction of his own rhythmic devices and the modification of melodic patterns. It is concluded that although the songs are borrowed they are as unique as if they were original creations of the Negro.

There is presented a collection of folk tales and superstitions which are typical of the folk culture of the island. These, however, add little to such earlier publications as Elsie Clews Parson's *Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*, and Puckett's *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*.

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